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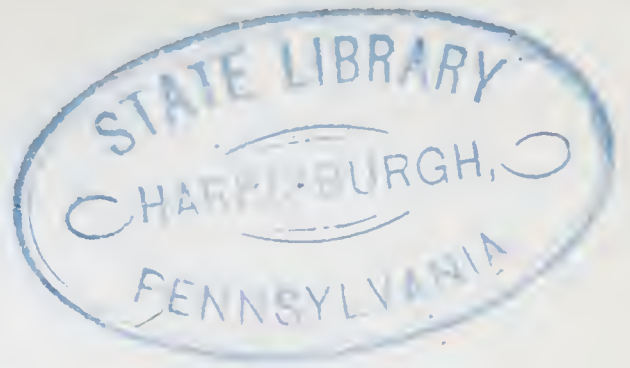


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THE



LUTHERAN QUARTERLY.

EDITED BY

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NEW SERIES—VOL. X.



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THE
QUARTERLY REVIEW
OF
THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH.

JANUARY, 1880.

ARTICLE I.

MR. RUSKIN AND THE LORD'S PRAYER.

By C. A. STORK, D. D., Baltimore, Md.

Mr. Ruskin has broken the monotony of the English monthlies by a characteristic batch of letters published in the *Contemporary Review* for December. He appears as a light to the clergy of England; and of all subjects in the world he proposes to expound to them the true meaning and intent of the Lord's Prayer. It was a happy thought in this great master of the art of putting things to give us at Christmas time some religious reading touched with the light of genius. Whatever Mr. Ruskin may choose to talk about, he is always charming; for he always brings the light of enthusiasm with him. He is in deadly earnest: he cannot even talk heresy in religion or nonsense in political economy without putting his spell upon us. Be we never so pre-occupied, or impatient of his philosophy, he makes us stop and listen. He is our lugubrious Ancient Mariner:

"He holds us with his glittering eye."

It is true he talks the direst nonsense and the sheerest heresy; but it is of no use:

“ ——— We beat our breast,
Yet we cannot choose but hear;
And then speaks on that ancient man
The bright-eyed Mariner.”

This time he has it laid on him to expostulate with the English clergy. To his mind they are a poor, blear-eyed, mischief-making set of noodles, who only half understand their business, (when they do not wholly misunderstand it), and who do a great deal more harm by their preaching and praying than they do good. But Mr. Ruskin believes they can be taught something better. He will expound to them the theology of the New Testament and set them on the right track; or at the worst, if he can do nothing more he will relieve his mind of a message he is pressed to deliver. He will teach them if they will be taught; and if not, then he will curse them right and left, and go about his business. So our nineteenth century Jeremiah takes up his burden of ‘*woe, woe!*’ on the state of religion and the Church in England, and proceeds to unpack his mind.

To do him justice, Mr. Ruskin does not take up this vocation of prophet of his own motion. It appears that a Mr. Malleeson, Vicar of Broughton-in-Furness proposed to the Furness Clerical Society of which he is a member, that they should ask Mr. Ruskin to give them some light on their duties. This proposal, Mr. Malleeson says, “met with so ready and willing a response, that it almost seemed like a simultaneous thought.” The letters elicited by this request, though addressed nominally to Mr. Malleeson as representing the body of clergy whose secretary he was, are, in fact, therefore addressed to their Society primarily. Solicited with such unanimity by a goodly body of the clergy, and finding it in him to deliver a message he had been long pondering, no one can be surprised that Mr. Ruskin should open his mind freely. And when Mr. Ruskin does open his mind some wonderful things come forth. If he curses pretty freely, we must not mind that: Mr. Ruskin is nothing if not abjurgatory. It has been remarked that we all enjoy being kicked when it is done handsomely; and no one can say that our

author does not do his kicking in the handsomest style. Between the gusts of commendation there fall such strains of wisdom and loveliness that we find a good round scolding the finest of exhilarations.

But for the letters. After some preliminary flourishes Mr. Ruskin falls to on the Furness Society, in his second epistle, after this fashion :

LETTER II.

“The first exact question which it seems to me such an assembly may be earnestly called upon by laymen to solve, is surely axiomatic : the definition of themselves as a body, and of their business as such.

“Namely : as clergymen of the Church of England, do they consider themselves to be so called merely as the attached servants of a particular state ? Do they, in their quality of guides, hold a position similar to that of the guides of Chamouni or Grindelwald, who, being a numbered body of examined and trustworthy persons belonging to those several villages, have nevertheless no Chamounist or Grindelwaldist opinions on the subject of Alpine geography or glacier walking : but are prepared to put into practice a common and universal science of Locality and Athletics, founded on sure survey and successful practice ? Are the clergymen of the Ecclesia of England thus simply the attached and salaried guides of England and the English, in the way, known of all good men, that leadeth unto life ?—or are they, on the contrary, a body of men holding, or in any legal manner required, or compelled to hold, opinions on the subject—say, of the height of the Celestial Mountains, the crevasses which go down quickest to the pit, and other cognate points of science—differing from, or even contrary to, the tenets of the guides of the Church of France, the Church of Italy, and other Christian countries ?

“Is not this the first of all questions which a Clerical Council has to answer in open terms ?

Ever affectionately yours,

J. RUSKIN.”

This is a good beginning. There is a fine flavor of association, in this Grindelwald figure, of those delightful passages scattered so freely through his writings in which the great word-painter takes us with him along the valleys and slopes of the Alps. With the memory of those exquisite mountain pictures and poems lingering in the mind, we are ready to forgive our prophet any number of rude shocks. He has sweetened our "bitter draught," as Mr. Malleson very happily styles it, by anticipation.

He next inquires how the Gospel can be put in the briefest form.

LETTERS III. AND IV.

"My first letter contained a Layman's plea for a clear answer to the question, 'What is a clergyman of the Church of England?' Supposing the answer to this first to be, that the clergy of the Church of England are teachers, not of the Gospel to England, but of the Gospel to all nations; and not of the Gospel of Luther, nor of the Gospel of Augustine, but of the Gospel of Christ,—then the Layman's second question would be:

"Can this Gospel of Christ be put into such plain words and short terms as that a plain man may understand it?—and, if so, would it not be, in a quite primal sense, desirable that it should be so, rather than left to be gathered out of Thirty-nine Articles, written by no means in clear English, and referring, for further explanation of exactly the most important point in the whole tenor of their teaching, to a 'Homily of Justification,' which is not generally in the possession, or even probably within the comprehension, of simple persons?

Ever faithfully yours,
J. RUSKIN."

"But yet I do not quite see why you should feel my asking for a simple and comprehensible statement of the Christian Gospel at starting. Are you not bid to go into *all* the world and preach it to every creature? (I should myself think the clergyman most likely to do good who accepted the *πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει* so literally as at least to sympathize with St. Francis' sermon to the birds, and to feel that feeding either sheep or fowls, or unmuzzling the ox, or keeping the wrens alive in the

snow, would be received by their Heavenly Feeder as the *perfect* fulfillment of His 'Feed my sheep' in the higher sense).

"That's all a parenthesis; for although I should think that your good company would all agree that kindness to animals was a kind of preaching to them, and that hunting and vivisection were a kind of blasphemy to them, I want only to put the sterner question before your council, *how* this Gospel is to be preached either *πανταχρῶς* or to *πάντα τὰ ἔθνη*, if first its preachers have not determined quite clearly what it *is*? And might not such definition, acceptable to the entire body of the Church of Christ, be arrived at by merely explaining, in their completeness and life, the terms of the Lord's Prayer—the first words taught to children all over the Christian world? I will try to explain what I mean of its several articles, in following letters."

We cannot help being reminded here of Luther's affectionate and profound use of the Lord's Prayer: "To this day," he says, "I suck still at the *Pater-Noster*, like a child. I eat and drink thereof like a full-grown man; and can never have enough. It is to me, even more than the psalter (which, notwithstanding, I dearly love), the best of all prayers. * * It will sometimes happen that, while engaged with some single article or petition, I walk into such rich thoughts that I leave the other six. And when these rich and good thoughts come, one ought to give place to them and let other prayers go, and listen in silence, and on no account offer any hindrance; for then the Holy Ghost Himself preaches, and one word of His preaching is better than a thousand of our prayers. And so I have often learned more in one prayer than I could have got from much reading and composing."

But really, rich as Luther is here, he does not outshine Mr. Ruskin. The fifth letter goes on:

LETTER V.

"My meaning, in saying that the Lord's Prayer might be made a foundation of Gospel-teaching, was not that it contained all that Christian ministers have to teach; but that it contains what all Christians are agreed upon as first to be taught; and

that no good parish-working pastor in any district of the world but would be glad to take his part in making it clear and living to his congregation.

"And the first clause of it, of course rightly explained, gives us the ground of what is surely a mighty part of the Gospel—its 'first and great commandment,' namely, that we have a Father whom we *can* love, and are required to love, and to desire to be with Him in Heaven, wherever that may be.

"And to declare that we have such a loving Father, whose mercy is over *all* His works, and whose will and law is so lovely and lovable that it is sweeter than honey, and more precious than gold, to those who can 'taste' and 'see' that the Lord is Good—this, surely, is a most pleasant and glorious good message and *spell* to bring to men—as distinguished from the evil message and accursed spell that Satan has brought to the nations of the world instead of it, that they have no Father, but only a 'consuming fire' ready to devour them, unless they are delivered from its raging flame by some scheme of pardon for all, for which they are to be thankful, not to the Father, but to the Son."

"Supposing this first article of the true Gospel agreed to, how would the blessing that closes the epistles of that Gospel become intelligible and living, instead of dark and dead: 'The grace of Christ, and the *love* of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost,'—the most *tender* word being that used of the Father?"

And first, for Mr. Ruskin's heresy, or, rather, for his discovery of heresy in others. According to him the clergy of England are all engaged in preaching a gospel that makes the Father and the Son to be at war. The Father would destroy men in His wrath, but the Son persuades Him reluctantly to lay His anger aside. The clergy of England can answer on that score for themselves: in fact, in the person of Mr. Malleon, whose note on the letter is given below, they do answer for themselves.* But the whole of this implied charge on Evangelical theology

*"Referring to the closing sentence of the third paragraph of the fifth letter, which *seemed* to express what I felt could not be Mr. Ruskin's full

gives us an insight into the way in which Mr. Ruskin is moved, first to set up his men of straw, and then to rush at him, knock him down, and kick him to and fro. He probably heard some narrow and foolish preacher of the hard school represent the work of Christ in redemption in this offensive manner and then saddled the preacher's bad theology on the Church and clergy, and proceeded to launch his woe upon this imaginary body of foolish preachers of what he rightly enough calls a "message of satan." But what respectable body of the evangelical ministry ever taught that for the scheme of pardon set forth in the cross we are "to be thankful, not to the Father, but to the Son?" Whoever has done that must first have stricken out of his New Testament Luther's golden text, in John iii: 16: "God so loved the world, &c."

But the scolding in this letter is only the sting in the tail. Let that go for Mr. Ruskin's nonsense, and how sweet and rich the body of his letter is. It reminds again of another German writer on this prayer, Claudius :

meaning, I pointed out to him the following sentence in 'Modern Painters:'

" 'When in the desert, Jesus was girding Himself for the work of life, angels of life came and ministered unto Him ; now, in the fair world, when He is girding Himself for the work of death, the ministrants come to Him from the grave ; but from the grave conquered. One from the tomb under Abarim, which *His* own hand had sealed long ago ; the other from the rest which He had entered without seeing corruption.'

"On this I made remark somewhat to the following effect : that I felt sure Mr. Ruskin regarded the loving work of the Father and of the Son to be *equal* in the forgiveness of sins and redemption of mankind ; that what is done by the Father is in reality done also by the Son ; and that it is by a mere accommodation to human infirmity of understanding that the doctrine of the Trinity is revealed to us in language, inadequate indeed to convey divine truths, but still the only language possible ; and I asked whether some such feeling was not present in his mind when he used the pronoun 'His,' in the above passage from 'Modern Painters' of the Son, where it would be usually understood of the Father ; and as a corollary, whether, in the letter, he does not, himself fully recognize the fact of the redemption of the world by the loving self-sacrifice of the Son in entire concurrence with the equally loving will of the Father. This, as well as I can recollect, is the origin of the passage in the second paragraph in the seventh letter."—*Editor of Letters.*

"Because you desire it," he writes, "I will tell you sincerely how I manage with 'Our Father.' But it seems to me a very poor way, and I would be gladly taught a better.

"Do you see when I am going to pray, I think first of my late father, how he was so good and loved so well to give to me. And then I picture to myself the whole world as my Father's house, and all the people in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America are there, in my thoughts, my brothers and sisters; and God is sitting in heaven on a golden chair, and has His right hand stretched out over the sea to the end of the world, and His left full of blessing and good; and all around the mountain-tops smoke, and then I begin: '*Our Father Who art in Heaven.*'"

But we must pass on to examine one of Mr. Ruskin's wonderful feats in the way of exegesis.

LETTER VI.

"I wonder how many, even of those who honestly and attentively join in our Church services, attach any distinct idea to the second clause of the Lord's Prayer, the *first petition* of it, the first thing that they are ordered by Christ to seek of their Father?

"Am I unjust in thinking that most of them have little more notion on the matter than that God has forbidden 'bad language,' and wishes them to pray that everybody may be respectful to Him?

"Is it any otherwise with the Third Commandment? Do not most look on it merely in the light of the Statute of Swearing? and read the words 'will not hold him guiltless' merely as a passionless intimation that however carelessly a man may let out a round oath, there really *is* something wrong in it?

"On the other hand, can anything be more tremendous than the words themselves—double-negated:

‘οὐ γὰρ μὴ καθάρισις * κύριος?’

For *other* sins there is washing;—for this none! the seventh verse, Ex. xx., in the Septuagint, marking the real power rather than the English, which (I suppose) is literal to the Hebrew.

"To my layman's mind, of practical needs in the present state

of the Church, nothing is so immediate as that of explaining to the congregation the meaning of being gathered in His name, and having Him in the midst of them, as, on the other hand, of being gathered in blasphemy of His name, and having the devil in the midst of them—presiding over the prayers which have become an abomination.

“For the entire body of the texts in the Gospel against hypocrisy are one and all nothing but the expansion of the threatening that closes the Third Commandment. For as ‘the name whereby He shall be called is the Lord our Righteousness,’—so the taking that name in vain is the sum of ‘the deceivableness of *un*righteousness in them that perish.’

“Without dwelling on the possibility—which I do not myself, however, for a moment doubt—of an honest clergyman’s being able actually to prevent the entrance among his congregation of persons leading openly wicked lives, could any subject be more vital to the purposes of your meetings than the difference between the present and the probable state of the Christian Church which would result, were it more the effort of zealous parish priests, instead of getting wicked *poor* people to *come* to church, to get wicked rich ones to stay out of it?

“Lest, in any discussion of such question, it might be, as it too often is, alleged that ‘the Lord looketh upon the heart,’ &c., let me be permitted to say—with as much positiveness as may express my deepest conviction—that, while indeed it is the Lord’s business to look upon the hearts, it is the pastor’s to look upon the hands and the lips; and that the foulest oaths of the thief and the street-walker are, in the ears of God, sinless as the hawk’s cry, or the gnat’s murmur, compared to the responses, in the Church service, on the lips of the usurer and the adulterer, who have destroyed, not their owns souls only, but those of the outcast ones whom they have made their victims.”

“It is for the meeting of clergymen themselves—not for a layman addressing them—to ask further, how much the name of God may be taken in vain, and profaned instead of hallowed—in the pulpit, as well as under it.”

The grim humor of the suggestion that it should be the zealous minister's effort, "instead of getting wicked *poor* people to *come* to Church, to get wicked rich ones to stay out of it," makes us almost forget what a serious departure from the Christian idea of the Church Mr. Ruskin is proposing to make. His idea of the visible Church is that it is to be a 'Church of the elect.' There is a fascination about that ideal of the perfect Church, the body that shall embrace only the pure in heart, which has again and again led the best of men astray. The great Novatian and Donatist schisms grew out of the attempt to apply Mr. Ruskin's rule to the visible company of believers. The Methodist body tried it again, in a modified fashion, in modern times; with what success every one knows. The fact is that it is an impracticable scheme; it is an attempt to forestall the work of the last day, a dream of realizing here what Christ Himself warned His disciples could not be realized till the final separation of the Day of Judgment, when He said, "*Let both grow together until the harvest.*" The truth is that Mr. Ruskin is a Donatist in spirit. Archbishop Trench in commenting on this ideal of the perfect visible Church says: "Every young Christian in the time of his first zeal is tempted to be somewhat of a Donatist in spirit." Well, that is just the trouble with Mr. Ruskin; he has never grown out of the first crude zeal of his faith. When he sees vileness and weakness in the body of the faithful all the fire of his youngest days burns in him; he must get at the offenders; he must tear them up, rend them, and trample them under foot.

But the really wonderful thing about this letter is not in its doctrine; that is old enough; old as the days of St. Augustine; but the exegesis by which he proposes to extract Donatism from the petition, "Hallowed be Thy name." As if the chief thing to do, when we prayed that God's name might be kept holy, were to cast eyes of disdain and wrath on those we think fail to keep it holy. But Mr. Ruskin is a hermeneutical wizard; he can draw mischievous doctrine out of innocent texts in which, before he took them in hand, no one ever caught a glimpse of the meaning he finds in them.

We have some more fanciful theologizing in the next letter.

LETTER VII.

“And in what I want to say of the third clause of His prayer (*His*, not merely as His ordering, but his using), it is especially this comparison between *His* kingdom, and His Father's that I want to see the disciples guarded against. I believe very few even of the most earnest, using that petition, realize that it is the Father's—not the Son's—kingdom, that they pray may come,—although the whole prayer is foundational on that fact: “*For THINE* is the kingdom, the power, and the glory.” And I fancy that the mind of the most faithful Christians is quite led away from its proper hope by dwelling on the reign—or the coming again—of Christ; which, indeed, they are to look for, and *watch* for, but not to pray for. Their prayer is to be for the greater kingdom to which He, risen and having all His enemies under His feet, is to surrender *His*, ‘that God may be All in All.’

“And, though the greatest, it is that everlasting kingdom which the poorest of us can advance. We cannot hasten Christ's coming. ‘Of the day and the hour, knoweth none.’ But the kingdom of God is as a grain of mustard seed:—we can sow of it; it is as a foam-globe of leaven:—we can mingle it; and its glory and its joy are that even the birds of the air can lodge in the branches thereof.

“Forgive me for getting back to my sparrows; but truly, in the present state of England, the fowls of the air are the only creatures, tormented and murdered as they are, that yet have here and there nests, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. And it would be well if many of us, in reading that text, ‘The kingdom of God is NOT meat and drink,’ had even got so far as to the understanding that it was at least *as much*, and that until we had fed the hungry, there was no power in us to inspire the unhappy.”

Mr. Ruskin must think that all Christendom has gone off into the blind alley of Chiliasm: how, else, could he write that he fancies the mind of the most faithful Christian is led away from its proper hope by dwelling on the Second Coming of Christ? He may well say, “*I fancy* :” he certainly can not *know* it. How many Christians when they pray, ‘Thy kingdom come,’ have in mind anything but the Kingdom of the Father?

A theologian must have got his vision very much twisted with Millenarian strabismus to be able to skip in the Lord's Prayer from the adoration of the Father in the first clause to the Second Coming of the Son in the third. But this is another of Mr. Ruskin's men of straw which it gives him such a fierce joy to set up and knock down.

It is in the eighth letter, however, that Mr. Ruskin fairly lets himself loose. What a delicious roasting he gives the Anglican clergy for the airs with which they put forward their priestly pretensions.

LETTER VIII.

"I was reading the second chapter of Malachi this morning by chance, and wondering how many clergymen ever read it, and took to heart the 'commandment for *them*.'

"For they are always ready enough to call themselves priests (though they know themselves to be nothing of the sort) whenever there is any dignity to be got out of the title; but, whenever there is any good, hot scolding or unpleasant advice given them by the prophets, in that self-assumed character of theirs, they are as ready to quit it as ever Dionysus his lion-skin, when he finds the character of Herakles inconvenient.

"'Ye have wearied the Lord with your words,' (yes, and some of His people, too, in your time): 'yet ye say, Wherein have we wearied Him? When ye say, Every one that doeth evil is good in the sight of the Lord, and He delighteth in them; or Where is the God of judgment?'

"How many, again and again I wonder, of the lively young ecclesiastics supplied to the increasing demand of our west-ends of flourishing Cities of the Plain, ever consider what sort of a sin it is for which God (unless they lay it to heart) will 'curse their blessings, and spread dung upon their faces,' or have understood, even in the dimmest manner, what part *they* had taken, and were taking, in 'corrupting the covenant of the Lord with Levi, and causing many to stumble at the Law.'

"Perhaps the most subtle and unconscious way in which the religious teachers upon whom the ends of the world are come, have done this, is in never telling their people the meaning of

the clause in the Lord's Prayer, which, of all others, their most earnest hearers have oftenest on their lips: 'Thy will be done.' They allow their people to use it as if their Father's will were always to kill their babies, or do something unpleasant to them, instead of explaining to them that the first and intensest article of their Father's will was their own sanctification, and following comfort and wealth; and that the one only path to national prosperity and to domestic peace was to understand what the will of the Lord was, and to do all they could to get it done. Whereas one would think, by the tone of the eagerest preachers nowadays, that they held their blessed office to be that, not of showing men how to do their Father's will on earth, but how to get to heaven without doing any of it either here or there!

"I say, especially, the most eager preachers; for nearly the whole Missionary body (with the hottest Evangelistic sect of the English Church) is at this moment composed of men who think the Gospel they are to carry to mend the world with, forsooth, is that, 'If any man sin, he hath an Advocate with the Father;' while I have never yet, in my own experience, met either with a Missionary or a Town Bishop who so much as professed himself 'to understand what the will of the Lord' was, far less to teach anybody else to do it; and for fifty preachers, yes, and fifty hundreds whom I have heard proclaiming the Mediator of the New Testament, that 'they which were called might receive the promise of eternal inheritance,' I have never yet heard so much as *one* heartily proclaiming against all those 'deceivers with vain words' (Eph. 5 : 6), that 'no covetous person which is an idolator hath *any* inheritance in the kingdom of Christ, or of God;' and on myself personally and publicly challenging the Bishops of England generally, and by name the Bishop of Manchester, to say whether usury was, or was not according to the will of God, I have received no answer from any one of them."

The profoundest thing in all these letters, indeed, the only deep truth in them that is really a new revelation, or, what is the same thing, an old forgotten truth refreshed, is the point made as to the active quality implied in the petition, "Thy will be done." - How true it is that the practical use of the petition

is confined almost exclusively to its passive side. When we ask for that holy will to be done we are apt to mean that we should suffer it patiently. But how full the Bible is of fingers that point us to the active side. When St. Paul is talking to the Thessalonians concerning their personal purity and honesty he tells them, "this is the will of God even your sanctification, that ye should abstain from fornication:" the active side is plain enough there. And then to the Romans he writes, urging them not to be conformed to the world, but by a transformation to give a practical exhibition of religion by a spiritual life, to prove the "*good and acceptable and perfect will of God.*" And there, too, it is something to be done, something wrought out in the active life by the coöperation of men and God, that is meant by God's will. Perhaps it is the strong light thrown on the passive side of this petition by Christ's own use of it in His agony in the Garden that has given so many minds this one-sided bias. We hear Him pray, "Thy will be done;" we see Him submit to drink the cup;—and the powerful vision burns it on our minds that the Father's will is something to be borne rather than something to be done. But if we think for a moment we will remember that those hours of submission in the Garden and on the cross were only passages of suffering let into a rich, full, active life, the burden of which was the *doing* of the Father's will. His own words teach us that: "My meat is to do the will of Him that sent Me, and to finish His work." To live the life of obedience, to teach, to heal, to reveal God to men, and in it all to suffer, and by suffering to learn a more perfect obedience to the will of His Father,—this was Christ's reading of His own petition that the will of God be done. The great thing was the active doing of the Divine will, and to that suffering was only incidental; it came in as the chafing and breaking of the stream on the opposing rocks come in to the stream's progress; but the life of the stream is not that broken passage, but the movement through that and beyond.

And what was truth for Him is truth, too, for us: we suffer His will only that we may come more perfectly to do that will; even as Christ suffered on the cross, that He might perfectly work out the Father's will that all might be saved.

This side of the petition Mr. Ruskin has not put at all too strongly. For such a downright, penetrating stroke of illumination piercing into the heart of the truth, we may well forgive him all the exegetical nonsense and doctrinal grand and lofty tumbling he has treated us to.

But we are not allowed to keep at that height very long. After another dig at the priestly assumptions of the Anglican clergy, in the latter part of his eighth letter, he proceeds in the ninth letter to bring out some of those rare bits of politico-economic wisdom for which he is famous.

LETTER VIII.—CONCLUSION.

“I have allowed myself, in the beginning of this letter, to dwell on the equivocal use of the word ‘Priest’ in the English Church (see Christopher Harvey, Grosart’s edition, p. 38), because the assumption of the mediatorial, in defect of the pastoral, office by the clergy fulfills itself, naturally and always, in their pretending to absolve the sinner from his punishment, instead of purging him from his sin; and practically, in their general patronage and encouragement of all the iniquity of the world, by steadily preaching away the penalties of it. So that the great cities of the earth, which ought to be the places set on its hills, with the Temple of the Lord in the midst of them, to which the tribes should go up,—centres to the Kingdoms and Provinces of Honor, Virtue, and the Knowledge of the law of God,—have become, instead, loathsome centres of fornication and covetousness—the smoke of their sin going up into the face of Heaven like the furnace of Sodom, and the pollution of it rotting and raging through the bones and the souls of the peasant people round them, as if they were each a volcano whose ashes broke out in blain upon man and upon beast.

“And in the midst of them, their freshly-set-up steeples ring the crowd to a weekly prayer that the rest of their lives may be pure and holy, while they have not the slightest intention of purifying, sanctifying, or changing their lives in any the smallest particular; and their clergy gather, each into himself, the curious dual power, and Janus-faced majesty in mishchief, of the

prophet that prophesies falsely, and the priest that bears rule by his means.

“And the people love to have it so.”

LETTER IX.

“I retained the foregoing letter by me till now, lest you should think it written in any haste or petulance; but it is every word of it deliberate, though expressing the bitterness of twenty years of vain sorrow and pleading concerning these things. Nor am I able to write, otherwise, anything of the next following clause of the prayer;—for no words could be burning enough to tell the evils which have come on the world from men’s using it thoughtlessly and blasphemously, praying God to give them what they are deliberately resolved to steal. For all true Christianity is known—as its Master was—in breaking of bread, and all false Christianity in stealing it.

“Let the clergyman only apply—with impartial and level sweep—to his congregation, the great pastoral order: ‘The man that will not work, neither should he eat;’ and be resolute in requiring each member of his flock to tell him *what*—day by day—they do to earn their dinners;—and he will find an entirely new view of life and its sacraments open upon him and them.

“For the man who is not—day by day—doing work which will earn his dinner, must be stealing his dinner; and the actual fact is that the great mass of men, calling themselves Christians, do actually live by robbing the poor of their bread, and by other trade whatsoever: and the simple examination of the mode of the produce and consumption of European food—who digs for it, and who eats it—will prove that to any honest human soul.

“Nor is it possible for any Christian Church to exist but in pollutions and hypocrisies beyond all words, until the virtues of a life moderate in its self-indulgence, and wide in its offices of temporal ministry to the poor, are insisted on as the normal conditions in which, only, the prayer to God for the harvest of the earth is other than blasphemy.

“In the second place. Since in the parable in Luke, the

bread asked for is shown to be also, and chiefly, the Holy Spirit (Luke xi. 13), and the prayer, 'Give us each day our daily bread,' is, in its fullness, the disciple's, 'Lord, evermore give us *this* bread,'—the clergyman's question to his whole flock, primarily literal: 'Children, have ye here any meat?' must ultimately be always the greater spiritual one: 'Children have ye any Holy Spirit?' or 'Have ye not heard yet whether there *be* any? and, instead of a Holy Ghost the Lord and Giver of Life, do you only believe in an unholy mammon, Lord and Giver of Death?'

"The opposition between the two Lords has been, and will be as long as the world lasts, absolute, irreconcilable, mortal; and the clergyman's first message to his people of this day is—if he be faithful—'Choose ye this day whom ye will serve.'

Mr. Ruskin thinks that all who do not earn each day their dinner by some down-right hard work are stealing. So does Mr. Froude. Though what either of them do with children and sick people, and with the thinkers and poets of the race who certainly do not earn their dinner, having often to go without them, they do not say. What Mr. Ruskin and Mr. Froude mean is probably this, that no one should live without contributing in some way, steadily and as a part of the business of life, to the good of the world he lives in; a statement true enough, if that is what they do mean. But, then, why not say so; instead of setting up an epigrammatic rule of political economy which would result in killing off some of the best classes the world has, viz: the people who merge their lives in ministering to others without getting any wages, and those who do the world's thinking and dreaming, and have nothing to show for it but praise and rewards that come after they are dead.

Some more of this delicious political economy we have in the conclusion of the eighth letter, in the challenge to the Bishop of Manchester to say whether usury (interest) was, or was not, according to the will of God. Mr. Ruskin, it will be perceived, does not believe in 6 per cent. or 4 per cent. or any per cent. at all. If I have money in bank for which I have no immediate use, I ought to lend it, he thinks, to my neighbors to go into

business with, for nothing. Mr. Ruskin must sigh for the merry days of England after the conquest when interest was expressly prohibited by civil and ecclesiastical law. He would like to recall those happy times when the Jews, whom Moses allowed to charge interest to strangers, got the business of money-lending so exclusively into their hands that the Gentiles have never been quite able to get it away from them since.

The tenth letter will please those peculiar brethren in our own fold who object to repeating the *Confession of Sin* every Sunday, because it implies that they are always sinning.

LETTER X.

"DEAR MR. MALLESON,—I have been very long before trying to say so much as a word about the sixth clause of the Pater; for whenever I began thinking of it, I was stopped by the sorrowful sense of the hopeless task you poor clergymen had, nowadays, in recommending and teaching people to love their enemies, when their whole energies were already devoted to swindling their friends.

"But, in any days, past or now, the clause is one of such difficulty, that, to understand it, means almost to know the love of God which passeth knowledge.

"But, at all events, it is surely the pastor's duty to prevent his flock from *misunderstanding* it; and above all things to keep them from supposing that God's forgiveness is to be had simply for the asking, by those who 'wilfully sin after they have received the knowledge of the truth.'

"There is one very simple lesson also, needed especially by people in circumstances of happy life, which I have never heard fully enforced from the pulpit, and which is usually the more lost sight of, because the fine and inaccurate word 'trespasses' is often used instead of the simple and accurate one 'debts.' Among people well educated and happily circumstanced it may easily chance that long periods of their lives pass without any such conscious sin as could, on any discovery or memory of it, make them cry out, in truth and in pain,—“I have sinned against the Lord.” But scarcely an hour of their happy days can pass over them without leaving—were their

hearts open—some evidence written there that they have ‘left undone the things that they ought to have done,’ and giving them bitterer and heavier cause to cry, and cry again—for ever, in the pure words of their Master’s prayer, ‘Dimitte nobis *debita* nostra.’

“In connection with the more accurate translation of ‘debts’ rather than ‘trespasses’ it would surely be well to keep constantly in the mind of complacent and inoffensive congregations that in Christ’s own prophecy of the manner of the last judgment, the condemnation is pronounced only on the sins of omission: ‘I was hungry and ye gave me no meat.’

“But, whatever the manner of sin, by offense or defect, which the preacher fears in his people, surely he has of late been wholly remiss in compelling their definite recognition of it, in its several and personal particulars. Nothing in the various inconsistency of human nature is more grotesque than its willingness to be taxed with any quantity of sins in the gross, and its resentment at the insinuation of having committed the smallest parcel of them in detail. And the English Liturgy, evidently drawn up with the amiable intention of making religion as pleasant as possible, to a people desirous of saving their souls with no great degree of personal inconvenience, is perhaps in no point more unwholesomely lenient than in its concession to the popular conviction that we may obtain the present advantage, and escape the future punishment, of any sort of iniquity, by dexterously concealing the manner of it from man, and triumphantly confessing the quantity of it to God.

“Finally, whatever advantage and decencies of a form of prayer, and how wide soever the scope given to its collected passages, it cannot be at one and the same time fitted for the use of a body of well-taught and experienced Christians, such as should join the services of a Church nineteen centuries old, —and adapted to the needs of the timid sinner who has that day first entered its porch, or of the remorseful publican who has only recently become sensible of his call to a pew.

“And surely our clergy need not be surprised at the daily increasing distrust in the public mind of the efficacy of Prayer, after having so long insisted on their offering supplication, *at*

least every Sunday morning at eleven o'clock, that the rest of their lives hereafter might be pure and holy, leaving them conscious all the while that they would be similarly required to inform the Lord next week, at the same hour, that 'there was no health in them!'

"Among the much rebuked follies and abuses of so-called 'Ritualism,' none that I have heard of are indeed so dangerously and darkly 'Ritual' as this piece of authorized mockery of the most solemn act of human life, and only entrance of eternal life—Repentance."

Mr. Ruskin thinks it absurd to be always confessing, "there is no health in us." But then he does not agree with Luther in thinking repentance a work that we must always be doing as long as we live. He thinks we ought to get beyond saying, 'I have sinned.' But then there are a good many things ordinary Christians call sin, which to Mr. Ruskin do not seem sin at all; for instance the free use of the tongue in the use of objurgatory not to say profane, language. If any of us average members of the flock were to say the things of our neighbors that Mr. Ruskin so freely says of his, we should be called to account as slanderers of the brethren; but tell Mr. Ruskin he reviles his fellow-disciples, and what does he say? "Revile them!" he replies, "bless you my friend, that is not reviling; that is prophesying; that's my message." No, no, it will not do for the man who will have none in the Church, but the perfectly pure to be acknowledging aloud every Sunday that he has been going astray. How after confessing that there was "no health in him," could he turn round and chase his erring brother out of the fold? If a man is bent on throwing stones he must first see that *he* does not live in a glass house.

But we forgive Mr. Ruskin once more when we read his last letter on prayer.

LETTER XI.

Is not every one of these petitions for a perfect state? and is not this last clause of it, of which we are to think to-day—if fully understood—a petition not only for the restoration of Paradise, but of Paradise in which there shall be no deadly fruit, or, at least, no tempter to praise it? And may we not admit that

it is probably only for want of the earnest use of this last petition that not only the preceding ones have become formal with us, but that the private and simply restricted prayer for the little things we each severally desire, has become by some Christians dreaded and unused, and by others used faithlessly, and therefore with disappointment?

“And is it not for want of this special directness and simplicity of petition, and of the sense of its acceptance, that the whole nature of prayer has been doubted in our hearts, and disgraced by our lips; that we are afraid to ask God's blessing on the earth when the scientific people tell us He has made previous arrangements to curse it; and that, instead of obeying, without fear or debate, the plain order, ‘Ask, and ye shall receive, that your joy may be full,’ we sorrowfully sink back into the apology for prayer, that ‘it is a wholesome exercise, even when fruitless,’ and that we ought piously always to suppose that the text really means no more than ‘Ask, and ye shall *not* receive, that your joy may be *empty*?’

“Supposing we were first all of us quite sure that we *had* prayed, honestly, the prayer against temptation, and that we would thankfully be refused anything we had set our hearts upon, if indeed God saw that it would lead us into evil, might we not have confidence afterwards that He in whose hand the king's heart is, as the rivers of water, would turn our tiny little hearts also in the way that they should go, and that *then* the special prayer for the joys He taught them to seek would be answered to the last syllable, and to overflowing?

“It is surely scarcely necessary to say, farther, what the holy teachers of all nations have invariably concurred in showing,—that faithful prayer implies always correlative exertion; and that no man can ask honestly or hopefully to be delivered from temptation, unless he was himself honestly and firmly determined to do the best he can to keep out of it. But, in modern days, the first aim of all Christian parents is to place their children in circumstances where the temptations (which they are apt to call ‘opportunities’) may be as great and as many as possible; where the sight and promise of ‘all these things’ in

Satan's gift may be brilliantly near ; and where the act of 'falling down to worship me' may be partly concealed by the shelter, and partly excused, as involuntary, by the pressure, of the concurrent crowd.

"In what respect the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of *them*, differs from the Kingdom, the Power, and the Glory, which are God's forever, is seldom, as far as I have heard, intelligibly explained from the pulpit ; and still less the irreconcilable hostility between the two royalties and realms asserted in its sternness of decision.

"Whether it be, indeed, Utopian to believe that the kingdom we are taught to pray for *may* come—verily come—for the asking, it is surely not for man to judge ; but it is at least at his choice to resolve that he will no longer render obedience, nor ascribe glory and power to the Devil. If he cannot find strength in himself to advance towards Heaven, he may at least say to the power of Hell, 'Get thee behind me ;' and staying himself on the testimony of Him who saith, 'Surely I come quickly,' ratify his happy prayer with the faithful 'Amen, even so, come, Lord Jesus.'

"Ever, my dear friend,

Believe me affectionately and gratefully yours.

J. RUSKIN."

We are glad to take leave of our expounder in so happy an utterance. If ever Mr. Ruskin's scorn of men seems justifiable it is when he falls foul of our modern philosophers who brow-beat and bully timid religious folks. He has not much opinion of English believers ; but that is reverence compared with his opinion of English unbelievers. He does not think them worthy his prophetic denunciations ; when they appear on the stage he loses his violence, and has only the most superlative bows and satirical fine speeches of mock humility to make them. And what delicious satire it is when he tells us that "we are afraid to ask God's blessing on the earth, because the scientific people tell us He has made previous arrangements to curse it." He addresses us the trembling believers,—how he would like to kick us for our cowardice,—but his eye is on the scien-

tific people over the way. It is clear that Mr. Ruskin, for one, has not been frightened from his knees by any prayer-tests, or philosophic demonstration that worship is only a spiritual gymnastic.

In this valiant frame of mind we bid him farewell.

ARTICLE.

IS CONSCIENCE INFALLIBLE?

By M. VALENTINE, D. D., President of Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg,

Mr. Cook in a recent volume of the Boston Monday Lectures, in the supposed interest of sound moral principles and Christian truth, has undertaken to maintain that the Moral Faculty, usually called *Conscience*, is infallible. He inveighs with great earnestness against the common idea that this faculty is capable of being educated. Mr. Cook is no very high authority in the nicer and more exact points of moral philosophy, and it might seem unnecessary to go to the trouble of pointing out errors in his teaching. But his lectures have some elements of great excellence. In the main he is an able defender of truth, in its most essential and practical features. His lectureship has been lifted into imposing prominence in the eye of the whole country by the brilliancy of talent he has put into its service. His bold and striking rhetoric serves to attract and hold attention, and throw the views he presents into strong impressiveness. The general soundness of his utterances—given forth usually with very oracular air—is well suited to secure credit and currency to whatever errors or mistakes he may adopt on the great questions on which he speaks. This, especially if taken in connection with the importance of the point itself, is sufficient justification for devoting a little space to this item in his view of the moral faculty. Especially so since he claims to build on such authorities as Kant, Rothe, and Calderwood. These are quoted as laying the foundation for all he says, in the assertion of the first, defended by them all, that an “erring conscience is a chimera.” This view of the Conscience is in conflict with the almost universally accepted teaching of ethical

writers. We wish to direct attention to it as not only unsustained, but refuted both by analysis of the moral faculty itself and the experiences of life. It is unscientific, and any currency given to it is not only the circulation of error, but of practically misleading error.

In endeavoring to ascertain the truth on this point, we must be careful first to determine precisely what it is, and especially to distinguish it from a closely related question with which it is apt to be, and often is, confounded. The infallibility of conscience, means simply that the Conscience is in itself perfectly unerring and incapable of error in its perceptions and judgments, and is therefore incapable of education and improvement. It is therefore—and this is the distinction to be kept in view—a very different point from that involved in the question whether men should always follow or obey their conscience. On this latter point, sound science and morals admit of no dispute. The first law of ethics is the supremacy of conscience, and the obligation of obedience to it. It is the very idea, the fundamental conception of the faculty, that it is authoritative for the life. As our common reason is to guide us in matters of prudence, so Conscience is, in matters of right and wrong. But whether we are to follow our reason in matters of prudence, or defy it, is a very different question from the *infallibility* of reason. Whether we are to follow the direction of our eye-sight is a very different question from the infallibility of eye-sight. Whether we should yield to the direction of the organs of sense-perception and be guided by their information is quite another point than whether these organs are infallible, incapable of being mistaken, incapable of being educated to higher reliability and accuracy of action and service. The man is morally rotten who refuses or neglects to follow the decisions and convictions, the behests and authority of his conscience—because all such refusal is the very act of violating a present conviction of right and duty. But the question before us, is, whether we have in the conscience, any more really than in the reason, or memory or sense-perception, an absolutely *infallible faculty*.

I. What is the Conscience? We may accept Mr. Cook's defi-

nition of it, as far as his definition reaches—that it is the faculty of direct “*perception of right and wrong in the nature of choices and intentions; and a feeling that right ought and wrong ought not to be carried out by the will. Conscience is that which perceives and feels rightness and obligatoriness.*” It includes, according to this, the action of the intellect to *perceive* the moral quality, and of the sensibility to *feel* the duty. So far correct—though too restricted. The question whether the Conscience is a distinct, and original faculty of the mind, as we are satisfied it must be scientifically held to be, need not give us any trouble at this point. We have only to remember that the *soul* is a unit. It is the soul that has the power of doing various things—that knows, feels, and wills, perceives, remembers, reasons, loves, and decides. The power to do a specific, distinct kind of work, is rightly called a faculty. In its essential character the Conscience is *the intellect*, in its higher form or power as the *Reason, directly and intuitively perceiving rightness or wrongness in the states and acts of free intelligent beings.* This faculty or power is original, *i. e.* belongs to the human soul by its primary constitution—as a faculty that asserts a right in real supremacy to govern us must be—not factitious, or manufactured in us by mere environment or outward changeful circumstances. Looking into its action, we find it to exhibit these points:—

I. The *simple idea of right and wrong*—a distinction that rises necessarily out of the depth of human reason.

2. The perception of this rightness or wrongness in particular acts.

3. The perception of *obligation* to the right, and against the wrong—obligation on the part of self and of all men.

4. A perception of merit or demerit, in the doer.

5. *Emotions*, or feelings, growing out of these perceptions—impelling to the right and from the wrong, before the thing is done—becoming after the action a sense of self-approval or condemnation.

II. Now against the claim of an infallible conscience, sought to be established by Mr. Cook, the following positive disproofs must be urged:—

I. That the attempt to assert this infallibility for it, leads logically to such a restriction of the function or office of the conscience as to leave out of view, or repudiate, a large part of its most constant and undeniable activity and affirmations. The error can stand only on a very partial and inadequate view of man's moral nature. This fact is illustrated in Mr. Cook's procedure. In order to make things square, and carrying out what he says is a "novel" distinction—"between what Conscience includes and what it implies"—he unceremoniously casts out from the office of the conscience all perception of right or wrong, except in the actor's own *intentions or choices*. To this limitation he steadily adheres, and repeats it at various points, although it is continually involving him in difficulties. Over against what he calls the "loose popular idea," he says: "Conscience, according to the strict scholarly idea of it, is the soul's sense of right and wrong in *its moral motives*, that is, in *its choices and intentions*." This is the only field he leaves to conscience in its perceptions of moral quality, in order to assert it to be infallible in its field.

"It follows," he adds as a consequent proposition, "*that right and wrong, strictly understood, belong only to choices and to intentions as including choices*, p. 15.

It may be of some consequence, to note that the only proof the lecturer has attempted to give that the conscience is infallible even in this limited field, is without the least force; inasmuch as it is based on nothing but an astonishing confounding of the two widely different things, the *conscience* and *consciousness*. It is only this: "A man does infallibly know whether he means right or wrong in any deliberate choices," p. 15. Repeated p. 195, and 196. But even a tyro in psychology understands—as Mr. Cook abundantly does, though it seems to have slipped him in his framing this proof—that it is *Consciousness*, not the *Conscience* or the Moral Faculty, that makes us infallibly know not only *that* we mean, but *what* we mean. That we *mean* right in an intention, and we know in our consciousness that we mean right, does not decide the rightness of the thing we intend. In reducing, therefore, the function of the

conscience to only knowing infallibly that we intend right, the only infallibility, after all, he finds and has left in this connection is this *infallibility with which our consciousness knows our own purposes*.

But even if the restriction, when made, would give us an unerring conscience within that limited field, such restriction can by no means be made without utterly disregarding the well-known action of the moral sense and the facts of life. The restriction denies that the moral qualities of right and wrong, which it is the office of conscience to perceive and enforce in life, belong to anything but *intentions* and *choices*. So Mr. Cook proceeds to claim that "external acts taken wholly apart from the intentions that lead to them, have only *expediency* or *inexpediency*, usefulness or harmfulness, and their character in this respect is ascertained by the judgment and not by the conscience." But let us try this. It is just as certain, it seems to us, as that we have a conscience at all, that it perceives and decides on the moral quality in each and all the following things :

1. In *actions*. An action may be intrinsically right, a thing that ought to be done. Or it may be wrong, something that ought not to be done, though done with the best motive the human soul can know; because the action per se violates essential rightness, justice, &c. The conscience of men is revealing its office in such decisions, as to their own and others' acts, every day and hour.

2. *Feelings*. Conscience decides feelings of love and kindness, to be intrinsically right—of hatred, malice, bitterness, wrong.

3. *Intentions*. Conscience sees the quality of wrongness in some intentions—rightness in others.

4. *Volitions* or *Choices*. Conscience judges our own acts of will, some as right and others wrong.

Now, this whole, wide field is so extensive a domain for the perceptions and decisions of conscience, that its infallible correctness throughout is found to be more than can be successfully claimed. So much of life is found to be conscientious and yet misled, such diversities appear in the action of the moral faculty—like a clock given to tell the time, yet not telling it un-

erringly—that the imperfection of conscience compels a recognition as truly as does its very existence. The attempt to get over the difficulty, by the desperate expedient of limiting the judgments of conscience to one's own intentions, cannot be maintained. The attempt admits that the conscience cannot be held to be infallible, unless its sphere is so cut down. But we look, and see that it cannot be so cut down.

2. The second proof of the fallibility of conscience and its capability of education, is its *necessary dependence on the other faculties for the light in which it perceives what is morally good*. The conscience cannot appear, and act in its full certainty, clearness, and force, except in connection with the development and right action of the other powers. Were we to conceive of a human being, with mind almost wholly undeveloped, the sense-perceptions, the memory, imagination, the judgment and all the rational faculties almost a blank, we could not suppose the conscience would be clear, full and reliable. Though an original faculty, it stands in the midst of an organism of faculties or powers, and it cannot emerge to its full office *alone*, or act independently of the light and information afforded in the right action of the rest. The whole soul, in its many-sided powers, comes to its full and best activities gradually by education. The action of the intellect as conscience is no exception to this. It can judge of moral quality, only according to the light—light flowing to its use through all the faculties of knowledge. And it is well known that the decision of conscience is clear and reliable only when it is not compelled to act in the dark; that it varies in correctness according to the *degree* of light. Duties or obligations arise out of human relations, man's relation to his supreme end, and to God, to his fellow men, between parents and children, brothers and sisters, husbands and wives. To see my duty to my neighbor, I must see in what relation I stand to him. Otherwise I can not decide what is *just* to him, *kind* to him, what feelings I ought to have toward him, what choices to put forth for him. Whether I stand in the relation of a son to a father, or father to a son, or in neither of these relations, makes a great difference as to my personal moral obligations in the case. It is not the conscience that affords me the information

as to these relations, but the other faculties. Yet the conscience is dependent on it for its ability to decide the right or wrong of any proposed actions. Scores of questions have often to be ascertained and settled before the conscience gets a sufficiently clear light of information to do its work and decide the moral quality. To maintain that the conscience can decide unerringly, in the face of the imperfect information on which it is often compelled to act, is to claim an incredible power of correcting the defects and misleadings of our other mental powers.

3. The erroneousness of this position of Mr. Cook is easily made to appear by looking at another point. It requires only that we follow out the logical consequences of his teaching, to see that it would as completely overthrow the distinction between virtue and vice, and make a fixed morality impossible, as does the practical denial of the faculty of conscience itself by the utilitarian school or by the fatalism of the materialists. It is a simple, indisputable fact, that the moral judgments of men are very diverse, even antagonistic, in different places and times. Pascal affirms that "conscience is one thing north of the Pyrenees, and another south." Infanticide is a religious duty with the Hindu mother on the Ganges, but is murder judged by the Christian conscience. From such facts, some have concluded, falsely, that there is no such thing as essential right and wrong—that there are notions made, or manufactured by circumstances, unreal, changeful, transient, and that morality is only relative. That theory destroys the distinction between virtue and vice. But here comes a theory which, in order to get a supposed infallibility for conscience, limits its office to knowing one's own intentions, and then claims that "*right and wrong belong only to intentions,*" and that "*external acts, taken wholly apart from the intentions, have only expediency or in expediency, usefulness or harmfulness.*" This idea Mr. Cook repeats and repeats. And here he runs down into the untenable position of abolishing the essential morality of the *actions* of men. These, he says, have no morality, only expediency and usefulness or the reverse. This is the necessary outcome of the view that the conscience can judge only of the man's own intentions—the most thorough form of utilitarianism. It teaches that it is enough, when the

man infallibly knows his own intentions to be good. This is really the old vulgar sophism under which every sort of wrong and sin has often been sought to be excused and responsibility shirked, that the man meant well—that sincerity is enough. Strange that Mr. Cook should not see this rock, on which his bark would be pushed and wrecked. For, if there is no other morality or rightness than that a man intends or *means well*, it is plain, that the people who are *sincere* in their intentions in a false religion that leads them to drown their children and worship idols in orgies of licentiousness and blood, are as truly doing right as the followers of a true religion that requires love and purity in worship and life; that Buddhism is as good as Christianity, only so the followers equally *intend well*; that error is as good as truth, darkness is as good as light. The error implies that a man is under no law but his own opinion, or infallibly meaning well. It would go far to sanction every form of belief and act, however corrupt and superstitious—for, without doubt heathen sacrifices, even to demons, are truly offered by man in accordance with the dictates of their conscience in *this* sense of conscience. Every species of persecution, and the inquisition itself, may be made out as nothing intrinsically wrong, on this teaching. The men who are crossing swords in bloody battle, the one is rebellion, the other for the defence of rightful authority, would be both equally and fully right, because equally and fully sincere. And so all crimes could be justified, as well as purity and righteousness, and the days of chaos, anarchy and night be brought back in the name of an infallible conscience.

It is most surprising that our brilliant lecturer should have adopted a scheme of teaching, that, without his seeming to be aware of it, would, if proved, be a full defense of the idea, whose adoption by Ignatius Loyola and the Society of Jesuits has outraged the moral sense of mankind—that the end justifies the means. In maintaining that *actions*, apart from the motives have in themselves no moral quality, no rightness or wrongness, but “only expediency or in expediency, usefulness or harmfulness,” all actions are justly viewed as right if they can be used to bring about a good end. If *intentions* are the only things

that have moral quality, then such good intentions can use *all* kinds of external acts without violating any moral laws, for these external actions have in themselves no quality but usefulness. Under such teaching the end may be, with full consistency, held to sanctify the means—sanctify *any* means. In such a system there is, indeed, no intrinsic morality but sincerity or good intentions; and there is no bottom left for the morality of human actions, for the immutable obligations of *justice, truth, kindness, fairness*, in human relations and activities. And so, to get an infallible conscience for good intentions, we are to have no conscience at all for our acts—these not being held as matters of conscience at all, but only calculations of availability for our ends.

The volume we are criticising, in order to get a good starting point for sound teaching, opens with an anecdote of Samuel Taylor Coleridge—that when he was a poor boy and a charity scholar in London, he was one day walking along the strand, at an hour of the day when the streets were crowded, and was throwing out his arms vigorously toward the right and left. One of his hands came into contact with a gentleman's waistcoat pocket, and the man immediately accused the boy of thievish intentions. "No," said Coleridge, "I'm not intending to pick your pocket. I am swimming the Hellespont. This morning in school I read the story of Hero and Leander, and I am now imitating the latter as he swims from Asia to Europe." The gentleman was so pleased with the vivid imagination of the lad, that he aided him in his education. The lecturer applies the anecdote: "The beginning of all clearness on the multiplex topic of conscience is to make a distinction between picking a pocket and swimming the Hellespont. The external act may be precisely the same, although the inner intentions differ by celestial diameters." But the lecturer hardly imagined that his work would end in making out that the good intention of the brilliant feat of swimming the Hellespont, should be sufficient premise for the conclusion that such merely outward trifling acts as picking pockets are without any moral quality at all—or that the dashing about of one's arms in the crowded streets of London being perceived to be innocent, because its motive

was to swim from Europe to Asia, should be the starting point of reasoning that would end in proving, that the external act in stealing possesses only the quality of "usefulness" or its opposite, no quality at all for the "conscience," but only for the "judgment" to decide.

Mr. Cook has said against dean Mansel, a pupil of Sir Wm. Hamilton, that "he built on the only boggy acre of his master's generally sound territory." But for real success, this time, in finding a boggy patch to build on, the palm must be handed to Mr. Cook.

A single point yet requires an additional word: *Is it the duty of men to obey conscience, while it is fallible?* Why not? We are certainly to follow our senses, though they are not unerring—to follow our reason, though it is not infallible. We are to follow testimony, though it is not perfect. The perception and judgment of conscience, is in every case, the conviction of one's soul as to the present duty, with his present light. Not to obey is to be false to that which then stands before his view as duty and obligation—and all such disobedience is moral rottenness. *We must be true to the light we have*—even though it should not be perfect—this is the beginning of all virtue and leads to all. As the man who does not follow even his fallen reason, with its best aids, in matters of prudence, is unreasonable; so he who does not follow even his fallible conscience, in duty, is wicked. But it is every man's duty to give his conscience all possible light for its perceptions of right—all that may pour into him for its use from nature and from the word of God, that it may be an *enlightened conscience*, not in darkness or "seared."

ARTICLE II.

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN COLUMBIA COUNTY, N. Y.

By REV. WILLIAM HULL, Hudson, New York.

On account of papal persecutions and devastating wars in the Palatinate, which followed the revocation of the edict of Nantes, in 1685, many of the Protestant inhabitants of that part of Germany, both Lutherans and Reformed, were compelled to flee from their native land, with all its hallowed associations and endearments. Thousands of them went to Protestant Holland, and from thence to Protestant England. At one time it was estimated that as many as forty thousand were encamped in the vicinity of London, and to aid them in their poverty and exile, collections were taken in the Protestant churches of England.

In 1708, at the beginning of the immigration of the Palatinate into Great Britain, that government sent a party of fifty-three German Lutheran Palatines, headed by Rev. Joshua Kochertal, to this country, and assigned to them two thousand one hundred and ninety acres of land, on the west bank of the Hudson river, above the Highlands, where the city of Newburgh is now located. Five hundred acres of this land were set apart for the support of a Lutheran church. The colony located there, but in a few years the Lutherans, except one family, had sold their land, and the church which had been established was changed by their successors into an Episcopal organization, and by the action of the colonial government the glebe of five hundred acres was transferred to the Episcopal Church.

In 1710, when the larger emigration from the Palatinate occurred, and they were gathered in great numbers in the vicinity of London, the attention of the English government was called to the condition of these religious fugitives, and measures were devised for their permanent relief. Six or seven hundred of them were sent to North Carolina, where lands were offered for

their settlement—some of these exiles went to the north of Ireland, and some found a permanent home in England.

Representations were made to the British government, that there were extensive pine forests on the Hudson and Mohawk rivers, in the province of New York, and that these might be utilized in the production of tar, rosin, pitch, and turpentine, for the royal navy. These articles were at that time purchased from Sweden, Norway, and Russia, and it was thought that if these supplies could be produced on their own territory, it would be wise policy on the part of the government to make provision for this important industry. After much consideration it was finally concluded to employ a large number of the exiles from the Palatinate in the production of these naval stores in the new world. It was estimated that a man could produce twelve tons of tar or turpentine a year, at an expense of wages and board of two hundred dollars, and this amount of naval stores was then costing two hundred and forty dollars, so that there was a prospect of a reasonable profit on the labor. Besides, the government was paying cash for these stores, while the laborers in the province of New York would need woolen goods and other articles of British manufacture. The authorities therefore made a contract with a large number of the Palatines, whom they desired to dispose of as objects of public charity, to go to the new world and there engage in the production of naval stores.

Another object which the English had in view in settling the Palatines on the Hudson and Mohawk, was to place them on the frontier as a protection to the other settlements against the French and the Indians, who were dangerous to the peace and safety of the inhabitants of the province. The government agreed to transport the Palatines to New York, and from thence to the pine forests, and to provide for them until they should be engaged in their proposed labors. The enterprise looked promising, but the experiment as a financial undertaking proved disastrous, and subjected the British treasury to a large expense without any adequate returns.

On Christmas day, 1709, a fleet of ten ships, bearing between three and four thousand of the German Palatines, sailed from

Portsmouth, England, and had a long and tedious passage. Some of the vessels reached New York, June 12th, 1710, and one did not arrive until the latter part of July. The immigrants landed on Governor's Island; but sickness, induced by their long voyage, decimated their ranks on the passage and after their landing, so that their number was reduced one third. About eighty orphans, whose parents had died on the voyage, were apprenticed to suitable persons in the colony. Gov. Hunter proceeded at once to carry out the intention of the British government, in the employment of the Palatines in the production of naval stores. He bought of Robert Livingston a tract of six thousand acres of land, lying on the east side of the Hudson river, about one hundred and ten miles above New York, for which he paid two hundred and sixty pounds sterling, or thirteen hundred and thirty dollars. He reported at once to the British Board of Trade, that he expected to plant the greatest division of the Palatines there—that the soil was good, and the location near the Pines, and that the river was navigable to that point for ships drawing fifteen feet of water.

In November 1710, an estimate was made of the cost of putting the enterprise into operation. It included all necessary tools, a warehouse for the tar and turpentine, a church for divine worship, a minister, sloop hire to convey the Palatines up the river, a treasurer, a commissary of provisions, a physician, overseers, nurses in the hospital, two hundred and thirty cows, three hundred horses, &c., &c.—the whole amounting to three thousand four hundred and seventy-one pounds, New York currency, or eight hundred and fifty pounds sterling. The Palatines were settled on both sides of the river in villages. Those on the west side, who settled in Ulster county, occupied lands belonging to the Queen. On the east side, in the town of German-town, were four villages, viz. Hunterstown, with 334 inhabitants, Queensburg with 350, Annsburg with 252, and Haysburg with 258, making a total of 1178 persons.

On the 14th of Nov. 1710, Gov. Hunter wrote to the Board of Trade in England, that he had settled the Palatines on both sides of the Hudson river, about one hundred miles up, adjoining the Pines. He said they had already built themselves com-

fortable huts, and were employed in clearing the ground. He added, "in the spring I shall set them to work preparing the trees according to Mr. Bridger's directions." Mr. Bridger was the State Surveyor.

The pines were mostly white pine, and not calculated to furnish the naval stores contemplated. Instead of securing six or seven thousand tons of tar and pitch annually, for forty or sixty years, as was anticipated, not more than two hundred tons were secured in all, and the large outlay brought no suitable return to the English government. The Palatines did not like the business. They heard that along the Mohawk and Schoharie rivers better lands abounded, and gradually many abandoned the six thousand acres which Gov. Hunter had purchased, and that territory to-day has about the same number of inhabitants as were placed upon it when the whole tract was a forest.

Many of the Palatines went to Schoharie county, and settled there on the rich lands along the streams, and there they established the older Lutheran congregations, from which many new ones have sprung, so that to-day there are twelve Lutheran churches in Schoharie county. The Palatines also scattered through Rensselaer, Albany, Montgomery, and other counties. The Palatine Lutheran church and the town of Palatine in Montgomery county still bear their name.

The naval store business was soon abandoned and the Palatines who remained in Germantown became a farming community. In 1725, sixty-three families remained, and received a patent from the state government for the six thousand acres of land purchased by Gov. Hunter of Robert Livingston, who had originally bought these lands of the Indians, and had received the Queen's Patent for them in 1684. This patent of 1725 is now in the archives of the Lutheran church at Germantown. Each head of a family was apportioned forty acres of land with the usual quit-rents to the crown. A sufficient number of the Palatines remained to occupy the town for agricultural purposes, and the present inhabitants have largely descended from these German settlers, and still bear the ancestral names. They were among the first settlers of Columbia county, which had not as yet been organized as a county, but the territory was then a

portion of Albany county. A part of the Palatines were Lutherans and a part belonged to the Reformed Church, and each party established its own congregations. From this settlement of German Palatines, who gradually spread over the county, the older Lutheran congregations of Columbia county have originated.

We shall give, in their chronological order, a brief sketch of the churches established, and also brief biographical sketches of the Lutheran ministers, as far as we have been able to learn, who are natives of Columbia county.

I. CHRIST EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH GERMANTOWN.

A Lutheran minister by the name of Rev. John Frederick Hayer appears to have been among the Palatine immigrants, and the founding of the Lutheran church of Germantown was no doubt coeval with the founding of the colony. The first house of worship was located about two miles north of the present church, but the particulars of its erection are lost in the oblivion of the past. The records of the church only reach back to 1746, leaving a gap of thirty-six years. In 1760 Rev. Johann F. Ries became pastor of the church, and served it in connection with Churchtown and Livingston, until his death in 1791. Rev. Johann F. Ernst probably served from that time until 1798 in connection with Churchtown, Livingston and Athens. In 1798 Rev. Dr. Frederick H. Quitman became pastor and served the church in connection with Livingston, St. Peter's in Rhinebeck, and St. Paul's, Wurtemberg, (the two latter churches being in Dutchess county), until 1815. He was succeeded by Rev. Dr. Augustus Wackerhagen, who labored there in the ministry for thirty-five years, retiring from active labor at the age of eighty years. He served the Livingston church in connection with Germantown. In 1851 Rev. William B. Askam, his son-in-law, became pastor of the church and continued until 1859, when Rev. William W. Gulick was called and labored eighteen years, until 1877, and the following year he was succeeded by Rev. William H. Luckenbach.

The second house of worship was built in 1812, which was replaced by a new one in 1867, during the ministry of Rev. W.

W. Gulick. It is forty by sixty-five feet in size, with spire, bell and basement, and cost about \$13,000. A few years previously a fine new parsonage was erected—a new cemetery of two or three acres was also laid out. The church property includes ample sheds. The membership comprises two hundred persons, occupying a good agricultural district, and the church is one of the most substantial country congregations in the county. This congregation is connected with the New York and New Jersey Synod.

II. ST. THOMAS EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH, CHURCHTOWN.

Between the town Clavarack and Germantown, the place of settlement by the German Palatines, lies the town of Livingston. About ten or twelve miles north-east of the original settlement is the village of Churchtown, where a Lutheran congregation was organized before 1750. In that year they erected a church building. There is no record of any pastoral relation until 1760. How they were served previous to that time does not appear—probably they depended upon supplies and were served irregularly. Rev. Johann F. Ries became pastor of the church in 1760, and continued in that relation until his death in 1791. His remains repose in the ample cemetery connected with the church. He was succeeded in 1793, by Rev. John Frederick Ernst, who also served the Lutheran congregations at Livingston and at Athens, in Green county. Rev. Mr. Ernst resided at Hudson, which had been incorporated as a city in 1784. Shortly after the year 1800, Rev. John G. F. Uhl became the pastor of the church and served it for thirty-five years. For several years Rev. Jacob Berger, who was pastor of the Lutheran congregations at Ghent and Valatie, acted as the assistant of Rev. Mr. Uhl, and finally, in 1834, he became the pastor. Mr. Berger died in 1842, and Rev. Mr. Uhl in 1845, and the remains of both repose in the burial ground of the church. Rev. H. Wheeler succeeded Mr. Berger, and served as pastor from 1842 to 1847; Rev. J. C. Duy from 1847 to 1853; Rev. Levi Schell from 1853 to 1866; Rev. J. A. Rosenberg from 1856 to 1877; Rev. Chauncey Diefendorf from 1877 to the present time.

The congregation covers a large area of territory, and numbers about 350 members. During the pastorate of Rev. Mr.

Uhl, the English language was introduced in part of the services—the ministry of Mr. Berger was in English, and the German language is rarely spoken now by the descendants of the founders of the church.

A second church edifice was erected in 1836, large and commodious, and capable of seating with the galleries about five hundred persons. In 1860, during the ministry of Rev. Levi Schell, about \$3000 were spent in beautifying and repairing the church. There are ample sheds adjoining the sanctuary. The parsonage is a fine building on pleasant grounds, and the whole church property is valued at \$12,000. It is seven miles from Hudson, the county seat. The church has been in connection with the Franckean Synod since 1870—previously it had belonged to the New York Ministerium, and the New York Synod.

III. ST. JOHN'S EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH, LIVINGSTON.

Gradually the settlements of the German Lutherans extended from Germantown eastward into the country, and new lands were subdued from the primitive forest. This led to the establishment of new churches, with the increased area of cultivated territory. About 1764, a new Lutheran church was organized, in what is now the town of Livingston, about five miles from the Germantown church. It was organized by Rev. Johann F. Ries, who was then the pastor of the Lutheran churches at Germantown and Churchtown. A church edifice was built, which lasted until 1821, when a new house of worship was erected. For forty years this second house of God sheltered the worshippers. In 1861, a third sanctuary was reared, which with a fine parsonage, ample church sheds and a beautiful cemetery now comprises the church property, valued at eight or nine thousand dollars. From the organization of the congregation until 1798, it was served by pastors in connection with Churchtown and other places—from that time until 1850, it was jointly served with Germantown; from 1851 until the present time, it has supported a pastor alone. The congregation occupies a fine expanse of farming lands, and extends three or four miles in every direction. It reports a membership of 150 communicants, and it embraces considerable wealth. About fifty years ago, the Eng-

lish language superseded the German in the services of the sanctuary. The records of the church show the following pastors during its history, viz: Rev. Johann F. Ries, 1764-1791; Rev. John F. Ernst, 1791-1800; Rev. Dr. Frederick H. Quitman, 1800-1815; Rev. Dr. Augustus Wackerhagen 1816-1850; Rev. H. Wheeler, 1851-1861; Rev. William H. Emerick, 1861-1863; Rev. William J. Cutter, 1863-1864; Rev. John Selsmer, 1865-1867; Rev. William H. Emerick, 1868-1869; Rev. Jos. D. Wert, 1870-1872; Rev. J. G. Griffith, 1872-1874; Rev. James Lefler, 1875-1877; Rev. J. A. Rosenberg from 1877 to to the present time. This church was connected with the New York Ministerium, from the organization of that body in 1785, until 1853, when it applied for admission to the Hartwick Synod and was received. It has since been in union with that ecclesiastical body.

IV. CHRIST'S EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH, GHENT.

At an early day the tide of population from the Germantown settlement flowed northward and eastward into the country, resulting in new settlements in favorable localities. Some of them located in Ghent, about twenty miles north-west from the place of original settlement; and earlier than 1775 the Lutheran families there had preaching from time to time by Lutheran pastors from the other congregations in the county, Germantown, and Churchtown, Livingston, and also from Rhinebeck, in Dutchess county. Previous to 1801, a church organization had been effected. A Dutch Reformed congregation existed for a number of years, and as their church building needed repairs, they agreed in 1801, to give the Lutherans a half interest in the building, and the use of it every other Sunday, if the Lutherans would put it in repair; which proposition the latter accepted.

In 1815, the union church had become so dilapidated, that at a joint meeting of the two organizations it was resolved to build a new church, forty-five by fifty-five feet in dimensions. The work was commenced in 1816, and completed at a cost of over \$4,500.

The first installed pastor of the church was Rev. Jacob Berger, who was settled in 1826. He served the Ghent congrega-

tion in connection with Churchtown and Valatie; in which latter place, seven miles north of Ghent, he organized a new Lutheran congregation. He remained pastor for seventeen years and until his death in 1842.

In 1843, Rev. Ephraim Deye became the pastor, and confined his labors entirely to the Ghent congregation. During his ministry, the Dutch Reformed congregation bought out the interest of the Lutherans in the church building, and, in the autumn of 1845, they commenced the erection of the present church, which was completed at a cost of \$5000.

In 1866, during the ministry of Rev. Dr. Peter Feltz, the church was lengthened fifteen feet, a new pulpit was added, the walls handsomely frescoed, and other improvements made, at a cost of \$2700. The size of the building is now forty by sixty feet, and recently commodious sheds have been added. The congregation which numbers 160 members reaches three or four miles in all directions, and is noted for its harmony and church enterprise.

Its succession of pastors has been as follows: Rev. Jacob Berger, 1826-1842; Rev. Ephraim Deye, 1843-1846; Rev. George W. Lewis, 1847-1850; Rev. John Rugan, 1850-1852; Rev. John D. English, 1853-1854; Rev. N. H. Cornell, 1854-1861; Rev. Dr. Peter Feltz, 1861-1870; Rev. A. S. Hartman, 1871-1873; Rev. J. A. Tomlinson, 1874-1875; Rev. S. A. Weikert, 1875 to the present time.

The church has a pleasant and substantial parsonage in connection with its other property. It is in connection with the New York and New Jersey Synod.

V. ST. LUKE'S EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH, VALATIE.

Descendants of the Palatines having moved further and further into the country, in 1826, Rev. Jacob Berger who had just been settled at Ghent, organized a Lutheran church at Valatie with 26 members. A church building finely located, and on a spacious lot was erected, which was remodeled in 1854, and again very much improved recently at a cost of \$1200, under the labors of Rev. James S. Harkey. The church seats 350.

persons and is valued at \$9000. The congregation has no parsonage. It owned one many years ago, but on getting a bachelor pastor sold it to raise money to pay the church debt. Valatie is a manufacturing village of about two thousand inhabitants, in the township of Kinderhook, bordering on Rensselaer county, north of Columbia. St. Luke's church has about 150 members, represented largely in the rich farming community on all sides of the village.

Its succession of pastors is as follows: Rev. Jacob Berger, 1826-1838; Rev. Reuben Dederick, 1839-42; Rev. Dr. J. Few Smith, 1843-1844; Rev. Dr. William D. Strobel, 1844-1851; Rev. C. Reimensnyder, 1851-1852; Rev. Matthias Sheeleigh, 1853-1857; Rev. William W. Gulick, 1857-1859; Rev. Dr. Irving Magee, 1860-1865; Rev. Frederick M. Bird, 1866-1868; Rev. J. S. C. Weills, 1869-1872; Rev. James S. Harkey, 1872-1876; Rev. J. Zimmerman, 1876-1878; Rev. Paul F. Sutphen, 1878 to the present time.

St. Luke's church is connected with the Synod of New York and New Jersey.

VI. ST. JOHN'S EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH, ANCRAM.

Descendants of the Palatine fathers penetrated eastward in the country, and settled with others in the town of Ancram, the southeastern town of Columbia county, and about 25 miles in its eastern extremity from the Hudson River, where it borders on the State of Massachusetts. The nearest Lutheran church for these Lutherans was at Livingston, and some families were fourteen miles from the sanctuary. Rev. Dr. A. Wackerhagen, during his ministry at Germantown and Livingston, frequently visited the towns of Ancram and Gallatin, and preached in private houses and school houses, also in the Presbyterian church at Pine Plains, Dutchess county, in which the Lutherans owned a quarter interest.

When the New York Ministerium met in Churchtown in 1846, Rev. William B. Askam, who was licensed there, was requested to go to Ancram with a view of organizing a Lutheran church for the towns of Ancram and Gallatin. He went, and on the 21st of November, organized a congregation with 25 members. Efforts were at once made to build a church, and

they succeeded so well that it was erected in 1847, at a cost of \$2400. The size was forty by fifty feet. In 1854, about \$1000 was expended on a new front and a belfry. A parsonage was also built adjoining the church, on the church lot, which comprises an acre of land. The whole property is valued at \$6000. Ancram is a small village of about three hundred inhabitants, on the Rhinebeck and Connecticut Railroad. The church which was the first in the town, now embraces a membership of 170 persons, scattered over a good farming country of several miles in all directions.

Its succession of pastors has been Rev. William B. Askam, 1846-1849; Rev. Matthew Mallinson, 1850-1856; Rev. Nicholas Wert, 1856-1862; Rev. William Hull, 1862-1866; Rev. Matthew Mallinson, 1867-1868; Rev. William H. Shelland, 1868-1870; Rev. John L. Smithdeal, 1870-1871; Rev. A. N. Daniels, 1872-1877; Rev. John Kling 1877 to the present time.

The church is in connection with the New York and New Jersey Synod.

VII. ST. JOHN'S GERMAN EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH, GHENT.

The immigration of the Germans more recently into the county, has led to the establishment of several German churches, and the next one in chronological order, is St. John's German church, located between the villages of Ghent and Mellenville, and about seven miles from the city of Hudson.

In 1850, Rev. Mr. Pohle organized this congregation which at first worshiped in a school house in the vicinity. The next year Rev. Mr. Borchart became pastor, and a successful attempt was made to build a church, which was completed and dedicated in 1855. It was twenty-four by thirty feet in size, and in 1869, an addition of eighteen feet was made to the length, the whole costing about \$2500. It is located in the open country.

Its succession of pastors has been as follows: Rev. Mr. Pohle, 1850-1851; Rev. G. Borchart, 1852-1853; Rev. Mr. Werner, 1853-1854; Rev. Mr. Schrifterling, 1854-1855; Rev. F. A. Classen, 1856-1860; Rev. Mr. Zahn, 1860-1861; Rev. F. A. Classen, 1862-1868; Rev. A. E. Frey, 1868-1871; Rev. Mr. Lehman, who served but a few months and died in 1871; Rev.

Mr. Leddin, 1872-1876; Rev. C. A. Stoepel 1877, to present time.

This church is in connection with the New York Ministerium.

VIII. EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH, TAGHKANIC CENTRE.

On the Taghkanic hills, five miles east from Churchtown, and about seven miles from Ancram, is a neighborhood where the pastors of the congregations at Churchtown preached in school houses. There were no churches in the immediate neighborhood. Rev. Levi Schell served the St. Thomas church, at Churchtown from 1853-1866, and soon after commencing his ministry there he saw the desirability of a church building, and organization at Taghkanic. With his usual energy and perseverance, he prosecuted the effort until a church was organized there, on the 18th of December 1855, and the next year a church edifice, capable of seating one hundred and fifty persons was completed, at a cost of \$2000.

It has a membership of 78, and from the time of its organization, the congregation has been served by the pastor at Churchtown, who preaches there three times a month on Sunday afternoons. It is in connection with the Franckean Synod.

IX. ST. JOHN'S EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH, HUDSON.

On account of the large Lutheran element in the county, for many years the importance of organizing a Lutheran church in the city of Hudson, the county town, was realized. Rev. Jacob Berger, who died in 1842, had the enterprise in contemplation. When Rev. Levi Schell was pastor at Churchtown, he held afternoon services in the Court-house, in alternation with Rev. Mr. Sheeleigh, of Valatie, and Rev. N. H. Cornell, of Ghent. No organization was however effected. In May 1866, at a meeting of the Second Conference of the New York Ministerium in Ghent, a committee, consisting of Rev. William Hull, of Ancram and Rev. G. W. Schumcker, of Rhinebeck, were appointed to visit the city and to inquire into the prospects of an organization. The opening appeared favorable, it was arranged that Rev. William Hull, who had accepted a call to Athens, a village on the west bank of the Hudson river and directly op-

posite to Hudson, should effect an organization and serve it in connection with Athens. The use of the Universalist church having been secured for Sabbath afternoon services, an organization with 39 members was effected, on the 12th of November, 1866. In 1869, the congregation built a brick church, on the corner of North Sixth and Diamond streets, fifty by eighty feet in size, capable of seating five hundred persons, at a cost of over \$25,000. The subsequent withdrawal of the German part of the congregation for the purpose of establishing an exclusively German church, and the failure of those upon whom the congregation chiefly depended, in the panic of 1873, caused the church great financial embarrassment and struggle. Rev. William Hull, the founder of the church continues its pastor. There is an enrolled membership of 158, of whom more than 100 reside within the bounds of the congregation. The Sunday School numbers one hundred and twenty scholars.

This church is in connection with the New York and New Jersey Synod.

X. ST. MATTHEW'S GERMAN EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH,
HUDSON.

This church was organized Feb. 7, 1869, by Rev. A. E. Frey, who was at that time pastor of St. John's German Evangelical Lutheran church, Ghent. Mr. Frey continued its pastor until August, 1870, when he resigned, and was succeeded by Rev. C. J. Renz in March, 1871, and who still continues pastor.

The congregation worshiped in St. John's English Lutheran church, in the afternoon, until 1873, when they built a brick church 36 by 50 feet in size, on State street, at a cost of \$13,500. The membership comprises 55 persons. The German language is used exclusively in the Sunday School and in all the services of the church. Its synodical connection was first with the New York Ministerium—it is now connected with the Missouri Synod.

XI. ST. IMMANUEL'S GERMAN EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH,
HILLSDALE.

This church was organized in 1870. A frame church edifice, 30 by 40 feet, was erected in Harlemville, at a cost of \$1800.

It is in connection in pastoral service with St. John's German Lutheran Church of Ghent. It has a membership of 22. Since its organization it has been served by the following pastors, viz.: Revs. P. Seuel, Carl J. Renz, Fr. Leddin, U. Berne, and C. A. Stoepel, who is the present pastor. This church is in connection with the Missouri Synod, and its services are entirely in the German language.

XII. GERMAN EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH, STUYVESANT LANDING.

On the 18th of January, 1871, this church was organized and a small building, with a seating capacity for 150 persons, was erected at a cost of \$2200. It is in pastoral connection with the German Church at Hudson, and is supplied by the Hudson pastor every other Sabbath morning. It has 50 members and a Sunday School of 40. The services are exclusively in German. Rev. C. J. Renz is the present pastor. It is seven miles north of Hudson, on the river. This church is in connection with the Missouri Synod.

XIII. EMANUEL EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH, CHATHAM VILLAGE.

At the meeting of the New York and New Jersey Synod, in New York city, in October, 1874, Irving A. Fish, of Chatham Village, appeared and in behalf of himself and others desired the organization of a Lutheran church in that place—a village of about 1300 inhabitants, near the Massachusetts line, and 16 miles from Hudson. The application was referred to a committee. On the 6th of November, 1874, an organization was effected with 13 members, and on the 9th of February, 1875, Rev. J. G. Griffith, became the first pastor. He labored there nearly two years, during which time a lot was bought and a chapel built, costing about \$2000. The membership increased during his ministry to 64. He was succeeded by Rev. Chester H. Traver, who labored there a year, when, on account of the general depression in business and the difficulty of supporting a pastor, they agreed to be supplied by Rev. S. A. Weikert, of Ghent, who resides three miles distant, and preaches in the Chatham Village every Sunday afternoon. This church is connected with the New York and New Jersey Synod.

REV. SIMEON DEDERICK.

Rev. Simeon Dederick, son of William Dederick, was born in the town of Clavarack, Sept. 4, 1810. He pursued classical studies at Hartwick Seminary, graduated at Union College, studied theology at Hartwick Seminary, and was licensed by the New York Ministerium. He served in the ministry from 1836 to 1838 at Williamsburg, Canada, and then, on account of ill health, retired from the sacred office. He died August 31st, 1876, at Roan, Wabash county, Indiana, and was buried there.

REV. REUBEN DEDERICK.

Rev. Reuben Dederick, son of William Dederick, was born in the town of Clavarack, Jan. 31, 1812. He pursued classical and theological studies at Hartwick Seminary, and was licensed and ordained by the New York Ministerium. He was pastor of the Lutheran church at Valatie, from 1839 to 1842—he served the Lutheran churches at West Camp and Saugerties, from 1847 to 1849—he was pastor at Bearytown in 1852, and he served the Lutheran church at Canajoharie, from 1853 to 1857. In 1847 he was Secretary of the Hartwick Synod. There were intervals when he was not engaged in the work of the ministry. In 1837 he was Principal of Clavarack Academy. He died at Detroit, Kansas, Sept. 12th, 1871, in the sixtieth year of his age and was buried there. His wife had been dead many years, and he resided in Kansas with an only son.

REV. WILLIAM SHARTS.

Rev. William Sharts was born in the town of Chatham on the 13th of May, 1815. Three years later his father removed to Hillsdale and resided there five years, when he purchased a farm in Ghent and occupied it until he died, in 1836, when the family was broken up, and the subject of this sketch found a home with Rev. Jacob Berger, at Mellenville. In 1830 he entered Kinderhook Academy and pursued classical studies—in 1833 he went to Hartwick Seminary, in 1835 to Union College, in 1837 to Gettysburg, and, after remaining there a few months, he entered the Theological Seminary at Lexington, South Carolina, and finished his theological studies under Rev. Dr. Hazelius. In

the autumn of 1838, he was licensed by the New York Ministerium, at St. Peter's Church, Rhinebeck, and the next summer he taught a select school at Mellenville. In 1840 he was sent as a missionary to Williamsburg, Canada, where he took charge of two congregations, nine miles apart, and for several years he ministered to a third, sixteen miles distant. He labored in this field eighteen years, when he returned to his native State, and taught at Waterloo and Schoharie, endeavoring to establish a Lutheran Female Seminary, but the patronage was insufficient for success. Subsequently he was in the book trade in the city of Hudson for four years. In 1872, he accepted a call to the Lutheran church at Woodstock, Ulster county, and a year or two ago the church at Pine Grove was added to the pastorate, in which field he is still successfully laboring.

REV. ABRAHAM A. TRIMPER.

Rev. Abraham A. Trimper, was born in the town of Clavarak, Feb. 17th, 1816. He was baptized by Rev. Mr. Uhl, pastor of the Lutheran church at Churchtown. In 1824, his parents removed to Kinderhook, and when two years later Rev. Jacob Berger organized the Lutheran Church at Valatie, they united with it. There the subject of this sketch was confirmed at the age of twenty, by Mr. Berger, and feeling called to the ministry, he commenced study at Kinderhook Academy, but soon after through the influence of his pastor, he was sent to Hartwick Seminary, where he completed his classical studies in the summer of 1839. On account of the closing of Hartwick Seminary to enlarge the buildings, he was sent to Gettysburg to study theology. In the autumn of 1841, he was licensed by the Synod of the West, at its annual meeting in the city of Indianapolis. The body then embraced a part of Ohio, the States of Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and west to the Pacific. He labored then successively in Indianapolis, 1841-1844 and at Hillsboro, Ill., 1844-1852. Here he was Principal of Hillsboro Academy, which was afterwards removed to Springfield and became the nucleus of Hillsboro college, afterward Illinois State University. He also organized several churches in the vicinity of Hillsboro. In the autumn of 1852 on account

of the ill health of himself and family, he removed to northern Illinois, and was successively pastor of the churches at Oregon, Ogle county, Lena, Stephenson county, and Dixon, Ill., where a large brick church was built during his ministry there. He also organized two congregations in the country which became self supporting. He left this field in 1869, on account of ill health, and became the financial agent of Carthage College, and in three years he succeeded in raising \$34,000, for its endowment. In the spring of 1873, he became pastor of the English Lutheran Church at Lawrence, Kansas, which he has served until the present time, with the exception of a single year.

REV. LEVI DEDERICK.

Rev. Levi Dederick, son of William Dederick, was born in the town of Clavarack, July 7th, 1820. In 1836, he entered Hartwick Seminary and remained until the autumn of 1839, when he entered the Sophomore class in Union College. On account of ill health he left college in 1841. In 1842, he entered Hartwick Seminary, and took a course in theology. On the 11th of June, 1845, he was licensed by the Hartwick Synod, and for two years the license was renewed. In the meantime he preached as a supply, principally at Churchtown, after the death of Rev. Jacob Berger. Finding his health insufficient for the work of the ministry, he did not apply for a renewal of his license. In 1856, while living at Fairfax, Virginia, he was licensed for two successive years by the New York Ministerium, and served a Lutheran church in that locality. Since then he has been engaged in secular pursuits. In 1843 he invented and patented a hay press, which is known as the "Dederick Press." In 1854, he invented and patented a new press, known as "Dederick's Parallel Lever Hay Press," and he commenced its manufacture in Albany, which became a very extensive business, and which in 1868, he sold to his nephew. He now resides at Matteawan, in Dutchess county.

REV. MATTHEW WALTERMINE.

Rev. Matthew Waltermine was born in the town of Ghent, July 2, 1820. He pursued classical and theological studies at

Hartwick Seminary, and was licensed by the New York Ministerium, in 1847. He became pastor of the Lutheran Church at Athens, in the same year, and joined the Hartwick Synod. In 1850, he accepted a call to the Lutheran church at Saddle River, and united with the New York Ministerium. Subsequently he went west and became identified with the Presbyterians, and is now laboring at Carthage, Ill.

REV. ALLEN TRAVER.

Rev. Allen Traver, was born in the town of Clavarack, on the 6th of December, 1820. His parents were members of the Wurtemberg church in Dutchess county, and were baptized by Rev. Dr. Quitman. On moving to Columbia county, they united with the Lutheran church at Ghent, under the pastoral charge of Rev. Jacob Berger, by whom the subject of this sketch was baptized. In 1846, he went to Hartwick Seminary and pursued classical studies—in 1848, he entered the Sophomore class, in Pennsylvania College, and subsequently graduated from that institution. He pursued theological studies at Hartwick Seminary, Union Seminary, and Auburn Seminary. While at Auburn, he supplied the Lutheran church at Waterloo a year. In 1853, he was licensed by the New York Ministerium, and the next year ordained by the Hartwick Synod. He received a call to St. Luke's Lutheran church, Philadelphia, which he declined. No other call, coming to him from the Lutheran church, after serving two Congregational churches two years as a supply, he received a call from a Presbyterian Church, and associated himself with that denomination, in whose services he has continued. He now resides at Rochester, N. Y.

REV. PHILIP H. TURNER.

Rev. Philip H. Turner was born in the town of Gallatin, on the 14th of January, 1830. His father died of cholera in 1832, and in his boyhood he nobly aided in the support of a widowed mother and a younger sister. He united with the Ancram Lutheran church during the ministry of Rev. M. Mallinson, and became a devoted and consistent Christian. After his marriage he spent some time as a clerk in a grocery, in Hudson; subse-

quently he entered the mercantile business for himself in Gallatin, which he conducted a few years, and then he purchased the farm of his father-in-law, a mile south of Ancram church, relinquished the mercantile business and entered upon agricultural pursuits. From the time of his conversion he had felt it a duty to preach the gospel, and he proved one of the most useful and devoted of members and officers in the Ancram church. At length the obstacles which prevented his entrance into the ministry were surmounted, and in the Spring of 1866, he removed with his family to Hartwick Seminary, and for four years pursued classical and theological studies, entirely at his own expense. In the Spring of 1870, he received and accepted a call to the Gardnersville church, in Schoharie county, as the successor of Rev. Philip Wieting. In June, at the meeting of the Franciscan Synod he was ordained. He prosecuted the work of his Master in that field acceptably and successfully. In the autumn of the next year, while on a visit to his mother and sister at Gallatinville, he conducted the preparatory services at the Ancram church, which was then without a pastor, intending to administer the Lord's Supper on the following day; but he was taken suddenly sick in the evening and died the next morning, Sept. 10th, 1871. On the 12th he was buried from the Ancram church. Rev. William Hull officiated at his funeral, and his remains were deposited in the beautiful cemetery opposite the church of which he was so long a devoted and faithful member.

REV. WILLIAM HULL.

Rev. William Hull was born on the 17th of April, 1830, in the town of Clavarack, about three miles from the city of Hudson. His mother, Alice Clum, was descended from the Palatines who settled Germantown, in 1710. His father, Samuel Hull, was the son of John Hull, a New Englander, and Hannah Hermance, a lady of Dutch lineage of Dutchess county. His parents subsequently removed to Dutchess county and from thence to Ulster, where they still reside, both in their eightieth year. In 1848, he went to Hartwick Seminary to pursue classical studies, and while there he was baptized and confirmed as a member of the Lutheran Church, by Rev. Dr. George B. Miller.

He subsequently read law and was admitted as an attorney and counselor in the autumn of 1851, and soon after he commenced practice at Stone Ridge, in Ulster county. In 1853, he purchased the *Saugerties Telegraph*, removed to Saugerties in the same county, and for four years practiced law there and edited the paper. In 1853, he married Elizabeth Skinner, daughter of Dr. Levi B. Skinner, of Hartwick Seminary. Six children have resulted from this union, of whom four survive. Feeling called of God to the work of the gospel ministry, he removed with his family to Hartwick Seminary, in 1857, and pursued a course of theological study under Rev. Dr. Miller. In 1859, he was sent by the Missionary committee of the New York Ministerium to Brooklyn, where he founded St. Matthew's English Lutheran Church, with nineteen members. He was licensed by the New York Ministerium, in Wurtemberg, in 1859, and ordained the following year at Syracuse. In 1862, he removed to Ancram and labored there four and a half years. In October, 1866, he became pastor of Zion Lutheran Church, Athens, Greene county, and at the same organized St. John's Lutheran church, in the city of Hudson, and served it as pastor. On building a church edifice in Hudson in 1869, he resigned the pastorate of the Athens church, removed to Hudson and has since confined his labors to that field. In 1870, he was elected a Trustee of Hartwick Seminary, and in 1877, he became the Secretary of the Board.

REV. PETER FELTS, D. D.

Rev. Peter Felts, D. D., was born in Ancram, Nov. 3d, 1830, of parents engaged in agricultural pursuits. He was baptized in his infancy, by Rev. Dr. A. Wackerhagen. At an early age he was sent to Amenia Seminary, in Dutchess county, to pursue classical studies, preparatory to entering college, but about the time he was completing his preparatory course, he contracted a severe cold which resulted in lung fever, from the effects of which he did not recover for several years, and which compelled him to abandon study. He had the law in view as a profession. He then spent several years at home on the farm and in teaching school. Just before reaching his

majority, he married Miss Laura Ann Griswold, of Gallatin. For two years succeeding he followed mercantile pursuits in his native village. In 1853, he was confirmed by Rev. Mr. Mallinson as a member of St. John's Lutheran church, Ancram. Feeling called to the work of the gospel ministry, he commenced in 1853 a course of classical and theological study, under private instruction, at Hartwick Seminary, from which institution he graduated in August, 1861. On the 3d of September, he was licensed by the New York Ministerium and immediately he took charge of Christ Lutheran church, Ghent. In September, 1862, he was ordained by the Ministerium at its annual meeting in Newark, N. J. After a successful ministry of eight years and eight months at Ghent, he accepted a call to St. Paul's Lutheran church, Johnstown, where he still labors. During his ministry there a beautiful brick church edifice, costing over \$30,000 has been erected. In June, 1876, Pennsylvania College conferred upon him the degree of D. D. He is President of the Hartwick Synod, and was nominated by that body, at its last meeting, as a Trustee of Hartwick Seminary,

REV. CHARLES L. BARRINGER.

Rev. Charles L. Barringer was born in the town of Livingston, October, 6th, 1845. He was confirmed as a member of St. Thomas Lutheran church, Churchtown, by Rev. J. A. Rosenberg. Feeling a divine call to the ministry, he went to Hartwick Seminary, and there pursued classical and theological studies, and graduated from that institution in June, 1876. In the same month he was licensed, at a meeting of the Franckean Synod, and ordained by the same body the following year. His first field of labor was in the Lutheran church at Richmondville, Schoharie county, where he remained a year, he then accepted a call to the Lutheran church at Schodack, Rensselaer county, where he is now laboring.

REV. D. W. LAWRENCE.

Rev. D. W. Lawrence was born in the town of Gallatin, Columbia county, in 1846. His father was a farmer. In the autumn of 1862, at the age of sixteen, he enlisted as a private for three

years in the Union army. He sailed from New York in the Banks expedition, in December. In 1864, he was transferred to Virginia, and served under Gen. Sheridan. He was in all the engagements under these two commanders. On returning home he went to school, and subsequently he studied theology privately under the direction of Rev. H. L. Dox. In September, 1871, he was licensed by a Conference of the Franckean Synod, and became pastor of their church at Avoca, in Steuben county. In 1874, he was ordained and became pastor of the church at Clay, Onondaga county. In 1878, he accepted a call to West Camp, Ulster county, where he is now successfully laboring.

REV. SYLVANUS STALL.

Rev. Sylvanus Stall was born in the town of Livingston, at Union Corners, on the 18th of October, 1847. At the age of fifteen he united with the Lutheran church at Livingston. Having acquired a business education, he acted as salesman for a year and a half in a store in Hudson, and then went to New York city, where he was employed as cashier in the store of Lord & Taylor. Feeling called to the work of the ministry, he entered Hartwick Seminary, in January, 1867, and after a term there went to Gettysburg to prepare for college. He graduated from Pennsylvania College in 1872, and then spent a year in Union Seminary, New York, and the following year at the Seminary at Gettysburg. He made a trip to Europe, traveling through Italy, Austria, Switzerland, Germany, Belgium, France, England, Ireland, and Scotland. In the Spring of 1874, he was licensed *ad interim*, and in the autumn of the same year he was ordained to the work of the gospel ministry. In the Spring of 1874, he received a call to the Lutheran church Cobleskill, where he labored until January, 1877. In June, he became pastor of Trinity Lutheran church, Martin's Creek, Pennsylvania, where he still remains. In 1876, he published the "Pastor's Pocket Manual," and in 1879 the "Minister's Hand-Book to Lutheran Hymns, in the Book of Worship."

In the cemetery at Germantown, Rev. Dr. Augustus Wackerhagen is buried; at Churchtown, Rev. Johann F. Ries, Rev. John G. F. Uhl, (who was never married) and Rev. Jacob Ber-

ger; at Ancram, Rev. John F. Smithdeal and Rev. Philip H. Turner; at Hudson, Rev. Thomas Lake and Rev. Levi Schell.

For 116 years the Lutheran Church in Columbia county was served by German pastors; the first native born pastor was Rev. Jacob Berger, a native of Schoharie county, who became pastor of the churches in Ghent and Valatie, in 1826. Previous to that time very little preaching had been attempted in the English language.

ARTICLE III.

SECULAR EDUCATION.

By A. A. E. TAYLOR, D. D., President of the University of Wooster.

"Put up the School with the Church."—*John Knox.*

The crowning glory of the present age lies in the development of true manhood toward its highest ideal, through the processes of education. The necessity of universal instruction has become the key-note of modern civilization. Every cultivated and live nation eagerly grasping this conviction, is steadily grappling with the difficulties that lie in the way of its practical realization. The leading minds of the age, scientific, philosophic, religious, all combine to press on the project. The greatest discoveries of science; the latest speculative systems of philosophy, and the highest applications of inventive genius are resolutely directed to the working out of the scheme. In this fact all wise and good men rejoice, while they ardently espouse the noble cause. It is universally conceded that knowledge is power, and that education, in some form, is the fruitful source of advanced knowledge.

But while all this is true, a narrow and fatal spirit has sprung up in these latter days, that would limit the definition of education by eliminating its religious element, and confining it to secular training, or to the education of the human mind apart from the coöperative development of man's moral and spiritual nature. And this modern theory has been loudly vaunted in certain popular quarters, that a purely secular education is the one thing needful—the secret life and impulse of civilization,

liberty, public and private purity, and of the higher condition of mankind. It is boldly affirmed to be alone "profitable unto all things." Thus education violently sundered from religion, is proffered to the waiting world as the panacea for life's infinite ills and woes, as the summum bonum of a lost humanity.

It is our present purpose, modestly but earnestly, to take up the gauntlet in behalf of the retention of the religious element in education. And we would argue that religion alone is the vital principle of a true education, without which none of the manifold benefits claimed for education can ever be realized. In other words, to make the discussion aggressive rather than defensive, we nail to our academic doors the thesis, that a purely secular education without the inclusion of the religious element, is not only vicious in principle, but positively destructive in practice to education itself, to the true interests of manhood and of society, and to national existence. We charge this system with being manifestly false in theory, condemned of history and dangerous in application; as alike unphilosophical, contradictory to experience and impracticable.

FIRST, THE THEORY OF SECULAR EDUCATION MAY BE SHOWN TO BE
UTTERLY UNPHILOSOPHICAL.

I. In the outset it is unphilosophical, because *founded upon a partial and imperfect view of the constitution of man*. Man's nature is not simple, but compound; therefore a complete system of education evidently should regard all those elements of which this nature is composed. The omission of any one component part will vitiate the educational system, and render it dwarfed and radically defective. Now, the moral and spiritual element is one of the essential parts of this nature. To neglect *it* in education is, therefore, to furnish a man with mental power without corresponding moral guidance; to give him an expanded mind at the expense of a neglected and shriveled soul; brains with a torpid conscience; intellectual growth without spiritual principle. It is not the body or the mind that is to be educated; it is *the man*. And when a person attempts to omit any one of his constitutional elements in education, the result must be an education of but part of the man. The only method of escap-

ing this conclusion is by the unnatural and false assumption that the moral nature will develop itself without education, as it is conceded that no other part of man's nature will thus develop.

Besides this, *the intellectual and moral elements are inseparably interwoven in our constitution.* The intellectual is rooted in the moral and spiritual nature. These two must live and develop together. The affections, the conscience, and the will are the constituents of the moral character. They cannot be divorced; and one cannot, without destroying that character, possibly develop the intellectual part and leave these other elements unaffected. The attempt is a psychological absurdity. Could it be successful, it would destroy the integrity of the human soul. Intellect and conscience by a law of nature, act and react upon each other, and they combine to control the affections and to direct the will. To leave religion out of view in a scheme of education is thus forcibly and unnaturally to separate mind from conscience, to erect an independent monarchy of intellect, and to grind the moral nature beneath the iron heel of mental despotism.

But this theory is most unphilosophical in this respect, because the part of the man's nature proposed to be thus neglected is *the highest element of his being.* Man's nature is more mental than physical, and more moral than mental. Therefore, man's moral nature must control and guide both the physical and mental. It is in this preëminence that man possesses the likeness of the God-head. Conscience rather than reason stands at the helm. It, therefore, claims not only the same scientific right within the circle of education as the other elements, but it has the first right thereto, the birthright of the spirit. Therefore, any system of education that proposes its omission, violates the highest rights of the human constitution, and becomes at once one-sided and destructive to the completeness of the true humanity as it hath been devised of God.

2. But secular education is unphilosophical in the next place, because BUILT UPON A FALSE VIEW OF THE AIM OF EDUCATION ITSELF. The true purpose of education is by no means exhausted when the mind is being trained by study, and being stored with

knowledge. For with these uses, and mainly by them, there is of necessity constantly progressing the development of character, the making of the man. "Knowledge and culture are *in* the man, but character *is* the man. Education must contemplate not only what he is *to know* and *to do*, but what he is *to become*." This growth of character is therefore, as related to himself, the highest end, as it is the complete product of education. But character depends not so much on physical culture, or on mental progress, as upon construction of life by means of moral standards and influences. To refuse a place to these in education is therefore to neglect its chief instrumentality, and to attempt the ideal manhood without the means absolutely essential to that result.

In still another view is the secular theory false to the *true idea of education*. Since man is an immortal being, his immortality should never for a moment be forgotten. Therefore, every scheme of true education will hold in view not only his temporal but his *eternal* development of character and life. Now, when you cut off his religious nature from its share of instruction in any system of education, you slight the part that mainly has to do with man's infinitely higher and greater destiny. In the view of the brief present you forget the eternal future. It is this point that Scripture emphasizes. Godliness is profitable unto education because it has the promise of the life that now is *and of that which is to come*. Secular education ignores the life that is to come. For Religion alone can waken in the mortal the consciousness of his sleeping immortality, alone can enkindle those desires of fitness for communion with the Deity that will lift him towards the Divine likeness. To educate without religion is therefore to develop the mortal without recognition of his immortality.

Yet again, if an education fitted to man's nature must have in constant view his immortality, it must by the same necessity, *ever regard the Divine Being* who alone of himself hath immortality, and who alone can impart it to another being. Man must be taught concerning God, for two reasons: first, as God is that being the restoration of whose image in man is the highest ideal of man's immortality; and secondly, as God is

the great and only source of truth and of the means by which likeness to Himself may be secured. The knowledge God hath given of Himself and of the method of becoming like Him, is the highest possible reach of knowledge. And God is the only original source of truth and of duty. But secular education deprives the mortal at once of his ideal, and of that light by which this ideal may be realized. It therefore dwarfs the idea of education by reducing it to a mere mental development, in a temporal state of ignorance of God, and of the method by which man can become like God. Its result is a barren, godless, earthly culture.

3. Secular education is unphilosophical further *in that it is founded upon a false view of the moral condition of man*. We are taught by the Holy Word, and no less by experience, that our moral nature is depraved, and ever tends to deeper depths of ruin; that the seeds of sin are in the soul itself; that if left uninstructed, its progress must be ever downward, away from highest manhood, and the image of God. To meet this universal difficulty and danger there arises the logical necessity of constant and thorough instruction and endeavor in the opposite direction. Only by ignoring man's depravity can the idealist justify the omission of his religious training from beside his mental education. All the leading views of secular education are mortally defective at this point. Whether we accept Huxley's scientific scheme which leaves out of account the spiritual capacities and needs of man; or Matthew Arnold's æsthetic dream that reduces religion to a secondary place, making it a means to the higher end of the "many-sided, harmonious, development of human nature;" or Spencer's philosophical system that assigns religion, as pertaining to the unknowable, to the region of the unknown, as beyond the realms of both consciousness and experience; or the more popular notion that, careless alike of Science, Aesthetics, and Philosophy, demands separate spheres for the study of things mental and things spiritual; in adopting any such theory we must fain forget that man's nature has become radically perverse and opposed to God, and that it is this sinful nature that is to be educated, in every stage of culture and improvement.

Still another point secular education neglects; viz., the fact

that being thus depraved, and therefore morally disabled, *the presence of some divine influence is absolutely essential* to the correction and elevation of man's moral nature. The popular view that knowledge in itself is sufficient to elevate man's moral nature with the education of his mind, is manifestly unphilosophical and absurd. Every one knows that the mere knowledge of evil will not prevent indulgence in evil; that mere knowledge of good will not make one good. It is necessary to educate the will and affections to obedience to the law of conscience. This can be done only by the persistent development of the moral nature in the right direction, coördinately with the mental education. Man needs to be instructed to seek the power of God, that may enable him to bring his mind and his heart into subjection to the Divine will as revealed in the Word of inspiration, and interpreted by an educated moral sense. No spirit, not even the most devout, can be fed, sustained, and strengthened by any purely intellectual process, no matter what may be the degree of mental exercise therein. All theories of secular education thus manifest either the grossest ignorance, or the most culpable carelessness with reference to our actual experience of man's depraved moral nature.

4. Secular education is again unphilosophical in that it *holds a defective view of the nature of morals*. While most of the advocates of this system admit some degree of moral education to be necessary, they declare either that man should acquire moral education apart from his intellectual training; or that if combined, morals should be imparted separately from religion. As to the former theory its partisans hold, that the Church should have charge of the moral, and the school cleave only to the intellectual development. But we have already endeavored to show that it is impossible to segregate the secular from the moral because of the nature of the human constitution. They are so interwoven as to render it impossible either to smite or to seduce them asunder. There is and there can be no middle ground on which to stand. To leave out the moral is, from the native tendency of man, to develop the immoral. Education without morality ever must end in immorality. No religion is irreligion in that whole sphere from which religion is omitted.

A religious education apart from this mental culture would not avail to counteract the loss to morals incurred by the divorce. It would be merely to set up two contrasting and opposite systems of education at the time when youth is developing all its inseparable faculties together. Moreover, it is impossible to find text-books and to pursue an education without constantly crossing the path of morals, when some opinion and some influence of books and teachers must be inevitably rendered. The advocates of the contrary view have sometimes jeeringly scoffed at the idea of a moral arithmetic. But even an arithmetic may contain such a question as this: "If one Frenchman can conquer five Germans, how many Germans can five Frenchmen conquer?"—thus fostering a spirit of hatred, pride, and contempt, and teaching the grossest immorality, even by means of the innocent multiplication table.

As to the other view, that morals can be taught without religion, we reply: where is the source of all moral principle but in truth? And whence is the spring of truth but in God? And wherein has God revealed the truth, but in immediate connection with religion and the religious nature? Morality is but the practice of the precepts of religion, revealed in the Bible, and reflected and fixed in the human soul. If it be objected that conscience is the guide of morals, and that conscience may be trained apart from religion, the response is ready and conclusive that the conscience is itself of God, being His own monitor, and that since man is depraved, without the light of religion conscience is insufficient as a guide to morals. No morals, the world has ever found apart from religion, have proved worth the finding.

But even if morals might be taught apart from religion, why should they be? Why neglect the higher source for a secondary dilution? Why not dip from the pure fountain-head instead of lapping with the tongue far down the muddy stream? If the difficulty lie in the climbing to reach the spring, then it is evident that the very climbing may give health and strength, and joy in the purer atmosphere, in the quenching of the thirst from its original source. But where shall we find our fixed standard of morals, if we reject the heavenly test and judge?

Secular teachers of ethics differ, and differ widely, in every age, as to what are moral principles. "Is it right to do evil that good may come?" "Is it ever lawful to deceive?" Without a common standard, who shall become a judge to decide? Having the religion of the Bible, a heavenly exposition of morals, surrounded by strong and wholesome sanctions, the only infallible standard possible, why resort to the folly of neglecting this wisdom, to venture upon the open and boisterous sea of metaphysical disquisitions by weak and erring minds, and of consciences that may be seared as with a hot iron? Every true theory of morals, therefore, discredits and condemns the position of a purely secular education.

5. We aver secular education to be unphilosophical again, in that it ignores the *the inevitable connection between religion and every study to be pursued*. Each branch of knowledge has its religious side, since each has to do with the works, or with the truth of God. Instruction in any branch that leaves this necessary relation out, must be imperfect, and therefore to that extent false. Practically, every branch of knowledge pursued does leave religious impressions, for weal or for woe, upon the student's mind. At the same time that Jonathan Edwards, in America, by his philosophical studies was entrenching truth behind the fundamental principles of the human soul, Francis Hutcheson, the father of speculative science in Scotland, from a similar stand-point of influence, was diffusing the seeds of error throughout the mental and religious world. German philosophy is the parent of German skepticism and rationalism. Even so in the study of the classics and of all modern literature, and much more in these days in every department of science, and in popular science journals, allied with their discussion of primary principles and growing out of their progress at every stage of their development, is their teaching concerning God, and providence, and the religious life of men. It is impossible for a human being to teach such subjects without effecting the pupil's view of religion, whether the lesson be intended or not. And in fact, men do not so teach without religious impression in the result. This truth might be illustrated in detail with reference to each branch of knowledge taught in schools and col-

leges. It may be confirmed by the prevailing religious opinions and habits of students instructed under the occupant of every teacher's chair, and by the moral tone of every institution of learning. That which secular education would ignore in theory, it is compelled by the experience of the world to face in practice. Its theory is therefore in this respect proved both unphilosophical and full of moral danger.

6. Secular education is further unphilosophic in that it leaves out of view *the highest and most powerful motives of education*. It was a saying of Luther that "to pray well is to study well." Religious principle developed with other knowledge furnishes higher aims for study than ambition or any mere personal end, and higher principles of mental action. It is conscience that best stimulates to application and to self-development. Conscience awakens mind to the responsibility of its own existence and its work, and holds it faithful to its tasks. The growth of the religious nature thus affords the moral impulse and the power by which alone a true education can produce its best result in the highest elevation of the man through its exercises.

7. Again, secular education is unphilosophical because it *neglects the sources of education in the personal influence of teachers and companions*. It is conceded on all hands that the spirit of the school and the moral convictions of the teachers impart tone and character to instruction, even far more than mere subjects and books. Now, these influences depend upon the presence of religious principle in the chairs and in the benches of the schools. But to secure true and pure educational influences in the atmosphere, there must needs be a positive and ever present religious tone and character in the Institution. To seek to secure these with religion cast out from instruction, is a moral absurdity that stares every true philosophy in the face. The very slur cast upon religion by its rejection or neglect, of itself will destroy the moral effect, and the effort to produce positive religious influence under such painful circumstances, is to contradict theory by practice; is to make brick after the straw is burned.

8. Once more secular education is unphilosophical because *it refuses to admit the claims which religion makes upon youth at*

every step of its growth. Nothing is more evident than the fact that religion has ever required its precepts to be enforced with constancy and with positive power upon youth from infancy to manhood, and in each sphere and relation of life. The teacher shares in parental duty in this respect, and to a large degree substitutes his work for that of the parent. Because, for various reasons, the parent cannot give time and tuition as he should, teachers are employed to fill the gap and train for life the youth, at least in part, and very largely in fact. What, therefore, is the parent's duty with reference to religion, becomes the teacher's obligation, which he must fulfil if he would faithfully perform the part assigned. No philosophy of education, no secular theory, no political necessity can relieve this pressing claim which religion itself enjoins. This divine injunction of religion confers the right of religious education upon every youth. The attempt to evade it then, becomes a direct violation of religious duty on the teacher's part. Every secular system thus trespasses upon the religious rights of youth as conferred by divine command, and wrests from him that moral care and keeping, the loss of which may be the perversion of this life and perchance eternal death.

This truth is further evident from another consideration. It was remarked by Dr. Rush, that "mothers and school-masters plant the seeds of nearly all the good and evil that exist in the world." The youthful mind is by far the most susceptible. It is here that religious impressions are received that fix the stamp upon life. Here is the best opportunity for the entrance of those precepts that alone can make life worth the living. Their teachable disposition, their awakened curiosity, their opening and thirsty minds, their freedom from prejudice, their native tendency to religion, their want of experience in evil and the early stage of their love for it, afford the best occasion for religious culture in the young. Before appetites have become depraved by indulgence, before temptations have conquered them, before habits have become forged into fetters, before conscience has grown seared, and the will has lost its control for good, they are ever the fittest subjects for religion. These facts necessitate its deep impression upon their untrained and uncorrupted

natures. The neglect of religion in the schools will do more to nurture infidelity and to confirm immorality than all the positive teachings of the wisest and basest betrayers who have ever taught irreligion. Can any system be more unphilosophical and destructive of the highest interests of the individual and the race, than one which insists upon the exclusion of religion from the youth while he is thus mentally laying the foundation for this life and for the life to come?

II. Let us turn now

FROM THE PHILOSOPHICAL TO THE HISTORICAL CONSIDERATION OF
SECULAR EDUCATION.

And here we shall find that abolishing religion from alliance with education is for the most part a recent experiment, or the revival of exceptional, futile and disastrous attempts of distant days. From time immemorial religion has been imparted in connection with secular knowledge. "Every people, without exception, has thought it necessary to teach its religion to its children, as the very basis of all other knowledge; has made the national religion a national study in childhood."

The sacred books of all heathen nations have been assigned as text-books for the training of their youth. Ancient Egypt pursued this method as far as possible. The Pagans of Greece and Rome and of other nations had public schools, in which their heathen mythology held a prominent place of study. The higher literature of all antiquity is deeply impregnated with the popular religion. "The pages of the Koran in every age and country wherein Mohammedism has flourished, have been the first study of every follower of the false prophet." The Hebrew parent obeyed the divine injunction in this respect. The religions of India and China are taught to this day in all their public schools. Milman, in his history, has shown that "education, among the Romans, was more or less intimately allied with the ancient religion; that its vital principle was the worship of the gods; that Mercury and the Muses were the tutelary deities of the Pagan school." Springing out of this fact, as a necessity of self-preservation, the early Christian Church founded its schools in connection with its churches, and so maintained them until

Julian, the apostate, interfered and introduced temporarily, but in vain, the secular system. During the middle ages, that long dark night of education, traces may be found of the religious schools, the only remaining hope of learning. Under Charlemagne "Bishops were ordered to set up schools to teach both grammar and the knowledge of the Scriptures." Even Hume admits the church to have been the depository of learning in the days of Alfred. And so long as the church was the exclusive patron of literature and science, and her abodes remained the sole refuge and hiding place of learning, there could not enter the idea of the separation of education and religion.

At the time of the Reformation, Calvin, whom Bancroft styles "The father of popular education, the inventor of the system of free schools," established in Geneva a system of State instruction of all grades in which the church had the selection of teachers, and wherein religion was definitely and fully taught. Knox in imitation, introduced parochial institutions into Scotland based upon a similar method. The Universities of England were remodeled and restored to the ancient system. In Germany, Holland, England, France, the same general plan of religious instruction was adopted. Frederick the Great imposed regulations requiring children to receive knowledge of Christian doctrine and to be instructed in the Scripture, and as D'Aubigne asserts, "The schools which Frederick had founded and into which Luther had introduced the word of life, became the center of that wide-spreading revolution which regenerated the church." The same principles prevailed in the foundation of all the earlier schools and colleges of this country. The first constitution of Harvard proposed as its object "the promotion of piety, morality and learning." In Yale, about the time of its establishment, the professors were tested in qualification, in part by the Assembly's Shorter Catechism, which with other religious books, was introduced as a text book. Princeton College was incorporated with twenty-one members of the Presbyterian Synod, of whom a majority were clergymen, the charter distinctly recognizing the religious aim of its founders. Within twenty years after its foundation it possessed Professors of Divinity. Until quite recently no college in this country has been

grounded upon any other principle. These facts show conclusively how completely the conviction has prevailed through all the centuries and in all teaching minds, that religion is the only safe-guard of education, and therefore, its necessary attendant. The modern experiment of secular education is therefore as unhistorical, as it is already proved unphilosophical.

Still further, in showing that Secular Education is unhistorical, we may quote from a few of the great lights of literature. The position of that master-philosopher Bacon, is so well known that we need make but a passing mention of his name. Milton, in one of his tracts, wrote as follows : "The end of all learning is to repair the ruins of our first parents by regaining to know God aright, and by that knowledge to love Him, to imitate Him, to be like Him, as we may be the nearest by possessing our souls of true virtue, which, being united to the heavenly grace of faith, makes up the highest perfection." Locke, whose theory as developed by Hamilton, has set the broad current of English education, and carried so extensive an influence in modern times, held as one of his fundamental views, that "it is the business of the master to train the pupils in virtue and good manners much more than to communicate learning," and to this end he recommends the study of the catechisms and the Scriptures. Dr. Johnson also wrote as follows : "Whether we provide for action or for conversation ; whether we wish to be useful or pleasing, the first requisite is the religious and moral knowledge of right and wrong." And Pestalozzi, who has been styled the Luther of education, has written very distinctly on this point. He says : "Why have I insisted so strongly on attention to early physical and intellectual education ? Because I consider these as merely leading to a higher aim, to qualify the human being for the full and free use of all the faculties implanted by the Creator, and to direct all these faculties toward the perfection of the whole being of man, that he might be enabled to act in his peculiar station as an instrument of that allwise and Almighty power that has called him into life." And again : "Education should not only decide what is to be made of a child, but rather inquire what is his destiny as a created and responsible being ? What are his faculties as a rational and

moral being? What are the means for their perfection and the end held out as the highest object of their efforts by the Almighty Father of all, both in creation and in the page of revelation?" Nor need we dwell upon the well known opinions of that eminent educator Dr. Arnold, who was both greater and wiser than his learned, æsthetical, but erratic son. The views of the profound French philosopher, Cousin, to the same effect, are familiar to all. Even Mr. Froude, in one of his celebrated "Short Studies," has shown how much we lose by not pursuing the Bible method of instruction. Thus we find the theory of secular education arrayed, not only against the established experience of history, but against the opinions of the wisest and most enlightened of the great names who have made the history of education their study, and who have written in the latest centuries of its higher and nobler career.

III. We turn now to a briefer consideration of the third aspect in which this subject may be viewed, and earnestly aver that

THIS THEORY OF SECULAR EDUCATION IS PROVED IN PRATICE TO BE
UNEQUAL TO THE TRUE AND FULL DEVELOPMENT OF MAN
IN HIS HIGHEST NATURE AND LOFTIEST POWERS.

This may be shown first, in reference to nations. Greece is a familiar illustration. From the time of Cyrus to that of Alexander, the Greeks were gradually improving. What a vast array of warriors, statesmen, philosophers, poets, historians, painters, architects, sculptors, do we here behold! Never had mere culture such perfect sway, and so fair an arena for the solution of its problem of independent action. The Grecian philosophy was the prevailing spirit that shaped and ruled popular education. But it depreciated man's moral nature in its methods of instruction. And what was the moral result? While Socrates was learning eloquence at the shrine of Aspasia, it was an eloquence deeply infected with moral pollution. Every virtuous woman was condemned to a state of seclusion, and she who wanted fame could procure it only at the sacrifice of her innocence. All the glorious attainments of knowledge and culture were shrouded beneath the blackest veil of moral corruption and degradation. Let Mr. Froude here speak again. He

says: "Exquisite as was their sense of beauty—of beauty of mind as well as of beauty of form * * they had little or no idea of what we mean by morality. With a few rare exceptions, pollution too detestable to be even named among ourselves was of familiar and daily occurrence among their greatest men; was no reproach to philosopher or to statesmen, and was not supposed to be incompatible, and was not, in fact, incompatible with any of those especial excellencies which we so much admire in the Greek character." So also in Egypt and Rome, the period of their highest enlightenment became the very illustration of their lowest depravity, and of their wildest anarchy ending in final subjection to the severest tyranny of military despots. They had learning without the moral education of a pure and holy religion. In more recent times, France, for whom the boast of the highest civilization of modern times has been so persistently made, in the very culmination of her intellectual culture, for want of this attendant, moral education, was plunged into horrors too fearful and deep to be described by any pen but the sword, or with any other ink than blood. Paris became an earthly Pandemonium, so that even Robespierre in the very convention that officially declared there was no God, was forced to exclaim: If there were no God, a wise government would invent one." And looking back on those inconceivable horrors, Napoleon is said to have declared, that "no society can exist without morals, and there can be no sound morals without religion. Hence, there is no firm or durable bulwark for a state, but what religion constructs; let, therefore, every school throughout the land assume the precepts of religion as the basis of instruction. Experience has torn the veil from our eyes." And did we need a more recent illustration by way of contrast, we might observe the influence of the non-religious colleges of India under the control of the East India Company, from which all Christian influence and instruction were excluded, where not even the name of Jehovah might be mentioned; as compared with the wise, elevating and purifying influences of the Christian school of Dr. Duff, in Calcutta. In all ages and in every nation, the story of education, apart from religion, contains precisely the same terrible warning.

Now when we turn from nations to *individuals*, the lesson appears no less clear and no less emphatic. History is studded with grand names, as the heavens are studded with stars, names of those who stood prominent in intellectual power, and loftiest in attainments, in their day, yet upon whose characters rest the foulest stains, because of their want of moral culture. Look upon Cæsar and Augustus, Voltaire and Rousseau, Shelly, Burns, and Byron; and pity spares our own country in the examples afforded by her brief career. Let the sad wail of one of these most gifted sons of earth, as he sings the trembling requiem of a blighted and lost life, become our perpetual warning:

“My days are in the yellow leaf,
The flowers and fruits of love are gone;
The worm, the canker and the grief
Are mine alone.

The fire that on my bosom preys
Is lone as some volcanic isle,
No torch is lighted at its blaze—
A funeral pile.”

Set over in contrast with these ruined giants of intellect a thousand names of men no less intellectual, no less learned, but who cultivated their higher nature beside their mental faculties, and who shine as jewels, whose purity and lustre the severest critic may never question; then let the argument stand and speak for itself in thunder tones.

That *this theory of secular education is thoroughly impracticable*, is shown finally in the extravagance and falsity of the popular views which spring up in immediate connection therewith. Its boldest advocates are constantly impressing upon the public ear the conclusion that *education alone* is the remedy for crime, poverty and wretchedness. Simply to educate the people, they claim, will lift the poor to wealth, give peace in place of misery, depopulate our prisons, transform our penitentiaries into manufactories, disband our police, change our courts into colleges, and relieve the need for all asylums, but those for natural born idiots, for which class of inmates there is likely—under such a visionary scheme—to be need for abundant room. We are told of wonderful statistics proving that the great majority of convicts

are from the ignorant classes, and showing by figures and facts that the removal of ignorance will prove the death of criminality. Now we reply that careful statistics made a few years since, show that in Scotland the educated criminals were as two to one of the uneducated. The same was proved to be the fact in regard to America. It was also demonstrated that in England, France, and this country, the increase of crime was in direct ratio to the increase of popular education; and the relative increase greatest in the most educated sections of these countries. De Tocqueville, writing on the Penitentiary system of the United States, has verified these statements. And abundant proof might be brought even in our recent experience, and in high places among ourselves, to show that ignorance alone is not the parent of public immorality. You may look at our own cities where educational privileges are the most extensive, and observe facts for yourselves. Besides, we must remember that the most educated criminals are the most likely to escape detection, and leave their ignorant tools in the clutches of the law. We must remember that there are other causes far more productive of crime than ignorance. Selfishness, greed for wealth, ambition that buys place by the sale of the soul, passions aroused by competition, with many other causes, are ever operating to produce increase of crime. And all these sources education may and does aid rather than remove. Knowledge itself is nothing more than power; and power in itself may be wielded for wrong, as readily as for right. Knowledge is not, and cannot be shown to be principle, or to be necessarily allied to virtue. But moral principle alone is sufficient to restrain any man, whether educated or not, from the commission of crime. The very power imparted by knowledge may but make the criminality more gigantic and more successful. The wisest man may prove the most dangerous man. Solomon had seven hundred wives. It is not the quantity, but the character of knowledge, not the lore but the virtue, that purifies and saves. Therefore the more knowledge we have the more need is there of moral education by its side. Dr. Channing well wrote "The exaltation of talent as it is called, above virtue and religion, is the curse of the age. Talent is worshiped; but if divorced from

rectitude it will prove more a demon than a God." But secular education worships talent. And in the language of another gifted writer, "Better that men should remain in ignorance than that they should eat of the fruit of the tree of knowledge, only to be made more subtle and powerful adversaries of God and humanity." The great betrayers of men and of nations, the world's tyrants, corrupters, destroyers; those whose writings have undermined virtue, and most advanced infidelity; who have reconciled minds to evil, won weak hearts, and drugged conscience into sleep, have been men of the highest talent, and of the best education. Does this then destroy the argument for education? By no means. But it teaches plainly, that with the increased power accruing to mankind through education, there must ever be a constant and corresponding advance in morality and religion. It proves most satisfactorily that any theory that plucks out religion from the center of education, thereby removes its purifying and protecting power, imperils every highest and best interest of humanity, and leaves mankind a prey to most potent foes. It is better to lie down with the lamb than with the lion, with ignorance than with uncontrolled and misguided education. But better far is it to be housed with the man than with either lamb or lion; with the truly and completely developed soul than with the weakness of ignorance, or the vice of demoralized knowledge.

We have been brought, by the grace of God, through more than a century of our Republic. The eyes of the nations are fixed upon us in wonder for the past, and in earnest inquiry for the future. For nothing has America become more noted than for her advance in education. During this century our popular instruction has been for the most part closely identified with moral and religious development. In this theory and practice of the fathers mainly, is to be found the secret of our national progress and prospective endurance. It is time that we should soberly and most seriously consider the relation of religion in education to our national life. Can there be any question upon the subject? Was Bolingbroke wise, when he wrote that "Religion is necessary to strengthen, and that it contributes to the support of government cannot be denied without contradicting

both reason and experience." Was Butler right, when he averred that reason or intelligence is unable to restrain brute force when aroused by passion, that religion alone can control or even convert into good such force? It has been declared that "without the Bible this Republic would never have existed." May it not be also asserted that without the Bible as the source of moral and religious instruction, this Republic cannot hope to continue? Survey the character of the freedom we here enjoy. Can this mutual dependence of fellow-citizens for self-control, upon which principle our nation is established, possibly be maintained without the perpetual infusion in our rising citizens of morality and religion, as the great principles and securities for this self-government of independent citizens? Our form of government beyond all others ever attempted, requires not only intelligence, but virtue for its security and perpetuity. This it is that most affects the destiny of our State in the solution of its experiment of freedom; an experiment it is making not only for itself, but for the modern world and the nations yet to come. What shall be the secret of its success? Most solemnly do we believe that about the problem herein considered, centers our national life and hopes, and with equally cogent and profound convictions do we here maintain, that the ultimate prevalence in practice of the theory of Secular Education will prove the beginning of our downfall, the sounding of the deathknell of our national liberties. It cannot be otherwise while man remains corrupt by nature, and while God sits as God eternal in the Heavens.

ARTICLE IV.

THE HISTORICAL CHARACTER OF THE BOOK OF GENESIS.

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That school of Exegesis and Isagogics, which loves to claim adherence to the historico-critical methods in its investigation of the Biblical records, is constantly gaining ground. Its birth-place is Germany, and there its supporters have given expression to its ideas, in a steadily increasing avalanche of literary productions, whose influence the surrounding nations have not been able to resist. Especially in Holland and America, and to a great extent in England also, the new gospel has found open ears and ready hearts. Owing to a better acquaintance on the part of our people with literary productions of this character, liberal ideas concerning the origin, authenticity, and purpose of the different portions of our biblical canon, have become popular, and hence produced a general laxness in the theological world and a departure from old views never before called in question. The laity has followed suit, and is in secret even more ready than their teachers to desert the old landmarks. It was not idle curiosity alone, or principally, that induced thousands to throng to the lecture-room of Ingersoll and hear his account of the mistakes of Moses, but it was that spirit of false liberality, now so easily finding expression in speech and print, which demands submission to new views simply because of their novelty, and will accept almost any hypothesis, if only it contradicts the accepted beliefs of the Church. That this spirit is continually increasing in strength, and that the Old Testament is the main sufferer, because an attack on it, the shadow of the real essence, is regarded as less criminal than one on the New, can be denied only by those who have not studied the signs of the times, and whose acquaintance with our people and literature is very limited. Thus the Church is again called upon, as in its early days, to defend the sacred character and divine source of this book of books. This negative spirit, which we

see increasing the number of its adherents daily, being only the practical result of the investigation of the biblical critics of the liberal school, it will not be lost labor to examine the reasons that have led to the new views, as well as those which must compel the Church of Christ to combat them with all her strength.

The target against which the most and strongest critical errors are directed is the book of Genesis. That the contents of this book are not a matter of history, but only a collection of myths, which must under all circumstances be sacrificed, is in educated circles now almost an axiom, and is so confidently announced as a certain result of modern investigation, that it takes some courage to stand up for the old views. It has become fashionable to speak of a Hebrew mythology and biblical fables, and strong efforts have been made to prove the identity of the accounts in Genesis of the creation, deluge, the patriarchs, &c., and the myths of the Vedas and Avesta. It must be confessed that investigators have wasted a vast amount of erudition on such efforts, but the result in each and every case has been hopeless hypotheses and ridiculous combinations. True, not all commentators go so far; but that Genesis contains no history, but only myths and fables, partly identical with those of the surrounding oriental nations, and partly peculiar to the Hebrew race, is an idea that has become one of the fundamental notions in the liberal system. It would, however, be an injustice to this system if we were to pass on without first clearly explaining what it understands by the word "myth." In common language it is practically regarded as identical with "uncertain," "not trust worthy," or even "untrue." That the "*audiatur et altera pars*," may not be violated here it must be remembered that, theoretically at least, the critical school does not adopt this commonly received acceptation of the word. Although the word "mythology" has never been scientifically defined, still Strauss definition of the so-called New Testament myths can, *mutatis mutandis*, be accepted as expressing the idea. In his "Life of Christ," Strauss says: "The myths are the historical embodiment of originally Christian ideas, formed in unintentional poetical fables." To save the idea it is thought necessary to sacrifice

the history, to protect the "kernel" one must throw away the shell. In defence of this most arbitrary procedure, in which it is most difficult for an ordinary human being to see how the idea, which is called Revelation, shall be preserved,, when the history, the vehicle of that idea, is to be cast aside, the startling hypothesis is announced, that in the older portions of the first covenant, mythology was chosen by the Divine Spirit as a medium of revelation. As in the New Testament, the Holy Spirit accommodated Himself even to the linguistic peculiarities and deficiencies of the writers, thus it is stated, He accommodated Himself to the spirit of the Old Testament writers and to their times, and through the medium of the then common fables and myths sent forth the revelations intended for God's people. In this manner, *e. g.*, it is regarded as quite safe to doubt the personal existence of a man called Abraham, but notwithstanding this, the ideas that the story of his life presents a man who by faith conquers and becomes the father of the faithful, is a matter of divine revelation. The fundamental ideas in Gen. I. and II. are regarded as revelation, but this does not include that the world was created in six days, nor exclude a disharmony with the results of astronomy and geology. The strongest defence of this mediumship of mythology is found in the second edition of the learned work of Prof. Schultz, *Alttestamentliche Theologie*, 1878, and the practical workings can be seen in many of the newer commentaries, *e. g.*, in that whole series of works known as: *Kurzgefasstes Exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament*. In view of such fascinating and dangerous hypotheses, it becomes necessary for every conscientious Christian to question himself concerning the reasons why he must cling to the belief which the Church has accepted for so many centuries, and defend the historical character of that book which gives an account of the origin of the world and humanity and of the kingdom of God on earth.

Augustin *Quest. in Exod.* 73, says: "In Veteri Testamento Novum latet, in Novo Vetus patet;" the best commentary on the Old Testament is the New, and the best exegetes of the Old Testament are Christ and the apostles. Only he who has no eye for the Divine side of revelation, and cannot recognize in

both Old and New Testaments the gradual unfolding of God as to His person and plans, made manifest in both covenants by the One Spirit, can refuse to adopt the interpretation of the Old Testament found in the New. When the inspired writers of the New Covenant, and above all the Founder of this Covenant, give their views on the character of the words revealed to the prophets of old, then our exegesis must conform to these views, no matter what difficulties may be in the way. It is still better to adopt the *uniform* teachings of the New Testament on this subject than the dozens of variegated theories of modern critics. If, then, the proof can be brought that Christ and the Apostles regarded the book of Genesis as historical, the question as to the character is decided for the Christian. This proof can easily be brought, and as it has been the greatest stumbling block for the heroes of the mythological theory, its force must not be undervalued. In Matt. 1 : 1 sqq., and Luke 3 : 33 sqq., the genealogical tables recorded in Genesis are recognized as historically true. It is well to notice that this list, covering a period of about two thousand years, only in the latter portion of which written records are kept, and in which accordingly errors could most easily have crept in, is not regarded by the Evangelists as a catalogue of names invented by the children of Israel, when the national feeling became powerful, and a connection between the present and the ages passed became a recognized want, but as objectively true. It is a fact not to be denied, that not only those circumstances recorded in Genesis that refer to the ordinary affairs and experiences of the patriarchs, which could possibly have happened to other persons as well, such as the wanderings of Abraham, the quiet life of Isaac, and the adventures of Jacob, are uniformly throughout the New Testament accepted as authenticated facts, as, *e. g.*, can be seen by the important service rendered by the personal experiences of Abraham to Paul's elucidation of his doctrine of salvation by faith alone, but also those statements in which it would be almost natural to suspect a myth or a fable, are taken as historical and made the basis of a doctrinal or moral discussion. It is thus with the wonderful translation of Enoch, in Heb. 11 : 5 ; the transformation of Lot's wife, in Luke 17 : 32, the destruction of

Sodom and Gomorrah, Matt. 11 : 23, 24, and the history of Noah, Luke 17 : 26-29. As is done in other cases, where the Old Testament records events that are possible only on the supposition of God's immediate influence, the strangeness of these stories do not hinder the Evangelists and Apostles from openly or tacitly accepting them as true,—cf. Matt. 11 : 12, 40 ; Luke 4 : 25 ; John 6 : 49 sqq. The method pursued by Stephen in his last address, Acts 7 : 2-17, in which even the minutiae of the narratives in Genesis are adopted as undoubted facts, shows plainly and distinctly in what light the writers of the New Testament regarded this book. Although this book has not been quoted in the New Testament as often as others, especially the prophets who are constantly cited to prove the Messianic character of Christ, still, as has been seen and as a careful reading would verify, the contents of the first and oldest book of the sacred record were not considered myths, but history. This is true not only in these individual cases ; the whole of the New Testament pre-supposes this. The new covenant can be understood only on the basis of the old ; the old was founded in the historical narratives of Genesis. Without accepting the objective truth of the facts recorded of the first Adam, it is impossible to understand the peculiar work and mission of the second. The origin of the human race, one in sin and one in salvation, the source of man's misery and the first gleams of the hope of delivery, the abundant proof of God's mercy and care, in short, the beginnings of which Christ and Christianity are the end, are all here recorded in connection with historical events, which events dare not be deprived of this historical character without being robbed at the same time of their religious ideas and purposes. Even if there were no specific references in the New Testament to vindicate the truth of the histories in Genesis, the history of the Theocracy, of Israel, and above all the life and labor of Christ, throughout pre-supposing the objective reality of these recorded events, would prove it was not mythology that the author of Genesis recorded, but history and truth. For a Christian, then, to whom the Founder and the records of his faith are sources of truth, the mythological hypothesis can have no

attraction; and that the objections made against this belief are without validity, we hope to show presently.

The objections urged against the possibility of historical truthfulness in the book under consideration, nearly all center in the refusal to acknowledge the wonderful transactions and miracles there related. Although a flat denial of the possibility of miracles, so current in the past decades, is not expressed, except by the most abstract of deistic thinkers, still the reality of these in the early history of mankind and of Israel are regarded as at variance with facts. We are told that there was no necessity or probability of such events, and if historical criticism is entitled—as is really the case—to deny and stamp as myths similar accounts in the legendary records of the Greeks and Romans, this same method must be applied by investigators in the examination of the biblical records; the method pursued by Niebuhr in the analization of the early history of Rome should be adopted here, and carried out to its bitter end, no matter what becomes of the traditional views hitherto entertained. We see that exeges demand only the application of the newly discovered rule in hermeneutics, that the records of Israel's history must submit to be placed on the same Procrustean bed on which other records have been placed, and that the rules of criticism which abstract logical cogitation demands for the investigation of other ancient records, must be applied to the Bible also; that Genesis must be interpreted by the same rules that apply to Herodotus and Livy. This conclusion would be correct if the premises were the same, but as these are not the same, the conclusion must fall. This is necessary for one most valid reason; there was an agency at work in the composition of our biblical books that was lacking in profane writers, and this agency was the Spirit of truth, the Spirit of God, guiding the hand and heart of the writer. There was then in the composition of our Genesis, as all the other books of Holy Writ, an agency that vouches for the truth of the records, and hence it is, considered from this standpoint, both illogical and unjust to submit Genesis in every respect to the same rules of criticism that we are compelled to apply to the early records of other nations. If inspiration is to mean anything at all, and is not the empty ex-

pression of an empty thought, then it must certify for us the absolute integrity and truthfulness of the narratives and doctrines it has promulgated. Otherwise it is a mist which we cannot grasp and cannot hold. To a Christian these records have not only the possibility, but the reality of truthful presentation. This, then, being established, that the sacred writers, guided by the Spirit of truth, could if they would give a faithful account, even a long time after the recorded events transpired, and that accordingly for this reason we are not compelled to cast these accounts aside as worthless, as we are compelled to do in other cases, it will be necessary to examine the records themselves to see if their contents are such as to vindicate their historical character. That our Genesis is full of miracles and wonders, full of supernatural events that defy the laws of nature and the ordinary course of human events, cannot and should not be denied. It would be a false exegesis to attempt to explain them away; and if we examine the history of Israel in the light that later revelation throws upon it, we dare not make this attempt. It is asserted that we have no right to expect these miraculous things in the history of Israel any more than in the history of other nations. The assertion is totally false. In the pre-Christian era the relation of God was not the same to all nations. The heathen nations had indeed a revelation in nature and conscience (Rom. 1 : 19-21, 32 ; 2 : 14, 15 ; Acts 14 : 17 ; 17 : 26, 27), but not a special one, and accordingly God let them "walk in their own ways" (Acts 14 : 16 ; Eph. 2 : 11, 12 ; 1 Pet. 2 : 10 ; Rom. 9 : 24, 25 ; 10 : 19, 20). Not so with Israel; they had a special revelation, and to them God stood in a special relationship. And of heathen nations God had chosen Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (Acts 13 : 17), who, together with their descendants, the children of Israel, were made the recipients of special revelations and blessings (Heb. 1 : 1 ; Luke 1 : 55, 73 ; John 8 : 56 ; Acts 7 : 5 sqq. ; Rom. 4 : 11 sqq.) and were to be His special people and congregation, the ground on which salvation for all men should grow and prosper (Luke 1 : 54 ; John 4 : 22 ; Acts 3 : 25 ; Rom. 11 : 12 ; Gal. 3 : 8). The whole New Testament considers Israel as the congregation of God, in the midst of those nations who had fallen away from God,

(Luke 1 : 68, 77 ; 2 : 32 ; Rom 11 : 1, 2).* With the instruction gained by these views of the New Testament, we will be able to understand the character which the history of Israel, as the bearer of God's revelation, must of necessity assume. As God was educating His people for a certain object and purpose, He could not, and did not, let them "go in their own ways," as those who were not under the same discipline ; but to attain this object, it became necessary to allow agencies to work that were not human, since these could not have reached the goal intended. In the history of Israel, then, factors are at work which we must vainly seek in other nations ; there are continual immediate influences from the part of God directing and guiding His people so that they might become in reality what God had intended them to be. And, as the nature of the case demands, we must expect in this history events such as could nowhere else be regarded as historical. As it is God who is here the prime agency, there will be events which cannot be explained on the ground of the activity of human factors alone, but narratives of events that go beyond and surpass human possibilities. Looking at Genesis in this light, derived from later revelation, we see it could not be otherwise than it is, and accordingly any supernatural and superhuman events there recorded are not to be regarded as impossible or improbable, but as historical. Were the same events recorded of the history of other nations, we would be compelled to regard them as fables. For instance, should Greek, Persian, or Indian history, contain an account similar to the passage through the Red sea by the children of Israel, we would without any hesitancy pronounce it false, because such an abrogation of nature's laws as this event presupposes, is only possible where Divinity stands in such a peculiar relationship to a nation as the word of God says He stood to Israel. The miraculous events in the fate of this people, are something that must be expected and must have taken place, else the promises of providential interference and guidance would have been in vain. As God is a factor in the development of this history, those events,

* Köhler, Lehrbuch der Bibl. Geschichte Alten Test. §1.

which are manifestly against the laws of time and space as they are valid for human powers, must necessarily form a portion of that history, since God is not subject to, but above, these laws, and these narratives, far from proving the mythical character of the records, are rather proofs that the events transpired exactly as they are recorded. If the book of Genesis contained only such events as could have transpired in the history of other nations, we would be compelled to believe that it was not a truly historical account, as the premises demand extraordinary events in the development of Israel's history. Here the unnatural is natural. To understand and appreciate this argument, nothing is required but an acknowledgment of the possibility and reality of a divine interference in the laws of nature and of history, and an acceptance of Israel's history which the New Testament writers promulgate. From a Christian standpoint the miraculous events found in the book of Genesis are not an impeachment of its historical character, but rather a vindication of this claim.

But other objections must be met. One of these has been urged with especial vigor, and must be confessed to be of a fascinating character. We are told that the book under consideration is not the work of one man, but is composed or compiled from a great many sources, and the analization into Elohistie and Jehovistic portions, on the basis of the certainly enigmatical mode of the names Jehovah and Elohim by the writer of our book, is widely spread and is clung to with a wonderful tenacity. A French physician, Astruc, (1684-1766) first noticed this peculiar change in the names of God, and thus became the father of that new science which might be called Biblical Anatomy. His children are called legion, and a student of the Old Testament is now scarcely respectable unless he confidently dissects the Pentateuch into two or more elements, and points out the many places in which the one account contradicts the other. It must be acknowledged that the mosaic which is made of the names of God in the Pentateuch is a *crux interpretum*, which to this day is yet waiting for an entirely satisfactory explanation, but then it is equally certain that these names do not warrant the assumption of different elements in the composition of Gen-

esis. For the careful and cautious investigator this is already proved by the babylonian confusion that reigns supreme in the camp of those anatomical heroes. It is most literally true that not two of them entirely agree as to the number of elements, the portions that belong to each, or the time of their composition. From Bleek's two, the number of those who are announced as contributors varies to Astruc's ten. And even where there is some harmony, as *e. g.*, owing mainly to Ewald's influence, in that portion attributed to the older Elohist, there is a kaleidscope of opinions on the time of writing, some, *e. g.* Bleek, claiming the time of Saul's rule, others a later period, and the newest and most fashionable school the time of Ezra. In this manner critics literally make Jewish history stand on its head, by regarding the Levitical laws and priesthood, which are contained in the older Elohist portions, as the result and not the beginning of this history. This "confusion worse confounded" clearly shows that we are here handling not certain and true results of criticism, not even theories, but simply hypotheses; and caution demands that we make haste slowly before we join our voices in the triumphant cry of the blessings of modern criticism. A close scrutiny of the Hebrew text of Genesis makes us even more cautious. The only portion where these views seem to have any foundation, are in the first six or seven chapters, but the arbitrary manner in which critics are compelled to tear asunder the rest of the book, dispels even the possibility the reader might have entertained in the beginning. Thus, *e. g.*, the biblical account of the deluge, a portion indeed full of repetitions and not without difficulties, is dissected in such a manner that almost every half verse is assigned to a different author.* The same is repeatedly done in other portions also, so that adopting the views of this school, we would be compelled to acknowledge a specimen of book-making such as has never taken place elsewhere. As long as this anatomical hypothesis does not stand on a firmer basis, its results cannot be accepted as true, and some other explanations must be sought for the many difficulties and enigmas of the book of Genesis. But

*Cf. Dillmann's Commentary on Genesis.

critics, regarding their explanations as true, have abused their own hypothesis in a shameful manner, and with a criminal recklessness are willing to accept contradictions and misunderstandings between the different composers in each and every part of the book. Were the same thumbscrews applied to Tacitus and Livy, their histories could easily be proved to contain hundreds of discrepancies and contradictions. The perfect willingness to see these deficiencies in the revelation of God, is more than surprising; on the least pretext it is announced that a disharmony exists, so that the impression is left on the reader that exegetes find especial pleasure in seeing and pointing out these so-called errors. Gen. 2 is said to contradict Gen. 1, containing a different account of the creation, while an easy translation and proper appreciation of the object of chap. 2, which is not to give a new account, but simply to continue the account of chap. 1 by showing the relationship existing between man, the lord of creation, and the other creatures, solves every difficulty. Gen. 4, in which the name Jehovah is used, contains an account of Cain and Abel; chap. 5, employing the name Elohim, speaks only of Seth; therefore, it is asserted, the author of chap. 5 knew nothing of the existence of the two children mentioned in the previous chapter. Three times, it is stated in Genesis, the patriarchs were in danger of their lives on account of the beauty of their wives, twice in the case of Abraham, and once in the case of Isaac. Hence, it is confidently said, these three accounts are only three fables that sprang from one original trouble, and was worked up by different writers in different ways. We are therefore asked to condemn the historical character of these events, just as if it were impossible for similar circumstances to effect similar results at different times. If it were not expressly stated, in Gen. 26: 1, that the famine there mentioned was different from the one that transpired during the days of Abraham, our critics would certainly have identified the two. These specimens just mentioned are fair average representatives of the contradictions found in our book, and of the most puerile reasons with which they are defended. Christian apologetics have not been silenced by these attempts, and it can fairly be asserted that able men, such as Hengstenberg, Keil, Lange, and others,

have answered the objections urged. Certainly it cannot be asserted that all the difficulties are solved, but it has thus far been an impossibility to show one point that could fairly and squarely be considered a contradiction in the book of Genesis. That in style, logical arrangement of contents, and other outer matters, the book does not come up to the requirements of modern rhetoric, does not impugn its truthfulness; we must remember the time it was written and the culture of the writer. A person, studying the book with open eyes and with rational demands, must acknowledge that the zeal with which difficulties are conjured up by investigators has really become a disease of modern criticism, which has worked much mischief and will continue to do so, until the proper hermeneutical principles are again applied, and men do not forget that they are studying God's word and revelation. The results which this school of criticism has produced can never find homes in the hearts of Christian people; it undermines the foundation of faith, and consequently must share in the process of dissolution, which its representative in the church, the "Protestantenverein" of Germany, is now engaged in.

One of the strongest objections which he, who sees in the book of Genesis a revelation of God to Israel and the Church, must urge against the method of those who seek to analyze the book into different elements, is the manner in which improper, or even dishonest motives are ascribed to the different writers. They are all represented as having a certain tendency and object in view, and to have made their choice of materials and their manner of construction with reference to these purposes; in other words, said to be what are called "Tendenzschriften." Certainly there is a legitimate sense in which it is true of all books, and consequently of the Biblical books also, that the materials are chosen and arranged according to the object of the writers, but our critics claim that in the composition of Genesis this was done often without reference to truth, and without scrupling to employ pure imagination where historical facts did not supply the needed matter. This can be best illustrated by an example. The elder Elohists, who have written the so-called "Book of Origin" (Colenso), "Das Buch der Ursprünge"

(Ewald), which contains all those portions that refer to the Levitical priesthood and the sacred ordinances and rites of Israel, is considered the author of Gen. i. We are asked by critics to believe that in the account of the creation found in this chapter, while the fundamental ideas are inspired truths, the division of the creation into a six-days' work, was made by the Levitical author, simply in order to explain the origin of the Sabbath, and heighten the value of later ordinances on the sanctity of that day, and not because it was objectively true that the world was created in six days. In other words, the author was dishonest, and under the garb of pretended revelation, did not shrink from modifying history and facts in order to reach his object. In this manner the moral uprightness and truthful character of the different writers are impeached, and in the end there is nothing left but the work of a shrewd priest, an outspoken partisan and a dishonest compiler. The several characters of the Biblical records are greatly sacrificed, the moral purity of the writers called into question, if only thereby beloved hypotheses are supported.

Over against this belittling impeachment of revelation, outraging the Christian's feelings and convictions, apologetics has successfully pointed out the truly natural character of all the narratives of Genesis. The contents do not read like fables, or like unhistorical laudation of the fathers in Israel, but leave, on every mind open to conviction, the impression of absolute truthfulness. How very different they are from the records we possess of the early adventures of the founders of other nations! While in the sacred books of the Indians, Persians, and Egyptians, in the earliest records of the Greeks and Romans, the forefathers are lauded to the skies, and often converted into associates of the gods, and even into gods, while their physical and moral powers are extolled in the highest degrees, and their vices either entirely eradicated or reduced to a minimum of shrewdness, the sacred records of Israel's founders do not bear this one-sided character, but by their naturalness in portraying both virtue and vice, demand recognition as faithful accounts. No attempts are made to hide the weaknesses and sins of the patriarchs, no matter how offensive they were to the later Mo-

saic law and the religious conscience of Israel. No secret is made of the fact that Abraham proceeded from a house in which idolatry was practiced; it is not suppressed that Sarah could not believe the promise of God, nor that Isaac attempted to thwart God's plan by giving his blessing, and therewith the theocratic succession, to his elder son. The deceptions of Jacob, the idolatry in his household, the crimes of Reuben with his father's wife, the criminal practice of Judah, the chief among the twelve sons of Jacob, the hatred between the twelve, and their horrible sin in selling their brother, their consequent untruthfulness to their father, are all portrayed in vivid pictures without embellishment or excuse. Does that look like an unhistoric account or untruthful glorification of Israel's heroes? Certainly not; and this eminently natural character of the book of Genesis speaks loudly for the fact, that we have records here that are entirely different from the fabulous accounts given by other people of their great heroes.

The force of this argument is not broken by the statement that these events transpired before the establishment of the Mosaic law; and that therefore they are not looked upon as morally wrong, or at least not as much so as was the case in later days, that the writers did not intend to make records of crimes and shortcomings, but looked upon all these acts as shrewdness and signs of a superior mind. There was morality in Israel before the Mosaic law; even had God before that time not awakened a keen sense of right and wrong by special revelation, the conscience of Reuben would have told him that this adultery was sin, and the actions of Joseph's brothers clearly show that they knew of the criminal nature of their deeds. The book of Genesis simply gives history and therefore records facts, no matter in what relation these facts stood to the law or to conscience. It is no "Tendenzschrift," nor composed of such writings. Its inner character shows that it is intended to be a plain, simple, but truthful account of the dealings of God with the early generations of man, the actions of the patriarchs in their relation to God, and the beginning of the kingdom of God on earth.

It is further proved to be a truthful presentation of events by the fact that wherever the same domain is covered by the his-

torical writings of other nations, these harmonize entirely with the accounts of Genesis. Very little stress can here be laid on the ancient stories we find among both oriental and occidental nations concerning the creation of man, the fall, the deluge, and the like, as these may be the different modifications which the true account, once in the possession of Noah's family, assumed, when mankind increased and separated into families, clans and nations. These stories, especially the Chaldee account recently deciphered from the cuneiform inscriptions by George Smith and others, have a right only to claim interest, and may be of practical use in so far as a comparison between them and the corresponding Biblical account, shows the vast superiority of the latter, and assists in vindicating it as an account not invented by human reason, but bestowed by revelation. The period, however, in which the history in Genesis runs parallel with the accounts by profane writers is the Egyptian, introduced by the life and labors of Joseph in that ancient land of culture. In the last chapters of this book we find a host of incidental references to the political, religious, and social life of the Egyptians, going into the minutest of details, such as could only have been known to one well acquainted with the state of affairs. Many of the hieroglyphic accounts and narratives on old Egyptian manuscripts, covering the same period of time and the same circumstances, have been deciphered, and such is the harmony between the Biblical record and these accounts, that critics have not been able, in any circumstance whatever, even to suspect that the former is unauthentic. The account of the customs and habits of the Egyptians, their beliefs and prejudices, their social character, is so true even to the smallest minutiae, that all who have carefully compared the two accounts are surprised at their absolute agreement. Even those who deny the historical character of this book must acknowledge this harmony. Dillmann, *e. g.*, in his commentary on Genesis, p. 417, remarks: "The author shows himself well acquainted with the Egyptian customs, circumstances and views; errors in this respect are not found, and some of his remarks and descriptions seem to be exceedingly truthful and pointed." Hengstenberg has made good use of this argument, and his book on "*Ägypten und die fünf Bücher Moses*," can be considered a standard work yet, while all the re-

sults of the later investigations in Egyptology are employed in the two works of Prof. Ebers, of Leipzig, on the Books of Moses and Egyptology, and "*Durch Gosen nach Sinai.*" A careful perusal of these works, will show that wherever the statements of Genesis can be controlled by the cotemporaneous chronicles of the nations with which Israel stood in historical connection, our Bible-book proves itself to be thoroughly historical.

But what must make the Christian most cautious in accepting the mythological explanation, is the fact that it undermines not only the credibility of the book in question, but also of the whole Bible. If "the holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Spirit," (2 Pet. 1 : 21), according to the views of the apostles, and some of these statements are shown to be false, and the continuity of Biblical truth is thus broken, what right have we to consider the other books of the Bible true and worthy of belief? If this destructive spirit once gains complete ascendancy in the Church, it will knock one pillar of faith away after the other, and the believer will never have the assurance that his faith is centered on truth, and is not an hallucination. The revelation in the word of God is a continuous one; the Biblical books in our canon form one complete whole, and if one stone of the arch of truth crumbles away under the blows of criticism, then the whole arch must fall also. The New Testament is built upon the Old, and the Old can not be intelligently understood, nor its contents be regarded as authoritative, without the certainty that the first and oldest portion contains truth and not fiction. It is absolutely necessary that the careless and step-motherly treatment of the Old Testament, which, mainly through the influence of Schleiermacher, has become so popular in the Protestant Church, should be combatted. The truthful character of the Old Testament is necessary for the Church of the New, for if Christ and the apostles were mistaken in their views of Moses and the prophets, then their own doctrines too may contain errors and are unreliable. The Church must therefore do what Christ and the apostles did, and what is supported by sufficient evidence, cling and adhere to the historical character of the book of Genesis.

ARTICLE V.

ASSURANCE.

By REV. JOEL SWARTZ, D. D., Harrisburg.

In the New Testament we read of three kinds of assurance. 1. The Assurance of *Understanding*; 2. The Assurance of *Faith*; 3. The Assurance of *Hope*. In each of these cases the assurance is qualified by the significant word *full*, so it is not an assurance weakened by grave doubts and painful uncertainties, but an assurance that rejoices in a completeness of evidence and satisfaction.

These kinds of assurance are not separate and independent, but are connected and imply each other in important relations; still, they may be clearly distinguished, and for the purpose of intelligible examination, ought to be viewed separately and also in their connection and inter-dependence.

I. THE FULL ASSURANCE OF UNDERSTANDING.

Of this we read in Col. 2 : 2. The apostle manifests an earnest desire that not only those whom he immediately addressed, as the churches of Colosse and Laodicea, but "as many as have not seen his face in the flesh," *i. e.* all Christians might have their hearts comforted, be knit together in love "unto all riches of the full assurance of understanding, to the acknowledgment of the mystery of God, and of the Father and of Christ." It is evident from the connection of this text, that the "understanding" longed for by the apostle in behalf of the churches, and urged upon Christians, as a most desirable attainment, related to the knowledge of the saving truth and power of the gospel. He would have them "rooted and built up in Christ and established in the faith," for two reasons; first, the negative one, "Lest any man should spoil them through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world and not after Christ,"—a caution never more necessary than in the present age of the world, when science and philosophy, much of them falsely so called, are so largely in the hands of skeptical,

even atheistic men, and employed for the purpose of uprooting the ancient faith, and "beguiling men from the simplicity that is in Christ, with enticing words." And, secondly, that believers may "hold the mystery of the faith in a pure conscience,"—may know assuredly in whom they have believed, and be so thoroughly persuaded of the truth of the gospel, that they may "hold fast the profession of their faith without wavering." It was to give the "most excellent Theophilus" a ground of certainty for the things in which he had been instructed, and which were most surely believed by the eye witnesses and ministers of the word, and those to whom their testimony was delivered, that Luke wrote for him an orderly declaration of all that "Jesus began both to do and to teach."

This full assurance of understanding may consist with much remaining ignorance about the content and scope of the gospel,—for "great is the mystery of godliness"—but it is inconsistent with any doubt about the certainty and reality of the historic truth and divine origin of Christianity. It is a "full assurance of understanding" that is attained not by eliminating the incomprehensible, but resting in the "acknowledgment of the mystery of God, and the Father, and of Christ."

II. THE FULL ASSURANCE OF FAITH.

This is spoken of in Heb. 10:22. This presupposes assurance of truth in the understanding. "How shall they believe on Him of whom they have not heard," since "faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the Word of God." Faith requires testimony and cannot be begotten without it. Hence a full assurance of faith would seem to require as an indispensable prerequisite, that the understanding should be thoroughly established in and fortified by the truth. But it is by no means true that the proportion of assurance in faith is absolutely correspondent with the measure of assurance in the understanding. Faith is not simply intellectual conviction. "With the *heart* man believeth unto righteousness," whilst in the understanding men may "hold the truth in unrighteousness." That is, the mere possession of truth does not insure faith. Even the full assurance of understanding may leave the heart cold and estranged from God. The devils believe and

tremble. Faith is the soul's act in the light of the truth. It not only confesses with Peter, that Jesus Christ is the Son of God—a confession in which not only a crucifying centurion may join, but even the demons themselves; but it is a faith which flies to Christ for refuge from “the wrath to come;” it securely reposes upon Him; it graciously submits to Him and obediently follows Him. Faith, indeed, is dependent on the Word, is regulated by it, but is only begotten through it from a higher source. It is the gift of God. More is required than the mere historical, objective word, securely lodged in the understanding. Orthodoxy is not faith. “Faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen.” Under the power of this faith, the soul enjoys a persuasion of the reality of things eternal and divine. Not only is it persuaded of these things as substantial verities, but it assures itself of a firm, personal interest in them. It says, “I know in whom I have believed and I am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto Him against that day. Believing on the Son of God, it has the witness in itself that it has passed from death unto life; has the witness of the Spirit of God bearing witness within that it wears the divine seal of the adoption into the family of God, and is a joint heir with Jesus Christ to an eternal kingdom. May this confidence in God through Christ be measurably mingled with doubt and misgiving as to present safety and final salvation? It seems evident from scriptural teaching and example that it may. Paul himself feared that whilst preaching to others he might, if unfaithful, prove a castaway. Again, all those warnings and exhortations addressed to believers against the danger and sin of apostacy, if they are anything more than idle bursts of rhetoric and an empty display of needless concern, show that there are both possibility and danger of failing of the grace of God; of making shipwreck of faith; of coming short, and thus failing to enter into rest because of unbelief. Faith is none the less real because there remain to disturb it measures of unsatisfied doubt and watchful apprehension. Thomas was a believer no less than Peter, though he was an unsatisfied and hesitating disciple. Christ did not treat him as a graceless skeptic, or as a criminal delinquent. He would

not thus "break a bruised reed or quench the smoking flax." He afforded him clearer evidence and tenderly rebuking his unbelief, condescended to satisfy his doubts and stimulate his faith. The faith that confesses; "Lord, I believe," is none the less faith because it must tearfully pray; "help thou mine unbelief." All this is only equivalent to saying: I have faith, but it is short of full assurance. Whilst it teaches me to acknowledge its defect, it inspires me with a desire to have it increased.

But even the faith that rests most securely in a full persuasion of a state of personal safety *at present*, may not be such as to exclude all fears of finally proving a "castaway." One who can say, "I am a child of God; I have passed from death unto life, for I have the witness in myself and I feel the spirit of adoption in my heart crying, Abba Father," may not be able to say, "because I am a believer now, I shall always infallibly be such." For he who remembers that even angels have not all "kept their first estate," that Adam, made perfectly upright and in the image of God, fell into sin; that many eminent servants of God have grossly sinned, and "crucified the Son of God afresh," cannot say, without presumption, though these have apostatized, yet will I never so deny Christ as to fail of restoration and final salvation.

Along with a reasonable and salutary dread of a possible and final apostacy, there may exist a steadfast hope of better things, which shall go very far to remove all anxious and distressing concern. This hope when so abounding and comforting, as to be like a sure and steadfast anchor to the soul, may be called, in the language of an apostle,

III. "THE FULL ASSURANCE OF HOPE." HEB. VI. 11.

This gracious state has respect to the future of the believer's inheritance. Faith embraces Christ and His salvation as a present possession. Hope anticipates the future, and more or less confidently expects and ardently desires the reserved inheritance of the saints." Hope that is seen, is not hope; "for what a man seeth why doth he hope for? If we hope for that we see not, then do we with patience wait for it." Now, the exhortation of the apostle is, that we shall foster and cherish this hope so that

it may attain to the vigor and completeness of a "full assurance of hope unto the end." Hope for the future grows from experience in the past. Thus, if in times of trial and suffering, faith has experienced that all God's promises of grace and strength are "yea and amen," hope takes up that experience and converts it into a stable ground of expectation that thus it shall always be. In this way then it is that "tribulation worketh patience, and patience experience, and experience hope, and hope maketh not ashamed, because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us." It was more a full assurance of hope than of faith, as Saurin so eloquently reasons in his famous sermons on Assurance, (Vol. I., p. 312, Sermon 37), that led Moses and Joshua, hardly as yet on the confines of Palestine to dispose of that country as if they had already subdued it. "They made laws concerning kings, subjects, priests and Levites; they distributed towns and provinces and they described the boundaries of each tribe. It should seem, their battles had all been fought and they had nothing remaining now but the pleasure of enjoying the fruit of their victories." What induced them in their present condition to ignore or certainly to disregard the Anakim with their towns "walled as high as heaven," and all the uncertain fortunes of war, and to anticipate, as already theirs, the land of Promise? Resting first upon these promises which God had made to the fathers with a full assurance of faith in their divine origin, their uncorrupted preservation, their certain application to themselves, they ventured, next, to *hope* with an absolute certainty that, in due time, the land, now in the possession of powerful enemies and to be wrested from them only by protracted and arduous struggles in war, would be theirs, even as God had promised from the time of Abraham to the present. The Christian soldier, in like manner, resting upon "better promises" to an assured inheritance, proceeds in holy warfare to combat for his nobler prize. Hope shines upon his path as from a pillar of fire, or rather like the star of the Magi, it at once points out the journey and fills his heart with an overflowing joy. The confidence which animates his present struggles, which annihilates all formidable obstacles, which brings "the distant prospect nigh," which casts

over the gloom and peril of the present the glory of an undoubted and final victory, is the hope which maketh not ashamed.

Hope, resting upon faith and matured by experience, has attained to the measure of full assurance, when as in the case of Paul surveying the universe, it is able calmly to challenge all possible and imaginable forces and influences to dislodge its anchor from its hold or wrest from it its anticipated possessions. "I am persuaded that neither death nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height nor depth, nor any other creature shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord "

Having now briefly viewed these three kinds of assurance separately and in their connection, we desire to inquire how the result stands in relation to that most important matter so much emphasized and so prominently brought out in Dr. Sprecher's "Groundwork of a System of Lutheran Theology," viz: that of a personal assurance of salvation. The author of the "Groundwork" holds that the "Principle of the Reformation" as expounded by Luther is found in the doctrine of "personal assurance of salvation" and he accordingly lays it down as a very corner-stone in the foundation of his system.

Under the heading, (chap. 3, p. 85) "Luther's exposition of the principle of the Reformation as involving personal assurance of salvation," he proceeds to remark, "As this is the great thing which is to be the groundwork of our theology, the reader will appreciate the profuseness with which we quote from Luther. This personal assurance was the great theme of his preaching and writings. This certainly is an essential element of Christian faith." With all the ability and fulness with which this doctrine is treated in the "Groundwork," it is to be regretted that the expression, so frequently employed, is not more exactly and rigidly defined. The author is perfectly aware that the doctrine of Assurance has been a matter of dispute among divines. "When considered (McClintock & Strong, Art. Assurance) as implying not only that we are now accepted of God through Christ, but that we shall be finally saved, or when

it is so taken as to deny a state of salvation to those who are not so assured as to be free from all doubt, it is in many views objectionable. Assurance of *final salvation* must stand or fall with the doctrine of personal, unconditional election, and is chiefly held by divines of the Calvinistic school." Rev. Richard Watson, the learned author of the "Institutes," whilst admitting the expressions, "The full assurance of faith," and "full assurance of hope," as scriptural, nevertheless deprecates the perverted meaning attached to them, and hence prefers such expressions as, "A comfortable persuasion or conviction of our justification and adoption arising out of the Spirit's inward and direct testimony." (See vol. 2, p. 270, 1.) He says, "There is a current and generally understood sense of this term (assurance) among persons of the Calvinistic persuasion, implying that the assurance of our present acceptance and sonship is an assurance of our final perseverance and of our indefeasible title to heaven." Hence he prefers the expressions above. "There is also," proceeds this writer, "another reason for the sparing and cautious use of the term assurance, which is, that it seems to imply, though not necessarily, the absence of all doubt, and shuts out all those lower degrees of persuasion which may exist in the experience of Christians. For as our faith may not, at first, or at all times, be equally strong, the testimony of the Spirit may have its degrees of strength and our persuasion and conviction be proportionately regulated." It may be said that this decidedly anti-Calvinistic divine is excessively sensitive as to the use, or rather, grant it, the abuse of the term Assurance; still it only shows the need of most careful and guarded definition of such a term in a system of theology, especially one that makes the doctrine of Assurance so fundamental.

In which one of the several senses of Assurance does Dr. Sprecher employ the term, or does he have a sense different from that commonly accepted by both Calvinistic and Arminian divines? It is clear from his well-known theological position, as also from the "Groundwork" itself, though it is only in the latter part of the book (pp. 411-17), where there is a discriminating statement of the relations of the Lutheran, Calvinistic, and Melancthonian theories to the subject of Assurance—long

after the term had been frequently and familiarly used in the early part of the book without definition, that Dr. Sprecher's sense of Assurance is not the Calvinistic one as involving the doctrine of unconditional election and irresistible grace; nor is it that of Arminian perfectionists, who claim to be so assured as to have no remaining doubt by an inner, mystical witness, nor does it seem to be exactly that of those who speak of being invincibly assured of divine pardon and peace with God, an assurance which does not rest upon inferences and conclusions, but upon the "witness of the Spirit." It is something different from any or all of these, if a conclusion may be safely drawn from the tenor of a masterly and pious and protracted discussion of "the Principle of the Reformation in its relation to personal assurance of salvation." Taking the extended quotations from Luther as a guide to the meaning of "personal assurance" in the "Groundwork," one should say it meant the right and duty of the individual believer, without any dictation from the Pope, to know for himself the sense of God's word and the certainty of His personal acceptance in the light of it. After treating with deserved contempt the arrogant claims of Popes and Councils to determine for every one what is the word of God and its meaning, Luther says, (Groundwork, p. 87): "Where God's word and will are clear we will not wait for the determination of Councils and Church, but fear God and go forward without thinking whether there be a Council or not.

When Christ calls upon His people to beware of false prophets, He recognizes not the right of the Pope or the Councils, but that of all Christians to decide upon doctrine." How is this decision to be made? Luther answers, p. 93: "There are two kinds of clearness, and two kinds of obscurity. The one is outward and attaches to the Scripture itself, the other is inward in the heart. There is no man on earth who understands a jot or tittle of the scriptures except those who have the Spirit of God." Again (p. 88): "God pours out the Holy Spirit into the heart who says in the heart that it is in truth no otherwise than it is in the second article; that the Spirit witnesses with our spirit;

that a person attains to this, *that he feels it that it is so, that he has no manner of doubt, &c.*"

These are strong expressions of assurance, but assurance of what? Not of personal salvation secured by "unconditional election and irresistible grace," nor assurance of personal salvation which excludes all doubt of finally attaining it. Nor is it the assurance of the enthusiastic perfectionist. It is assurance from conscious experience of grace in the heart, that God hath regenerated it through His word and spirit, and being thus made spiritual, "the heart knows and understands the spiritual things which the scriptures exhibit." How the believer knows that he is a child of God, whether it be only from the conscious presence of the "fruits of the spirit," "love, joy, peace, &c., (Gal. 5 : 22) in the heart or whether there must be also a more direct and separate witness, antecedent to these fruits and conditional for them as maintained by Wesley, Watson and others of the Methodist Church, the "Groundwork," so far as we have discovered, does not define. It is not so much assurance for personal ends of comfort and establishment that the "Groundwork" discusses the subject, as for *capacity* to interpret the scriptures and to know God. It does insist with all earnestness upon individual conscious experience of the life of God in the soul as the indispensable condition of certainty in the interpretation of the word of God. It was just the want of this qualification which, in Luther's judgment, had led the Romish Church astray. It was the possession of it which gave him such boldness and confidence in his exposition of the word. That which gave him such certainty, not however, a conceit of infallibility like that of the Pope, may be equally enjoyed by all who are "born of the Spirit." Only this, all interpretations, doctrines and dogmas must be tried by the scriptures; if they conform to them, well; if not, then no authority of Pope or Councils can make them valid and no pretense of supernatural illumination can credit them.

This, if we mistake not, is the assurance for which Luther and Melancthon contended. It is the basis of the "Groundwork." It is the principle revived by Spener and Francke after

it had been ignored, if not contemned, by the rigid symbolists of the Flacian school. It has characterized the pietistic Lutheranism of Halle, and it is the distinguishing feature of the Lutheranism of the General Synod.

In this way may every student of the divine word reach a full assurance of understanding, of faith and of hope. Paschal's remarkable words contain the secret of the method: "Divine things," says this man of equal piety and learning, "are infinitely above nature and God alone can place them in the soul. He has designed that they should pass from the heart to the head, and not from the head to the heart; and so, as it is necessary to know human things in order to love them, it is necessary to love divine things in order to know them. Let not the student then who would penetrate into the real meaning of the sacred text, rely upon the grammar and lexicon, upon conventions and institutes of interpretation which cannot lead beyond the letter. *All true knowledge of Scripture must proceed from the life of faith*; we must believe in order to experience, and experience in order to understand." This is very similar to that maxim of Anselm adopted by the the profound and pious Schleiermacher as his motto for the study of the Scriptures, "Non enim quaero intelligere ut credam sed credo ut intelligam. Nam qui non crederit, non experietur, et qui experitus non fuerit, non intelliget." Similarly said the Halleian divines, (Knapp's Theol., p. 12): "The elements of theological science should not be drawn solely from the written page of revelation; the contents of this page must first be translated to the tablets of the heart; these inward tablets must then be studied and strictly compared with the outward letter, and from this faithful and living transcript, corresponding with the original revelation and from this revelation thus transferred to the heart the elements of the system must be derived." In harmony with the Halleian theologians is Dr. Sprecher in his "Groundwork," who has convincingly shown that this fundamental conception of the gospel by the great reformers, obscured, forgotten, reviled as pietistic fanaticism or enthusiastic mysticism, is preserved through the Halleians in the Lutheranism of the General Synod. In this Luther-

anism and that of all those who have rightly apprehended Luther's doctrine and imbibed his spirit—rather the Spirit which ever accompanies the word which through him was restored and preached again—is found that great distinguishing feature of the gospel, viz, : this, that it gives to all who receive it power to become the sons of God and to have a sure witness of this in the heart, testified to by the Spirit which he hath freely given unto them.

To see how sharply this glorious inheritance of the Lutheran Church distinguishes it from the Papal Church which thrust the ghostly—one might also say the ghastly—organism of the hierarchy between the individual soul and Christ and denies to it all immediate, personal and independent access to God through Christ and thus personal assurance of salvation, one needs only to hear the Council of Trent, (Sec. vi., Chap. ix., Art. De Justificatione): "It is on no account to be maintained that those who are really justified ought to feel fully assured of the fact, without any doubt whatever; or that none are absolved and justified but those who believe themselves so, or that by this faith only absolution and justification are procured; as if he who does not believe this, doubts the promises of God and the death and resurrection of Christ. For while no godly person ought to doubt the mercy of God, the merit of Christ or the virtue and efficacy of the sacraments; so, on the other hand, whoever considers his own infirmity and corruption may doubt and fear whether he is in a state of grace, since no one can certainly and infallibly know that he has obtained the grace of God." Certainly not, if the virtue of absolution and the efficacy of the sacraments depend on the intentions of the priest and his possession of the Holy Spirit.

Over against this, Luther, as Sir Wm. Hamilton quotes, declared that "he who hath not assurance spews out faith," and Melanchthon makes assurance "the discriminating line of Christianity from heathenism." The Westminster Assembly, affirms the same authority, was the first synod in Protestantism to declare that "*assurance is not of the essence of faith.*" The Scottish General Assembly has once and again condemned this, the doctrine of Luther, as also that of the other reformers.

Whilst, therefore, discriminating the doctrine of "full assurance" from both Romish hierarchial assumptions of authority to dictate individual opinions and propositions of belief, and mystical raptures and fancies ; from the complacent dreams of perfectionists, from the infallible certainty of salvation based upon unconditional election and irresistible grace, and from all other kinds of assurance or doubt, let us seek only that assurance which comes through an enlightened understanding, living faith and a purifying hope.



ARTICLE VI.

PHILLIPS BROOKS' INFLUENCE OF JESUS.

By C. A. STORK, D. D., Baltimore, Md.

The Bohlen Lectures, 1879. The Influence of Jesus. By Rev. PHILLIPS BROOKS ; delivered in the Church of the Holy Trinity, Philadelphia, February, 1879. New York : E. P. Dutton & Co. 1879. 12mo. pp. 274.

There are two separate interests attaching to this new book of this rapidly rising writer : the one that belongs to the richness and beauty of the thoughts it gives, and the other to the light it throws on the outline theory of life, on his philosophy of Christianity. It is hard to say which is the more fascinating. For the full flow of suggestive thoughts, pregnant ideas, poetic imagery, subtle analyses of vital questions, that bears one on as on the bosom of a deep, serene river, make an interest that is sufficient of itself.

But perhaps to those who have read his earlier publications, the "Lectures on Preaching," and the "Sermons," the interest of having in full the philosophy of religion that the readers of the earlier volumes felt was suggested in them, and only suggested, is the deeper charm. For, after all, the writers that fascinate and hold us permanently are those whose thoughts, beautiful and striking as they may be by themselves, are only parts and members of a whole, a system, a unity of truth.

It was impossible to read Dr. Brooks' earlier works and not

feel such a system underlying all their fine thinking and gracious utterances. The Lectures on Preaching were full of suggestion and inspiration, but their best suggestion was of some deep body of truth that gave body and force to each separate idea. So with the Sermons. Diverse as they were in subject and treatment one seemed to feel a thread of thought, a key-note of feeling that ran through and gave them unity.

And now in these four lectures on the Influence of Jesus, we have laid before us in full the author's philosophy of "the power of Christianity over Man." On the first page he condenses into a few sentences his theory of Christianity, and all that comes after is only the unfolding of that one thought. "I have been led to think," he says, "of Christianity not as a system of doctrine, but as a personal force, behind which and in which there lies one great inspiring idea, which it is the work of the personal force to impress upon the life of man. * * The personal is the nature of Jesus, full of humanity, full of divinity. * * The inspiring idea is the fatherhood of God, and the childhood of every man to Him. * * This is the sum of the work of the Incarnation."

It would be hard to put an idea more clearly than that; and as you read on you wonder to see how all the rich and various thought that grows out of that opening germ into the succeeding lectures, is yet only a true development of the one thought. It is like seeing the acorn opened, discovering the oak folded away in germ in its cell, and then watching the tree grow up with branch and sprig and leaf and fruit and color to its full proportions. Let us notice just here the marvelous union in Dr. Brooks of the analytic and the synthetic faculty. To read him at his best is like reading the subtlest philosophy and the finest poetry. His process is always analytic. His first notion is to analyze, to open your thought and show what it is made of: he runs down the line of its growth to its root and shows where each fibre comes from, and then having taken it to pieces he builds it up again; and so creates the thought as applied to life, and gives you back the idea in the completeness of life, but also with the added knowledge of its structure and inner constitution and relation to all other life. This by the way.

The idea of Jesus, as our author calls it, he then proceeds to unfold in its influence on man through the four sides of his moral life, his social life, his emotional life, and his intellectual life. It is not easy in the space of this short article, to give even an epitome of his theory of that application; for though the book is not large it is tremendously condensed. Each member of the development is but a suggestion of a line of thought. And further, our author's handling of his subject is of that subtle character which makes it extremely difficult to find and define the solid skeleton that underlies the rounded and complete form. What we can do in that direction, however, let us try.

The first lecture is to show that "the shaping power of Christian morals is the manifestation of God's fatherhood made in Jesus Christ." Christian morality is a family morality. It has for its type the morality which grows up in the child that "lives in his father's house sheltered by and fed out of his father's character." Its two essential works are "the complete combination of pattern and power in its source * * and the combination of reason and authority in its basis." In Christ's life is revealed the pattern and power of right living; and in His teaching is given the basis of reason and authority on which Christian morality must rest. This is illustrated by a hasty exegesis of the chief features of the Sermon on the Mount which he calls "the text-book of duty."

Then he points out the moral standard, which he finds imbedded in the heart of every son of God and brought out by the life of Christ touching it and appealing to it. This is treated very richly by a series of pictures from the gospels.

The motive of morals he next finds in the love Jesus awakens. He shows how that motive works in self-discontent linked to the hopes of a better life; how Christ appeals to it by the threats of the gospel.

He proceeds then to designate some of the characteristic features of this Christian morality: that it is colored all through with sentiment; the quality of love; that it unites at once breadth of view and definiteness of personal aim; that it secures humili-

ty by aspiration; that it has the true courage which comes from the sense of being held and directed by the Heavenly Father, or as he so exquisitely enounces it, that "the dependence upon God makes the independence of man in which are liberty and courage."

This imperfect outline has without doubt, a very skeleton-like and bony look. It is almost incredible that on this rigid framework there should blossom out such beauty and vigor of life as really does in the full treatment. But that is the nature of skeletons. The reader must take our word for it that this brief sketch as it clothes itself under the hand of the author becomes rich and glowing. The old gospel stories under his touch seem to open and let our eyes down to a deeper and richer meaning than we saw before. Take this on that review of discontent and hope which works a true Christian morality:—

"Simon Peter has Jesus in his little fishing boat. And this time it is by some exhibition of His power, by some wonderful draught of fishes in the before empty net, that the personality of the Master has been pressed close upon His disciples. And then Peter breaks out. Prostrate at Jesus's knees, 'Depart from me,' He cries, 'for I am a sinful man, O Lord.' Despondency, almost despair, a deep sight into his own heart, a bitter sense of contrast with the nature which the touch of miracle, like a flash of lightning, had made clear to him,—all this is in those passionate and hurried words. But what comes next? 'When they had brought their ships to land, they forsook all and followed Him.' Peter and all the rest! Not only all the rest, but Peter! With the imploring cry, 'Depart!' yet on his lips, he follows Him whom he had begged to go away. It was the power of love overwhelming the sense of unworthiness, and filling him with hope. It was the beautiful, noble inconsequence and inconsistency of a great nature all in tumult, which never felt the attraction of holiness so irresistibly as when it seemed altogether beyond his reach, and never so knew how unholy he was as at the very moment when the power of holiness was making him its slave and chaining him, a willing follower and servant, to the feet of the Holy One."

But he not only makes pictures pregnant with meaning. What a fine true analysis that strikes us like a new discovery in nature, so novel and yet so true, is there in this on Christ's use of threats: "He sends out His disciples * * and declares to them what shall be the penalty of unfaithfulness and partial compromising consecration: 'He that loveth father or mother more than Me is not worthy of Me. He that findeth his life shall lose it.' But instantly, part of the same verse, before He takes His breath, He cries, 'He that loseth his life for My sake shall find it.' The threat is nothing to Him. He does not care to inspire fear unless, startled and stirred by danger, the men to whom He speaks can be made to tremble down so deep that the capacity of being all that He wants them to be shall wake out of its slumber and stand upon its feet, and, shaking the very thought of fear away, go forth to a duty which has its only inspiration in the consciousness of privilege and in the thought of blessing. He always shakes the sleepy soul, not as the jailer, who rouses the wretch upon his execution morning, to lead him to his death, but as the watchman, who puts the sword into the drowsy soldier's hand that he may go and fight his battle. It is as a revelation of blessing by the dreadfulness of its opposite. It is as the golden medal shown on its reverse, with all its deep depressions only indicating the premonitives of happiness and goodness which its true face contains."

That illustrates what was said above, that "to read Dr. Brooks at his best is like reading the subtlest philosophy and the finest poetry."

Another passage in this lecture, on the work of Christian morality, that "it secures humility by aspiration and not by depression," invites quotation for its keen insight and inspiring tone; but the reader must turn to it for himself.

The second Lecture aims to "show how the idea of Jesus is the constructive power of the social life of man." To do this, he says, we must study the social life of Jesus Himself and see in His relationship to men how all the relationships of men ought to be built. This is, as he says, a Biblical study. Indeed, it may be remarked just here, that one of the great charms of

this book is its complete saturation with the tone, the spirit, the atmosphere, the very scenes of the scriptures. It is among many other things a most rich commentary on the Bible, after the school of Bengel. It is by a series of studies of Christ in His social relation that the question of how He influences men on their social side is attempted to be answered. First, we are shown Jesus in His relations to individuals; then to the group of His disciples which was the rudimentary Church; and then in His relation to His country. Of these the first has the most extended treatment. The social nature, he declares, provides for man's complete self-consciousness and for his fullest activity and efficiency. Man in society is to find himself and to be of the best use to his fellows. So Christ came to men: His was a thoroughly social life. In mixing with men He developed His own circumstances as the Son of God, and He touched all lives in the most fruitful way. We see Him at Cana in the happy brotherhood revealing God the Father by His miracle of the transformed water; and then in Simon's house He shows to the amazed company the sisterhood of the poor woman that was a sinner. At Bethany to Mary and Martha He shows God His Father in His familiar converse, and by the restoration of Lazarus breaks open the barrenness of the household to let in the broad thought of God. In all of these cases Jesus is leading the individual by a contact with other human lives to reach God, leading him to find his Father amongst his brethren.

What Christ emphasizes is that "society does does not exist for itself, but for the individual: and man goes into it not to lose, but to find himself." He goes into it to find the reality of his sonship to God, and the meaning and duties of that sonship, by intercourse with those who are fellow sons of the same Father. At this point our author shows the reciprocal uses of solitude and society, and throws light on that old question whether for the best life one should be much alone or much in company. He sums up in a few perfect sentences the whole truth:—

"Solitude makes the consciousness; society develops, multiplies and confirms it. That which would have remained only a quality in Him, if He had stayed in the desert, becomes a life

when He goes forth into the world. * * This is Christ's balance between solitude and society. Each makes the other necessary." And then farther on he casts his truth into one of those quick, flashing images so common with him, and which are at once a resolution of and a new argument for his truth: "Solitude shapes and colors the precious forms of character which then the furnace of society burns to solidity and brilliancy and permanence."

Then follow some striking passages as he applies this idea of Jesus going to men to find Himself and to move them to His treatment of men in classes. Jesus never lets men lose sight of the truth that, however they are classed and ranked in society, it is the man that is the final unit. Christianity, he says, always has its eye fastened on the individual. That is one of the greatest of the influences of Jesus on the social nature of man; men have never been able to shake off what Jesus taught them in the story of the man with a hundred sheep who left the ninety and nine to find the one. That key-note sounded in all Jesus' life; and it still sounds in all Christian society. To this sense of the value of the individual he refers Christ's special interest in the young. It is because youth is the period of individual life and hope that Jesus is so drawn to youth.

Then follow passages on the meaning of true courtesy, and on "the hard question of privilege," which are rich in thought and inspiration, but which must be passed without further notice.

He treats very briefly the relation of Christ to His disciples, "the rudimentary church" as he calls it. First the power of Jesus draws these men; then the word and life of Jesus discovers to them the Heavenly Father and their own sonship and consequent brotherhood. Then what they have received they must transmit; "out of the heart of the discipleship comes the apostleship." And so the Church is born, and our relationships in it are discovered to us and formally enunciated:—"the germ and essence of all the rich history of the Church is in that body of disciples bound to each other by the revelation of their human sonship to the Father."

So with the relation of Jesus to the nation. He was a patriot; He loved Jerusalem. But that which separates the pa-

triotism of Jesus from the ancient world patriotism is "the constant predominance of the sonship to God over the sonship to David, making Him always eager for the land of David, because of the interests of God which it enshrined."

This lecture, it will be noticed, is more fragmentary than the former. It has one idea which is turned and made to flash its several faces on us in succession.

The third Lecture shows how Jesus in His own life makes us see that not joy and not sorrow are the substance of life, but something deeper, viz: the doing of God's will. We are not to seek joy or shun sorrow, but to do God's will because He is our Father and we His children. In doing that, joy and sorrow will come to us as light and shadow flow over the landscape. Two questions then he asks: What is the position and meaning of enjoyment and sorrow in the life of Jesus? 2. What is the position and meaning of enjoyment and sorrow in the life of His disciples?" Three classes of joy and sorrow came to Jesus, and so to all His disciples. First those of the physical nature. Pain and pleasure came through His body in the temptation and in the transfiguration. It came to Him through nature and its goodness and beauty. "This was what the succession of physical pain and pleasure meant to Jesus. It was the witness of His complete life; it was the register of the disordered world; and it was the instrument for the development of His spiritual consciousness." And what these meant to Jesus they should mean, and more or less, as we are in sympathy with Christ, do mean to us His disciples.

The second class of joys and sorrows, those of the affections, are treated much in the way; in them also Jesus had the witness of His true humanity and brotherhood to all men; in them all He felt the disorder of the world. And so must it be to His disciples. As our affections widen and deepen, the joy and sorrow that come with them make us feel more profoundly the brotherhood we have to man and rejoice in that; make us feel, too, more keenly the disorder and misery that strikes through the affections.

Last of all come the moral joys and pains. With reference to this class of pleasure and sufferings our author points out how

all Christ's delight in moral good and His pain at moral evil took a personal form. The desecration of the temple which kindled his indignation was not mere sacrilege; it was the indignity done. "My Father's house." When He rejoiced in the beauty of faith and obedience, it was the faith of the centurion and of the Syrophœnician.

The lecture concludes with a brief allusion to Christ's apparent neglect of the joys and pains that arise from our æsthetic nature.

Perhaps it is in the last lecture, the *Influence of Jesus on the Intellectual Life of Man*, that attention will most eagerly fix itself. It would naturally be so from the temper of the age in which we live, and which, whether we will or no, colors all our thoughts and determines the proportions of our interest in the several phases of the Christian idea. An age which puts its skepticism into the form of Agnosticism, and the proudest boast of which is that it is the century of knowledge as distinguished from the centuries of faith, will challenge with its keenest scrutiny the intellectual side of the Christian religion. What then is the influence Jesus exerts on the intellectual life?

He finds the answer to that question in Jesus' use of the word TRUTH. That word is constantly in Christ's mouth through the gospel of St. John. But what does He mean by it? Then follows an examination of the passages in which Jesus uses it, an examination full of deep penetrating lights, pregnant thoughts and beautiful pictures. The result is to discover that *truth* with Jesus is always contemplated in relation to character. "A man of truth is something more than a man who knows the truth, whose intellect has seized it; a man of the truth is a man into all whose life the truth has been pressed till he is full of it, till he has been given to it, and it has been given to him, he being always the complete being whose unity is in that total of moral, intellectual and spiritual life which makes what we call character." He finds in this a clear conception of what the intellectual life was in Jesus. It was never something by itself. "What comes to Jesus as knowledge is pressed and gathered into every part of Him, and fills His entire nature as truth." From this it follows that the mere quest

of knowledge is a subordinate thing; to know what is true is mere emptiness unless in finding what is true we also find what is right.

The thought of the inseparableness in Christ's intellectual life of what is true from what is right, is applied to the question of the relation knowledge bears to life universally, in some passages that abound in what is at once the subtlest and the most practical of thinking.

But still the question remains. Where does Jesus win His knowledge of truth, what is its source and its test? And that is confessed in a few words. The source of truth is God, and the organ by which we obtain it is obedience. It was so with Christ; it is so with us. At the base of the inspiration of Jesus lies His obedience: "I do always those things that please Him." From that obedience comes communion. "He that sent Me is with Me." And that communion gives light: "As my Father hath taught Me I speak."

In illustrating the influence Jesus exerted on the intellectual life of His disciples a comparison is instituted between the teaching of Christ and of Socrates on immortality. This whole passage is full of fine strokes and flashes of insight; but only the result can be given here. "The difference of result, in one word, is the difference between convincing the intellect and making the man believe. * * One is divine and human; the other is human only. One is Redeemer; the other is philosopher. * * One reveals, and the other argues. * * The truth of all the influence of Jesus over men's minds is, that where Socrates brings an argument to meet an objection, Jesus always brings a nature to meet a nature."

Then follow some special characteristics of the intellectual influence of Jesus. They are very striking and shed a clear lambent light on many of the vexed questions of the day; but they must only be named here. "A poetic conception of the world we live in, a willing acceptance of mystery, an expectation of progress by development, an absence of fastidiousness, and a perpetual enlargement of thought from the arbitrary into the essential,—these are the intellectual characteristics which Christ's disciples gathered from their Master." If there is one

of these subjects which more than the others gives us in its treatment that bright surprise which is the accompaniment of the stroke of genius, it is that alluded to as the "absence of fastidiousness." The idolaters of culture ought to have that passage printed as their penitential psalm to be read three times a day as a mental corrective and purgative.

A few pages on the presence in modern thought of the peculiar character of the intellectual life of Jesus and His disciples conclude the book.

And now for some judgments on the work as a whole.

Naturally the first question is as to its truth. That question has been already raised. Here and there the critics have said, 'it is very beautiful and suggestive, but is it sound?' It is thought that too much is made of the humanity of Christ, and too little of His Divinity. But that is inevitable from the nature of the subject discussed: it is not the essential being of Jesus that is considered, but his influence on men. In treating that, the human side, of necessity, takes the larger place. Mr. Brooks, as it seems to us, takes for granted the Divine Nature in Christ, and then turns his whole attention to showing how the divine wrought through the human to influence men. The same reply is to be made to the criticism that the atoning work of Christ is left out of view. It certainly is, and perhaps too much so; but it is easy to see how that would be when we remember that the thing to be shown is not what Christ did for men as a Redeemer, but what He was to them as a revelation and inspiration. However this may be, no one can read the sermons of our author and not feel that if certain great features of Christian truth are dim in this book, it is not because he does not hold them, but because they did not come in his way to treat in the work in hand.

Another objection has been urged to the book that it is vague. And it is not easy to see how that objection can be put aside. Vague it is: its definition of truth is always at one point or other falling off into indistinctness; the central point may be clear and sharp, but out at the circumference the precision melts away into a soft blur. There is always a point where the reader feels as if a haze, a very beautiful and tender haze, and one that

palpitates with warmth and color, but still a haze, settles down on the page. But then when you think of what it is he is trying to construct before the mind's eye, the relation that God reveals in human form, sustains to the individual soul, to the race, what can we expect but that the great proportion of the picture should here and there be lost in the mist. It will be said that it is possible to make theology clear and distinct; that there are the *Dogmatik* of Schmidt, the *Systematic Theology* of Hodge. Yes, these are distinct enough, but then they get distinctness by leaving out something else, the mystic element, the quality of infinitude. A celestial globe gives the truth of astronomy and gives it distinctly, too; but it leaves all the mystery and spacial grandeur, the powerful indefiniteness of the heavens out. Is it too much to say that a work on theology that is perfectly clear and distinct, while it may be very true and useful, is certain to be very uninspiring? What Claudius said about the gospel of St. John ought to be measurably true of every great theological work, "the idea seems to hover before me in the distance; and even when I look into a place that is entirely dark, I have a presension of a great, glorious sense."

What really marks the book and promises it a permanent place in religious literature, is its exquisite mingling of the intellectual and devotional. It has been compared to "*Ecce Homo*," and to the "*Imitation*" of it Kempis. But it differs from the former by its whole attitude with respect to Jesus as a person. In "*Ecce Homo*" we feel only the keen judgment of a critic who surveys Christ from the outside, as a wonderful phenomenon. It is clear on every page that the clever writer has learned his Jesus out of books; the living Christ he has never known. But every page of our author's glows with a sense of personal loyalty to Jesus Christ, the great Saviour. It is the outside view of Christ's life penetrated with the inward vision of Him that one has who loves Him, who lives in Him and for Him. In this inner glow and pulse of feeling it does recall in a far-off way the "*Imitation*:" the same love and ardor of devotion that sends its glow across the gulf of centuries from that little record of a soul, burns in these new pages; they are brothers in love for the great, dear Saviour. But then the "*Imitation*" loves a Je-

sus whom it has gone aside from the busy, real world to find and commune with. The intellectual element is of the feeblest. Its Christ seems some way to be all out of relation to the real world of men: it has no light for the world that has not yet found Jesus. And that last is the special gladness of the book before us. It too glows with love for Jesus; but it sees how He is the Saviour of common men in the busy walks of life as well as of the recluse devotee. It is a book that reconciles the devotion of the saint, and the practical hope and activity of the busy worker in the open world.

One word about the subtlest quality of all in this remarkable book. Perhaps the greatest charm in it is its atmosphere, its tone. What is tone? Well, if one does not feel it, how can it be described? It is the quality in a writer which reveals his personality, his inner character. If he is base, then he may write the truest things in the most brilliant way, but his tone reveals the base nature behind, and while we admire his skill, we recoil from the man; and it is the tone that determines the influence any writer has on us. If he is true and pure and lofty his spirit takes us, and when we leave him the quality of his life goes echoing on in our minds like a melody that rings in the ear after the instrument is still. Madame Dacier used to say that after reading Homer, all the men she met in the street seemed ten feet high. He had ennobled the world for her; and so after reading Brooks all our common fellow-men seem for the time loftier and more worthy. The charm of his faith in Jesus and in the possibilities of those whom Jesus came to save, takes us; and we see men as they are in their possibility and capacity.

ARTICLE VII.

THE PRINCIPLE OF THE REFORMATION.

By PROF. W. H. WYNN, Ph. D., State Agricultural College, Ames, Iowa.

The Groundwork of a System of Evangelical Lutheran Theology. By SAMUEL SPRECHER, D. D., LL. D. Lutheran Publication Society, Philadelphia.

It is not too much to say that the Reformation of the sixteenth century was an event in the religious history of the race, second only in importance to the original proclamation of the glad news of salvation by the Master Himself. Indeed it was but the return of the Master to his heritage, after long years of gloomy exile, in the restoration of the Scriptures, and the overthrow of that enormous system of ecclesiasticism that had absorbed and poisoned all the spiritual energies of the Church.

The foremost and by far the most heroic spirit of those times was Martin Luther. In reviewing, as we may, with increasing wonder, the successive stages of his remarkable career, and noting the unprecedented mingling of rare and even marvelous traits in his unique personality, we cannot resist the impression that he was raised up and specially endowed for his work. The idea is somewhat under ban, it is true, in these days when new sociological theories are attributing all advance in the ages "wholly to the force of laws working out their results without the interference of either divine or human agency."* Nevertheless we must assume, that God is in His world, and that human history is not without the interposition of His beneficent hand; and then we shall have no difficulty in believing that the same divine providence that superintended the introduction of Christianity among men must take its subsequent fortunes no less tenderly to heart, and that, in periods of great spiritual decline, and imminent peril to the Church, strong men will be

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raised up and equipped to battle with the evil of their times, and reassert the lost truth in its pristine purity and power.

No doubt the great All-Father has been thus stooping to the exigencies of the race everywhere, in all ages and in all climes, inspiring men in certain critical crises of affairs, with just the ardor of spirit, the fire of intense burning conviction, and the sweep of irresistible utterance, that were needed to arrest the downward habit of their age, and lead on to a brighter day. The study of comparative religions teaches this. But when we turn to Christianity, and find in it a religion superior to every other, as lying nearer the heart of the providential government of the world, and entitled on this account to diffuse itself to the utmost bounds of the habitable globe, replacing all others, and carrying to all nationalities a civilization of its own, we begin to think that the divine solicitude is specially for it. And why not? Reasoning backward from effect to cause, from what Christianity has done in our modern world, from the vast social organizations it has built up, the intellect it has aroused, the morals it has taught, the charities it has dispensed, the fine amenities it has thrown over the native savagery of men, it requires an effort not to feel that there is a supernatural principle underlying it all. If supernatural in its origin, why not in some sense visibly supernatural in its history also? It has always seemed to us exceedingly gratuitous to shut back the rush of Pentecost to within some vaguely defined period on the hither side of the apostolic age, and have the people of God in the long centuries following walk solitary by some faintly reflected traces of the vanished footsteps of the Master, holding the doctrine in formulated phrase that the Master Himself, during this moonlit interval, can find no direct communication with the souls of men. The sun having gone down we must be satisfied with the moon.

This was specifically the sentiment that marked the decline of the religious life of the Middle Ages—the Master is hopelessly absent, the pope must take His place. In lieu, therefore, of the lowly Nazarene trudging patiently among the diseased and wretched multitudes, healing their maladies, and pardoning their sins, we shall have some inflated bishop occupying His

vacant seat—a seat not on the brow of Olivet, nor on some beetling crag overlooking the sea, but a throne in the Vatican made of ivory and gold, and superstitious devotees cringing to kiss his feet. Looking on this picture and then on that, one could hardly believe that the self-abnegating religion of Jesus could ever be so completely transformed from its primitive type, as to become the enormous system of spiritual imposture we see in the Church of Rome. But the process is easy to trace. Jesus has gone into the heavens, leaving behind him only such invisible influences as are presumed to be powerless except in so far as they can have a sensuous exhibition in imposing rites. The priesthood will monopolize them. They will build up a vast hierarchy, with rank above rank, of consecrated function and mysteriously perpetuated rule, until the whole is crowned by the monstrous assumption of an authenticated vicegerency of our Lord in the person of the pope. Beginning in a mistake, the fatal error has been consummated in a fraud. The Church seeing the Master go up in the clouds so soon forgot the last words of His that lingered on the air: “Lo! I am with you always;” and then wicked and ambitious men, seeing the Seat Perilous without an occupant, as they conceived, rushed in to preëempt the vacant place, and with what consequences the disastrous fate of Merlin will scarcely describe.

The pope and mediating priesthood were the most effectual negative these final words of Jesus could have received. For if the spiritual interests of men are in the keeping of the pope, he and not the Master must be invoked, and then it must come out, at last, that the returning prodigal will never get back to his father’s house. The pope can have but a delegated sympathy, a purely factitious interest in the vast populations that lie on the limits of Christendom; and such is his blasphemous frame of usurped prerogative before God that he can have no Christly devotion toward those even who fawn at his feet. So far as the divine Spirit is concerned he has none of it to give, and if he had, there would be no mystic channel through which he could impart it to men. The penitent soul is satisfied only with a sense of restored favor to what has seemed to him the offended and unappeasable Majesty of Heaven, an assurance

which, if the Scriptures be true, he can find no where else than in the face of the Lord's anointed, shining now as ever like the sun in his strength. "I am the way, and the truth, and the life; no man cometh unto the Father but by me." Now this, and numberless other passages of like import, imply immediate and perennial access to the Redeemer of men. They imply also that the most opaque abstract that can be thrust in between the soul and its God is this ecclesiastical fabric propagating and trafficking in the error that Jesus is absent from his church. "For there is one God, and one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus."

Now if the bewildered ages will come to themselves in the mission of Martin Luther, it will be by some experience of his that will steer him clear of the great apostacy of his times, and get him back to the original teaching of Jesus as to the manner in which the soul must find access to its God. There is in this man's spiritual struggles after light, and in the burst of revelation that floods his darkness, something so anomalous and remarkable that we cannot help thinking that he was under special training for his work, in much the same way as the prophets and apostles were, with this difference that it shall be his task to recover when lost what they originally deposited with men. It is especially noteworthy, as confirming this view, that he experiences the lost secret before he has quite found out where the places of its concealment is. Before Luther stumbled upon the Bible at Erfurt, he had already passed through the preliminary experience that would enable him to catch the meaning as soon as the words of the Master would flash upon his view. It remained for him to put into forms of thought, and preach with unwonted power, what he had already enjoyed as life.

Here it is that we come in contact with the ruling idea of Dr. Sprecher's book. The object of the "Groundwork" is to grasp adequately what we may designate Luther's inspired conception of the heart and soul of the Christian religion as embodied in his battle cry: "The just shall live by faith." If we analyze closely the spiritual wrestlings of Luther up to the time of his visit to Rome, and the great revelation that flooded

his mind as he climbed up the *scala santa* on his bleeding knees, we shall easily make the discovery that they are the agonies of a soul under a conviction of sin, finding its way at last into the presence of its God. The extreme simplicity of this experience, as seen now in the light of an open Bible and attended by the universal witness of the Protestant Christianity of our day, makes it difficult to account for its long obscuration among men, and the troubles and upheavals that must attend its recovery when lost. But the fact remains, and Dr. Sprecher's book is itself an evidence that the "principle" has not yet been fully reclaimed. Human nature, in due course of its development, must pass through the external and sensuous stages of its unfolding, and the danger is that when sin is added it will not know, or may easily forget, that faith in God is attainable only by a distinct movement toward a higher plane. "The kingdom of God cometh not with observation." "The kingdom of God is within you." The danger is that the natural man will not be transcended, and that religion, instead of being approached in her own supernal mansion, and solicited to issue her mandates to all the grosser powers below, will herself be dragged down and prostituted in the embrace of the flesh, or will live only by a faint sacerdotal effigy before the eyes of men.

Some sensuous embodiment religion must have, a festival, an ablution, a sacrifice, a creed, but such is the imperfection of human nature that it will readily substitute the ritual for the truth the ritual was intended to teach. Then spiritual barrenness will ensue, and long ages of the most inveterate formalism will curse the Church. Sacraments, genuflexions, the gorgeous adornment of altars, the rich vestments of the priest, the swinging of censers, the mumbling of prayers, the roll of the organ as an accompaniment to the trained voices of white-robed singers—all acted out under the dim religious archways of the gothic cathedral; these empty forms, appealing at best to the feeling of awe, or to an æsthetic sentiment in the worshipers, will effectually smother all conception of a personal approach unto God, and in the meantime become more oppressive and more intolerant in their demands. The pilgrims to Came-

lot may be dazed by the witchery of the gate, for "there was no gate like it under heaven ;" gazing until

"The dragon-boughts and elvish emblemings
Begin to move, seethe, twine, and curl,"

and they fail to enter into the city to look upon the glories of the king. Or to change the figure—for there is an element of wickedness in it which this mild imagery will not describe—as it is now no longer the Lamb in the midst of the throne to whom all flesh must come, but the pope in his pontifical chair, a Babel is erected, and the infatuated priests go up to usurp the prerogatives of God Himself.

In the Italy which Luther saw, the Italy of the Borgias, there was, to use the language of Michelet, "the atheist priest proclaiming himself monarch of the universe." It was in the days of Raphael and Michael Angelo, and religion having died, art had come in to take its place. Pope Julius II. and Leo X. have resolved to build a temple to the glory of the papacy that, significantly enough, should be the pagan Pantheon swung in the air ; and straightway the pardon of sins became merchandise, and the young monk returning from Rome encountered Tetzels making traffic of God's mercy to rob the poor of their money, that thereby this mausoleum of a dead Church might be erected. Meantime the Bible was a lost book, and the priests themselves had no knowledge of the original sources whence their religion was derived.

In short all spiritual life had disappeared from Christendom when Fra Luther arrived. Its theology had been so long at sea in the fogs of scholasticism that it had lost its bearings, and no purely intellectual movement, like that inaugurated by Erasmus and the English reformers, was at all capable of bringing the weather-beaten vessel safely into port. All channels of church life were reeking with decay. The monasteries were breeding leprosy everywhere, and the most stupendous superstitions and wrongs were fostered under the unblushing charlatanry of the priests. No movement directed simply to the reform of these abuses, as was that of Savonarola in Florence, or the earlier part of Luther's own career, could touch the seat of the disease. The knife must probe to the roots, and

Luther was the divinely selected surgeon for the task. Saving faith, as Luther rediscovered it, had actually dropped out from the minds of men, and was buried away with the Scriptures in the heaps of manuscript rubbish that crowded the monastery vaults; while as a matter of experience it was known only here and there to the babes of the kingdom, who could not make their joy intelligible to the spiritual rulers of the land. Luther, a bold, strong, valiant man, with great learning and lion-like intrepidity of spirit, is going forth to proclaim it on the house-tops, and trumpet it around the world—the recovered message of the Master Himself, the message of salvation by faith alone in the Son of God, the doctrine that one is your Master, and all ye are brethren, the universal priesthood of the saints.

Restoring the Bible, he must restore this; for if in the providence of God he has the earnestness, the zeal, the insight, to rise above the darkness of his times to such an extent as to be able to read without bias the plain simple teachings of Christ and His apostles, this doctrine of salvation by faith alone in the Son of God will be seen to be the sum and substance, the exhaustive formula in whole and in part, of the divine Redeemer's mission to men; and, in every aspect of it, it will be found to be in fatal antagonism to the intermediating priestcraft, ritualistic flummeries, and debasing idolatries of the Church of Rome. That is a significant story of the Bishop of Mayence at the Diet of Augsburg incidentally picking up the Bible; some one twitted him for the act: "Gracious lord, what is your electoral grace doing with this book?" His reply was: "I don't know what book it is; all I know is that what I have been reading in it is clear against us." So obvious was the teaching of Luther lying upon the face of that Bible, that the old Bishop now opening it for the first time in his life was impressed with the coincidence at every desultory glance.

The aim and scope of Dr. Sprecher's "Groundwork" is to rehabilitate that which Martin Luther restored; to repledge the Christian world, in behalf of the Church of the Reformation, that, following still in the line of Luther's noblest inspirations, and despite the frequent obscurations through which the great "principle" has to pass, under the rationalizing and ritualistic

reactions that set in immediately as the personal championship of the great leader had ceased, it clings earnestly, in common with all evangelical churches, to the necessity, first and last, of free, full, assured access of the penitent soul to its God. This book is occupied with "the principle of the Reformation" as the groundwork not only of Lutheran theology, but of all Christian theology that would fairly represent the teachings of our Lord. But inasmuch as that principle is the patrimony from Luther to all Protestant Christendom; and inasmuch as the great Reformer has not unfrequently been misrepresented by those nominally putting themselves forward as the exponents of his views, it was but justice to both master and pupil that his own testimony to that principle, in large and liberal aggregate, should be plentifully produced. Of course, Dr. Sprecher does not swear by Luther; that would be to foreswear Luther himself, who, when the populace of Wittenberg were crowding the gates, and crying after him: "Luther forever," as he took his leave of them on his way to examination by the pope's legate at Augsburg, responded in triumph, "Christ forever and His word." It is exactly with reference to these points of Protestant liberality first mooted by Luther, the entire sufficiency and intelligibility of the word of God, the right of private judgment, the subordinate place for all forms, and creeds, and sacraments, and works, in a scheme where the Spirit of God must find contact with the soul, and engender therein a life of its own;—in short, it is for this most radical and comprehensive doctrine of the universal priesthood of the saints that Luther needs to be vindicated against the high-church tendencies which have maintained a broad current since his day.

Beyond all question the evangelical element in the Lutheran Reformation is best represented in the words and spirit of Luther himself. Although he developed no consecutive system, and was by no means always right—was sometimes downright and stubbornly wrong—yet his insights were so quick and inspirational, and his grasp upon the central doctrine of salvation by faith so jubilant and assured, that he can be better trusted for all its manifold application to a Christian scheme, than any most

elaborate confessional or apologetic expansion that his contemporaries or successors have made. Hence the wisdom of Dr. Sprecher in making sure of Luther's own apprehension of the experience of assured acceptance with God through faith in His Son, and utilizing his warm, fervid, intuitive perceptions of its application as a principle to the entire domain of theological thought. Dr. Sprecher, locking arms with Dr. Dorner with whom he is a twin spirit, has opened out a vast treasure-house of the richest rejuvenations of doctrine in the experiences and unsystematized insights of this remarkable man; so that now the party somewhat timidly represented in the Pietistic movements under Spener and Francke in Germany, and the organization of the General Synod in the United States—reactions against the great reaction—coming up feebly amidst the widespread reflux toward formalism and confessional rigor following immediately on the death of Luther, is demonstrated to be the primitive Lutheranism which the great Reformer set on foot.

For a moment contrast the broad, free, liberal spirit of the Reformer himself, with the exclusiveness and often unkind dogmatizing discoverable in the best of the creeds. Luther says: "There is but one single point in all theology—genuine faith and confidence in Jesus Christ. This article comprehends all the rest." And then, as if in prophetic forecast of the sad fate of this principle under the rationalizing impulses of the human mind, already at work, but not in disparagement of theology itself, he says: "Good and true theology consists in practice, use, and exercise." Right! Luther, those words deserve to be forever embalmed. "Its basis," he proceeds to say, "and foundation is Christ, whose passion, death, and resurrection, are made manifestly intelligible to us by faith. With reference to these things there has started up in our days a *speculative theology* which proceeds upon reason. This same speculative theology has for its author the devil in hell."* Where is the liberality about that? That was a harsh word, I grant, as directed against Zwinglius and the sacramentarians, but it is exactly in

*See his Letters to Melanchthon, 1530.

this *rough spontaneity* that his liberality appears; for the whole utterance sprang out of his resolute purpose to have Christ personally present with His people in the world. "Lo! I am with you always, even unto the end of the world"—that was the sum of theology with Luther. And although we cannot sympathize with him in his bigotry toward Zwinglius, there comes up in our hearts the involuntry "bravo!" when we see him with Titanic grip intent on having the risen Redeemer in plenary communion with His Church. Here was a mystic matter, the glorified Jesus still sojourning on our earth, in a spiritual ubiquity of divine illumination and power—bring your reasoning faculty to play upon it, and the faith of the gospel in the very act will be set aside, and the impenetrable darkness of unbelief will settle on the soul.

And so turn page after page of Dr. Sprecher's judicious extracts from the writings of Luther, and you will find him everywhere laying stress on this "principle," not as a coördinate member of a system of doctrines, but as the groundwork of all doctrine, confident that when it is adequately embraced everything else will come gradually to its place. As if all creeds, and all systems of theology, have claims on our confidence only in proportion as they can be reduced to the simple announcement: "This is life eternal, that they might know Thee, the only true God and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent." The great, rough, overbearing Luther is overbearing to some purpose, when he urges this at the hazard of every thing else, but underneath it all there is the kind-hearted, loving, tender man which Mr. Carlyle has so characteristically described.

Turn now to the Augsburg Confession, the only one of the symbols that is universally received. From the beginning Luther dreaded the timid temporizing leadership of Melancthon in drawing up this instrument, and by frequent letters to him from his concealment at Coburg, tantalizes him with the utter superfluity of his task. "God has placed this cause in a certain position which neither your rhetoric nor your philosophy has been able to fathom,—that position is the light of faith. There all things are inaccessible to the human sight. Whoever desires to render them visible, tangible, and comprehensible, only gets for

his pain, trouble and tears, as you have done.”* Admirable and peerless as this Confession is, it betrays everywhere the marks of Melanchthon’s generalizing habits, and the damaging effects of pure logical processes pushed too far into the realm of unrevealed truth. Considered as doctrinal expositions of the fundamental principle of the Reformation, there is scarcely an article throughout the whole of it to which a mind familiar with the wonderful discoveries of the nineteenth century could yield an unqualified assent. Issues which figure so largely here, and which were the immediate outgrowth of the controversies of those times, have almost ceased to have a meaning for us now, *e. g.*, the metaphysical distinctions of the Trinity; the peculiar tenets of the Anabaptists; the authority of the Church Fathers; the problem of grace and free-will in the phases of it over which their battle was waged. We can have only an historic interest in its frequent overtures to the popes, but no sympathy whatever with its recommendations that “Private Confession ought to be retained in the churches,” and that “absolution is to be valued as being not the voice or word of the present (officiating) human being, but the word of God who pardons sin”—“that God requires us to believe this absolution just as though his voice resounded from heaven.” Even if by mental reservation we may drop from our subscription these local and effete characteristics of the creed, we cannot forget that the instrument was in the nature of the case but a condensed summary of the theological views of the men who made it three hundred and fifty years gone by, in largely such analytic forms as figured habitually in Melanchthon’s mind—the great theologian of the century—and avowedly prepared to meet a political rather than an ecclesiastical, crisis of affairs.

But theology is a science, subject in every particular, excepting only in its fundamental principle of saving faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, to the revision of subsequent ages, and the law of progress which rules everywhere else in the realm of mind. Take even the famous Fourth Article on Justification—the *articulus stautis vel cadentis*—the key note to the Reforma-

*See Luther’s letter to Melanchthon, June 29th, 1530.

tion. Here we find substantially the ground-principle on which every superstructure of Protestant theology must be erected, but where is the mind conversant with the mighty spiritual problems of the age in which we now live, that does not sensibly feel the inadequacy of its phrase. "Men cannot be justified before God by their own strength, merits or works"—certainly they cannot, and so far the words cannot be impugned. "But they are justified gratuitously for Christ's sake, through faith, when they believe that they are received into favor, and that their sins are remitted on account of Christ, who made satisfaction for our transgressions by his death." It will be seen that here is practically a verbal definition of faith, as consisting in the belief, that, for aught that appears, is a process of *thought alone*, or mental self-persuasion that two propositions are true, viz.: that sins are remitted, and the soul received into divine favor for Christ's sake, *i. e.* for the sake of the satisfaction he has made—this mental self-persuasion being imputed as righteousness to the penitent soul that so believes. We may agree on such a construction of the Article as will save it from this wholesale *cognitive* aspect of it, in its definition of faith, but it will be by infusing into it something more than the words will convey. The element of *trust*, in the sense of *personal self-commitment*, of which we make so much account in all our current conceptions of saving faith, may be by implication in the words, but as to plain, literal, obvious meaning the weight of the Article is wholly on the cognitive side.

Indeed, we can see how such phrasing of the article was inevitable in the days in which it was made, when we recall the extent to which the minds of the reformers were under the controlling direction of the Augustinian conception of grace, as dispensed to men in some pre-ordained way, so as to be clear of the doubtful contingency attending the exercises of a capricious human will. The mind apprehends that which *is*, that which *was*, indeed, in the eternal inception of the divine decrees; and any intrusion of a plainly human condition, as for example such as might be hinted in the word *trust*, would so far impair the gratuitous aspect of the justifying grace of God, and open a door-way for the Catholic fallacy of the efficacy of

works. Even Melanchthon's dissent did not reach so far as to take hold of the modern idea of trust, in the sense of a direct repose of the soul on its God. Those great men, just emerging from the darkness of their age, could not see, as we now see, that an intellectual assent to the truth of certain statements, in so far as such assent is at all subject to the option of man, is open to exactly the same objection as that which their system would put in against any stronger exercise of the human will. The evil lies in hoping to get into coördinate doctrinal statement an experience which underlies all theology, the concrete act of the returning prodigal falling upon the bosom of his father, always best expressed, if expressed at all, in the Master's own significant "come unto me," or "abide in me, and I in you; he that abideth in me, and I in Him, the same bringeth forth much fruit." There is a sufficiently clear statement of the *reciprocity of saving faith* with which theology has for so many years stubbornly and fruitlessly wrestled. "At that day ye shall know"—there shall be the element of *assurance* for you in this mutual approach of parties hitherto alienated from one another—"ye shall know that ye are in me, and I in you."

Dr. Sprecher has himself stated, over and over again, the conception of saving faith which prevails in our day, laying stress on that particular phase of it which the Article omits, although of course always assuming that it is by implication there. "Christianity is a fact, a divine power that produces a new life; and, consequently, salvation depends upon the reception of the principle of this life—upon the *implicit commitment of one's self to Christ, unconditional faith in his person*, and devoted surrender to Him—Jesus Himself makes the belief that He 'is the Christ, the Son of the living God'—*attachment to his person* as the Redeemer of the soul, the simple and only condition of salvation. * * * Saving faith depends, not so much upon the reception of fundamental articles of doctrine, as upon the surrender of one's self to the *personal* Saviour—an act of which the young child as well as the mature man, the ignorant peasant as well as the learned theologian is, capable. The works of the intellect can, no more than those of the will of the

Church, be regarded as necessary for salvation.”* Faith, in the sense of *self-surrender to a person*, and that person none other than God manifest in the flesh, is indeed an exercise possible to the child and the illiterate with only intelligence enough to hear and appreciate the story of divine love as revealed in Jesus; but if the refinements of the Article be essential to it, and it be a belief resting on the theological dogmas of satisfaction and imputation, however true these dogmas might be, it is, in this shape, beyond all question quite out of reach of the untutored mind.

Moreover there is the speculative difficulty in the Article's statement of the doctrine, which we now see in a way in which the confessors could not see it, that no amount of *thinking alone*, however prolonged and intense, and upon matters however true, can work out any change in the moral or spiritual status of the soul. “Who of you by taking thought can add one cubit to his stature?” There will be great advantages, no doubt, in brooding over the sublime revelations of God's love in the sacrifice of Christ, in bringing it into such definite outline in a system that the intellect may take hold of it with an assured and comprehensive grasp. This would be science, and we are very far off from asserting that it has not its legitimate sphere. But when all this thinking has been done, and a vast system of fact and formula has mounted into proportions at once imposing and complete—push it to whatever scope of orthodoxy you are able to attain—there still remain areas of the human spirit which your industry has not touched, unless it be as the pyramid throws its shadows over a desert of sand. The voluntary powers, the purposes of men, are not necessarily enlisted even in the enthusiasm of the most luminous thought. Jesus was everywhere meeting with excited multitudes who were mistaking the ebullition of their clear seeing—momentarily clear because of the parable he had uttered—for heart to heart attachment to his cause, for actual changes henceforth and forever wrought on their souls. And he had to temper their fervor by telling them plainly and repeatedly: “If ye continue in my

* See Groundwork, p. 22.

word then are ye my disciples indeed ;” “Not every one that saith unto me Lord, Lord shall enter into the kingdom of heaven ; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven ;” “If ye do the will of my Father ye shall know of the doctrine.” It is true he afterwards explains the will of the Father to be consummated in their believing in Him, but this act of believing, in turn, has in it the element of self-commitment to the person of Christ which the words of the Article will not convey. The kindling of thought even around the infinite glories of the person of Christ, no more than the paroxysmal melting of the emotions before the amazing spectacle of his humiliation and death, may carry with it any assurance of divine acceptance with Him ; because all this may be simply æsthetico-religious in its scope. It has not touched the love of the man, and consequently his life, and cannot penetrate so deeply until the active powers have voluntarily moved toward self-surrender and habitual communion with him.

Luther saw this, and in his spontaneous moments gave it ample expression, in spite of his Augustinian prejudices which drew him powerfully the other way. The Lutheran Church, in all the productive periods of her existence, has seen and acted on this principle, except in those branches in which the symbols have been invested with an authority they cannot rightfully claim. It is the design of Dr. Sprecher to indicate clearly the evils of a too rigid adherence to the venerable Confessions of the past ; and, without disparaging them, to foster the spirit of liberty, inside the fundamental principle they contain, for all phases of theological development and church life that will bring Christ nearer to men. It is not too much to say that this work of his is the most original and powerful contribution to liberal orthodoxy that has been produced in the branch of the Christian Church he represents in this country ; and that a wonderful clearing up of the confusions of the past with reference to the vexed questions of the authority of the symbols, must follow in the track of his generous exposition of the fundamental principle of the religion of Christ. For see what it is destined to decide—I mean in the minds of all those who are really intent on the truth. The long wrestling over *fundamen-*

tals must come to an end ; for henceforth we must speak of the *fundamental principle* of Christianity—there being but one—in-
stead of the fundamental doctrines of our creed. What a broad
catholicity there is about this, and yet how closely it keeps us
clinging to the bleeding side of our crucified but risen Lord !
Who is it, now-a-days, that will not honestly confess that all
ex animo adherence to the symbols must entail a burden of ef-
fects, traditional armor, useless *impedimenta*, upon the Church,
that must fatally cripple her energies for the new and fiercer
conflicts of the times on which she has fallen ; and what kind-
lier office could be rendered than to indicate how far the ances-
tral weapons may be altered or replaced, and what, at last, is
the sword of the Spirit which every one must wield !

We cannot refrain in this connection from adverting briefly,
and in the utmost spirit of toleration, we trust, to the heavy,
trammeling burden which some of the Lutheran family in this
country are determined to bear. The General Council in its
“Fundamental Principles”—now note that the very title is com-
mitted to the radical mistake, that all doctrinal avouchments are
of the nature of fundamental principles, whereas by New Tes-
tament rendering there can be but one fundamental principle, to
wit, saving faith in Jesus Christ our Lord—declares : “We ac-
cept and acknowledge the doctrines of the unaltered Augsburg
Confession, in its original sense, as *throughout in conformity*
with the pure truth of which God’s word is the only rule. * *
The Apology of the Augsburg Confession, the Smalcald Arti-
cles, the catechisms of Luther, and the Formula of Concord
* * * are, with the unaltered Augsburg Confession, in per-
fect harmony of one and the same scriptural faith.”

Dr. Chas. P. Krauth, of the University of Pennsylvania, a
man widely celebrated for his scholarship and complete famil-
iarity with the literature of the Church, is the recognized leader
of this conservative movement ; and it is a matter of interest
to know in what way he can justify such unqualified submission
to human creeds. In distributing the Bible and the creeds to
their respective offices, he resorts to the subtle distinction of a
rule of faith, and a confession of that rule, urging at the same

time that they are both alike binding on the Christian Church. "Just *as firmly* as the Church holds on the one hand that the creed is a confession of faith, and not the rule of it. The creeds are simply the testimony of the Church to the truths she holds; but as it is the truth they confess, she of necessity regards those who reject the truth confessed in the creed as rejecting the truth set forth in the word of God. Whilst, therefore, it is as true of the Lutheran Church as of any other that, when she lays her hand upon the Bible she gives the command 'Believe!' and when she lays it on the Confession she puts the question 'Do you believe,' it is also true that when a man replies 'No' to the question, she considers him as thereby giving evidence that he has not obeyed the command." This is a scheme of confessional exclusiveness that we could scarcely have thought possible in this age of ours—amounting, indeed, through the entanglements of circumlocution, and the subtleties of mere verbal distinctions, to the assumption that the doctrinal standards of the General Council are of equal authority with the word of God. They are not, indeed, the rule of faith, but he who says "No" to the standards, has said "No" also to the word of God,—he who rejects the statements of the Confession, rejects also the truths of the word of God.

Without suspecting it, possibly, the writer has made his theory rest upon a perfectly obvious sophism in his use of the word *confession*, as distinguished from a *rule*. The Bible is the rule of faith, the creed is a confession of that rule. Now if there were only one way of confessing a rule, the distinction the Dr. has made, and the uncharitable inferences he has crowded in its wake, would be perfectly valid for the high-church purposes he has in view. But when the Church lays its hand on the Bible as the rule of faith, without proceeding farther the candidate for church fellowship may then and there orally confess that he believes the sacred truths therein recorded, and who is there to say him nay, especially if in the line of traditional beliefs from the great Reformer, he avows his confidence in the entire sufficiency and intelligibility of the word of God. If it be objected that to the question "Do you believe?" propounded to him over the Bible, he may not know enough of its teachings

to render an intelligent reply, the same objection exactly will lie with even more breadth and force, against every case in which the interrogatory is made over the creed. For the unlearned, and for all, indeed, outside of the ranks of theologians especially trained for the task, it is vastly easier to be sure of a cordial affirmation over the Bible itself, particularly as such affirmation need only extend to the one great fundamental of saving faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, than over all the theological subtleties of the Augsburg Confession of Faith, the Apology, the Smalcald Articles, and the Formula of Concord.

Moreover, when the Church lays its hand on the Confession, what Confession is it? That is a question of intense moment, since a negative to the interrogatory involves a rejection of God's truth. Suppose, for example, the candidate should reply: I would prefer limiting my assent to a greatly reduced list of books than that you have placed before me,—to the Augsburg Confession, say, and in that, also, I should reserve the right of dissenting from every phase of Augustinianism found in it that the *consensus* of progressive Protestant theology has thrown aside, as, for example, the extreme view of original sin as "*vere sit peccatum, damnans et efferens nunc quoque eternum mortem his, qui non renascuntur per baptismum et Spiritum Sanctum;*" and that absolute view of the unqualified sovereignty of the Holy Spirit in its renewing agency on the hearts of men, "*qui fidem efficit ubi et quando visum est Deo*"—what would the churches of the General Council do with such a man? Or, suppose that, rejecting the Augsburg Confession, he is in readiness to accept the Confession of some other Church, must he be looked upon by the adherents of the Augsburg Confession as having rejected "the pure truth of which God's word is the rule?" Dr. Krauth's reply to this is: "She (the Lutheran Church) of necessity regards those who reject the truth contained in the creed (Augsburg Confession, &c.) as rejecting the truth set forth in the word of God."

The un-Lutheran, not to say un-Protestant character of all this, will be perfectly manifest to any one who will recall Luther's favorite doctrine of the sufficiency and intelligibility of the word of God, and his oft repeated and untiring denuncia-

tions of the decrees of Councils as finally settling the faith of the Church. We cannot help thinking that such a doctrinal basis for any branch of the Christian Church must work untold spiritual disaster to those who espouse it, and as to its influence on the general progress of Christ's cause in the world, we can conceive of nothing more damaging coming directly from the professed people of God, unless it be the doom of inertia which such confessional exclusiveness entails.

One word more. If the defense of such a position really rests on the single pillar erected for it by Dr. Krauth, in his specious distinction of the Bible as the rule of faith, and the creed as the confession of that rule, then what becomes of it all when the ambiguity of the word "confession" is removed, and the word "statement" is put in its place; for beyond all question the rule alone is authoritative, and the utmost that could be desired, outside of its own inspired phrasing, is to have some advisory statement of it that will accommodate it, in much the same way that preaching does, to minds more or less morally removed from the spirit of the rule. But in any case the passage from the inspired phraseology to a human statement, is a descent so vast as to be measured only by some doctrine of inspiration that will adequately define the difference between divine and human words. Whatever that difference may be, it is certain that the most elaborate creeds, framed by the most learned and devout students of the Bible and fathers of the Church, cannot contain anything more than *proximate statements* of the truths of God, as these are found in their unmeasured fulness in the storehouse of his word. And, therefore, when the Church lays its hand on the Confession it must be aware that it is laying its hand, not on the absolute truths of the word of God, but only on a proximate statement of those truths. No one who can estimate the distance between divine and human phraseology could for a moment think, with Dr. Krauth, that "he who rejects the truth confessed in the creed, rejects also the truth set forth in the word of God."

But our space warns us that we must draw these remarks to a close. With Dr. Sprecher the principle of the Reformation is of immense scope. It is the groundwork, the foundation,

θεμέλιον, for every system of theology that has any claims on the confidence of men. "Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ." And now taking hold of this principle almost as another Reformer, commissioned anew with the tremendous message to men, he threads his way through all the intricate mazes of modern thought, putting all the profoundest problems of philosophy and theology into the focus of this principle, and determining what there is of hope or fear, promise or scourge, in the colossal systems of idealism that have sprung up in its track, in deism, in pantheism, in all forms of monism, which last now, under the lead of science, threatens our religious horizon with a storm such as never before burst on the world. It is here particularly that the vastness and grandeur of his projected system becomes manifest, and the reader feels the upwelling of a prayer that the master hand that sketched these divisions may be spared and nerved for the completion of its task.

And, now, as we take our leave of these suggestive pages, we find ourselves involuntarily drifting back to the days of our youth—days all too brief—when these same great truths, dispensed from lecture-room and pulpit, fell into the budding susceptibility of our early manhood, like the distilling of sunlight and dew upon the opening verdure of woods and fields. We recall the powerful inspiration they then aroused, from tone, and gesture, and ringing candence, and the ready affluence with which science, and poetry, and history, and rich personal reminiscences, come in to make a way for them into the hitherto unsatisfied longings of our youthful hearts; how we went forth with over-sanguine confidence that all our brethren, and the whole groping world wrapped in the darkness of unbelief, would be alike ready for the proffered illumination—all denominational feuds, and cavils of skeptics, hushed in the unquestioned magnanimity of this simple requisition of submission to Christ; how we came back from the battle-field weary, and worn, and bruised, our hopes blasted, and our vanquished enthusiasm covered with dust; how in the long intervening years the faith of our chief did not languish, not even when the strong tide of formalism which then set in had swept many of his illustrious contem-

poraries hopelessly away; how through the more formidable incursion of English materialism and German pessimism, beneath which all sacred things seemed more than once destined to an eclipse, he held his eye serenely fixed upon the undimmed lustre of the glorified Son of Man, until now a new era is just dawning on his venerable years. This book, the ripened fruit of his own unflinching faith, is but an index-finger pointing the way whither all theology must tend, if the alarming issues of our times are to be successfully met, and the concentrated movement of the infidel forces of the world against all supernatural religion be finally repulsed.



ARTICLE VIII.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

AMERICAN.

BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL.—*The Soul Here and Hereafter*, a Biblical Study, by C. W. Mead, (Boston Congregational Pub. Co.); *Anglo-American Bible Revision*, 18 Essays on various aspects of the Bible revision now going on, by members of the American Revision Committee; *Studies on the Baptismal Question*, including review of Dr. Dale's "Inquiry into the usage of baptizo," by Rev. D. B. Ford; *The Groundwork of a System of Evangelical Lutheran Theology*, by Samuel Sprecher, D. D., LL. D., Professor of Theology in Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio; *Influence of Jesus*, by Rev. Phillips Brooks, the Bohlen Lectures, 1879; *The Life and Work of St. Paul*, by Rev. F. W. Farrar; *Final Theology*, by Rev. Leicester A. Sawyer, an extremely rationalistic view of the narratives of the New Testament; *The Presence of Christ*, by Ant. W. Thorold, six Lectures on Ps. 23d; *The Shorter Epistles*, viz., Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians, Timothy, Titus and Philemon, James, Peter, and Jude, by Rev. H. Cowles; *Lange's Commentary*, on Numbers and Deuteronomy, the final vol. of the American Edition of this work; *Movements in Religious Thought*, Romanism, Protestantism, Agnosticism, Three Sermons, by E. H. Plumptre; *Shaker Sermons*, Scripto-rational, containing the substance of the Shaker Theology, with Replies and Criticisms logically and clearly set forth, by H. L. Eads; *The Second Coming of the Lord*, its Causes, Signs and Effects, by Rev. Chauncey Giles; *Homiletical and Pastoral Lectures*, delivered in St. Paul's Cathedral before the Church Homiletical Society, with Preface by Rev. C. J. Ellicott, D. D.; *The Conflict of Christianity*, by Dr. Gerhard Uhlhorn,

Abbot of Loccum, and Member of the Supreme Consistory in Hanover, edited and translated, with the author's sanction, from the third German edition by Egbert C. Smyth and C. J. H. Ropes; *The Keys of Sect*, or The Church of the New Testament Compared with the Sects of Modern Christendom, by Julian M. Sturtevant, D. D., LL. D., Ex-President of Illinois College, and author of *Economics*, or the Science of Wealth."

SCIENTIFIC AND PHILOSOPHICAL.—*Color-blindness*, its dangers and its detection, by B. Joy Jeffries; *Annual Record of Science and Industry* for 1878, edited by Spencer F. Baird; *Complete Scientific Grammar of the English Language*, with Appendix containing Treatise on Composition, Specimens of English and American Literature, defense of phonetics, etc., for use of colleges, schools and private learners, by W. Congreve; *Freedom in Science and Teaching*, from the German, by Ernst Haeckel, with preparatory note by T. H. Huxley; *Philosophy of Music*, substance of lectures at Royal Institution of Great Britain, Feb. and March, 1877, by W. Pole; *The Human Species*, by A. de Quatrefages; *Scientific Lectures*, by Sir J. Lubbock; *Ethics*, or the Science of Duty by, J. Bascom; *Footprints of Vanished Races in the Mississippi Valley*, an account of some of the monuments and relics of prehistoric races scattered over its surface, with suggestions as to their origin and uses, by A. J. Conant; *The Data of Ethics*, by Herbert Spencer; *Lectures on Popular and Scientific Subjects*, by Earl of Caithness; *What Mr. Darwin saw in his Voyage round the World* in the ship Beagle; *Camps in the Caribbees*, the Adventures of a Naturalist in the Lesser Antilles, by Frederick A. Ober.

HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL.—*History of New York* during the Revolutionary War, and of Leading Events in the other Colonies at that Period, edited by E. Floyd De Lancy; *Roman Days*, from the Swedish, by Alfred Corning Clark, with Sketches of Rydberg by Dr. H. A. W. Lindehn; *Gaspard de Coligny* (Marquis de Chatillon), by Walter Besant; *Four Lectures on Some Epochs of Early Church History*, delivered in Ely Cathedral, by C. Merivale, D. D.; *Life and Letters of Madame Bonaparte*, with portrait, from studies by Gilbert Stuart, by Eugene L. Didier; *Life of His Royal Highness, the Prince Consort*, vol. 4, by Theodore Martin; *Life and Epoch of Alexander Hamilton*, an historical study, by G. Shea; *Greeks and Goths*, study on the runes, by I. Taylor; *Life of Charles F. Mathews*, chiefly autobiographical, with selections from his correspondence and speeches, by C. Dickens, Jr.; *The Gracchi*, Maurius and Sulla, (Epoch of Ancient History, ed. by Rev. G. W. Cox and C. Sankey); *White Fields of France*, or Story of Mr. McAll's Mission to the Working-men of Paris and Lyons; *Memoir of S. S. Prentiss*, by G. L. Prentiss; *Missions and Missionary Societies of the Methodist E. Church*, by Rev. J. M. Reid; *Magic of the Middle Ages*, from the Swedish by August Hjalmar Edgren, by Viktor Rydberg; *Life of the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone*, by G. Barnett Smith.

MISCELLANEOUS.—*How to Get Strong, and How to Stay So*, by W.

Blaikie, plain advice for men and women relative to physical culture; *Thoughts for Fireside and School*, by Rev. J. B. Gross; *The Great Fur Land*, or Sketches of Life in Hudson's Bay Territory, with illustrations by C. Gash; *Is Life Worth Living?* by W. Hurrell Mallock; *The Sunrise Kingdom*, or Life and Scenes in Japan, and woman's work for woman there, by Mrs. Julia D. Carothers; *Brunhild*, a tragedy from the Nibelung Saga, translated by G. Theodore Dipold, preceded by a brief account of the Nibelung epics and sagas, by Emanuel Geibel; *Spain in Profile*, Summer among the Olives and Aloes, by J. Albert Harrison; *H. Morley's Manual of English Literature*, revised with re-arrangement of matter and numerous retrenchments and additions, by Moses Coit Tyler; *Addresses*, political and educational, by Sir J. Lubbock; *White and Black*, outcome of a visit to the United States, by Sir G. Campbell; *Year Book of Education* for 1879, second annual supplement to Cyclopædia of Education, dictionary of information for use of teachers, school officers and others, (Steiger); *Lessons from my Masters*, Carlyle, Tennyson and Ruskin, by P. Bayne; *Studies in German Literature*, by Bayard Taylor, with Introduction by G. H. Boker; *A New Latin Dictionary*, founded on the translation of Freund's Latin-German Lexicon, and great part re-written by Charlton T. Lewis and C. Short; *Tyrol and the Skirt of the Alps*, by G. E. Waring; *Short Studies of American Authors*, (Hawthorne, Poe, Thoreau, Howells, Helen Jackson, Henry James, Jr.,) by Thos. W. Higginson.

ARTICLE IX.

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Through J. B. Lippincott & Co.,

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS, NEW YORK.

Ethics : or Science of Duty. By John Bascom, author of "Principles of Psychology," "Growth and Grades of Intelligence," "A Philosophy of Religion," etc. pp. 399. 1879.

We have here a work of real ability, and in a department of truth and thought that is attracting increased and increasing attention. The growing public interest in ethical discussions, of which Dr. Bascom's book, along with many others, is itself a token, is explained and justified by the unquestionable importance of this branch of truth and its bearings on human welfare. Great and valuable as are the results of investigation in the direction of the physical sciences, multiplying the material comforts of life, the conviction is forcing itself more and more impressively on men that the welfare of both personal and social life must be found in the knowledge and practice of moral truth and principles. Moral truth must crown all other, else the true bloom and fruit of knowledge never appear.

This work is divided into four books, treating of Conditions of Duty, Nature of Duty, Forms of Duties, and Development of Duties. Basing ethical studies on psychological facts the author examines into the conditions of morality in man's psychical as well as physical constitution. He briefly discusses the several systems of Hedonism and Utilitarianism, and rejects them. He finds in Utilitarianism, however, especially in its ultristic elements, much that commends it, not as an explanation of the grounds of right, but as an index and guide pointing the way of right. For, whilst utility does not make an action right, its usefulness implies its rightness. He maintains, with much clearness, the intuitional view of duty, and looks upon the Conscience as expressing the direct insight of the Reason into the moral qualities of the acts of free beings. "No action can be pronounced right or wrong till that action is understood." An action present, in its circumstances and relations, to the mind, is termed an 'intellection,' that is, a product of intellectual inquiry. "So far the work of its construction is in the understanding. Now the insight of the higher reason takes effect and pronounces the action right or wrong." The author's presentation of the action of conscience as intuitional and direct is strong and conclusive, and constitutes an excellent feature of the book. Dr. Bascom discusses the various points of morals in the light of recent inquiry and advanced science and philosophy. Occasionally he shows signs of undue yielding to unproved theories and so-called "liberal" positions. We cannot accept all his teachings. His style, though vigorous and impressive, is too rhetorical for philosophical or scientific discussion. But the book everywhere bears the evidence of vigorous independent thought. It sets forth the great points of ethical truth with rare freshness and force, and cannot be read without stimulating and profiting the intelligent reader.

THE FREE PRESS STEAM PUBLISHING HOUSE, EASTON, PA.

The Wreathed Cross, and Other Poems, Æsthetic and Religious. By Rev. D. Y. Heisler, A. M., author of "The Fathers of the German Reformed Church in Europe and America," and "Life-Pictures of the Prodigal Son, a Gift-Book for the Million." pp. 197. 1879.

The author has published this volume in accordance with the motto put on its title-page: "Gather up the fragments." It is a collection of pieces written in leisure hours of past years. They are marked by a pure and earnest Christian spirit. Some of them possess poetic merit. The book is gotten out in very neat and attractive style.

JAMES MILLER, NEW YORK.

Judaism at Rome B. C. 76 to A. D. 140. By Frederick Huidekofer. Second edition. pp. 613. 1877.

The design of this work is to trace the influence of Judaism at Rome,

or more largely in the heathen world. The author has compiled a vast amount of authorities to illustrate his subject, and his learned work is in this respect a thesaurus. It is also supplied with Indexes, so as to make the labor of consultation comparatively easy. Whilst not a volume to be read through with much interest, it is one of value for the purpose of consultation and comparison on the subject treated. It will be prized chiefly by those whose studies lie in the same direction, though the general reader will find much that is curious and instructive.

LEE & SHEPARD, BOSTON.

For sale by J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia.

Shakespeare. A Biographic Æsthetic Study. By George H. Calvert. pp. 212. 1879.

Some time ago we had the pleasure of calling attention to a "Study" of Wordsworth, by Mr. Calvert, after the general method followed in the book before us. That was a very charming volume, marked by clear critical insight, discriminating judgment and a happy style. In this "Study" of Shakespeare we have another pleasant volume, but inferior to the other. It is divided into four parts, with the headings, *First Decades*, *Ripeness*, *King John*, and *Hamlet*. Under these the author treats of Shakespeare's early years and development, the characteristics of his mature powers, and the salient features of the two dramas named. He awakens interest by his clear style and glowing enthusiasm. But his admiration for the poet's genius has led him into an excess of extravagant expression. Mr. Calvert's strain illustrates the tendency to hero-worship. Shakespeare is to him a sort of human deity. All adjectives and eulogistic forms of representation are exhausted. Instead of letting the greatness of the poet appear, reflected from his works, the writer almost wearies us with the constancy of tumid statements of what a glorious man he was. This is a blemish in the "Study," which is otherwise a very pleasant volume.

Castle Foam; or the Heir of Meerschaum. A Russian Story. By H. W. French, author of "Art in Connecticut," etc. pp. 371. 1880.

Our writers of fiction do not often lead us into the ways of Russian life. This story by Mr. French, therefore, moves through scenes and manners that are to some degree unusual and fresh. It takes us into the halls of the nobility and gives us pictures of life amid the ambitions, schemings, enjoyments and sufferings in high places. The leading figure is the prince of Meerschaum, and the plot is developed with much skill, holding and increasing the reader's interest to the close. It is vigorously written, and sets forth impressively, as the author intended, the great lesson that wrongdoing brings its inevitable penalties, that there must be a Ruler in the incomprehensible Infinite, who 'helpeth them to right who suffer wrong,' who 'feedeth the hungry,' who 'helpeth them that are fallen' and 'turneth the way of the wicked upside down.'

Short Studies of American Authors. By Thomas Wentworth Higginson. pp. 60. 1880.

This is a delightful little volume of criticism, consisting of six brief papers, originally published in "The Literary World," on Hawthorne, Poe, Thoreau, Howells, Helen Jackson, and Henry James, Jr. It is a very pleasant little book, and does credit to Mr. Higginson's fine literary insight and taste.

Magellan, or The First Voyage Round the World. By George M. Towle, author of "Vasco da Gama," "Pizarro," etc. pp. 281. 1880.

In this we have another volume of the "Young Folks' Heroes of History." It is well worthy of its place in the series. It traces briefly, but clearly, the story of Magellan's life from the scenes of his youth in northern Portugal, through his adventurous career as a soldier and an explorer, to his sad but heroic death in Australasia, with an account of the subsequent course of the expedition and its return to Spain. As this famous expedition, which discovered the straits of Magellan and found the westward route to Asia around the extreme point of the South American continent and across the Pacific, forms an important event in history, the story of it so full of exciting incidents, will both interest and instruct the young readers for whom it has been prepared.

Room for One More. By Mary Thatcher Higginson, author of "Seashore and Prairie." pp. 255. 1870.

This is a pleasant story for the young, teaching love, patience and other Christian graces.

Hope Mills ; or Between Friend and Sweetheart. By Amanda M. Douglas, author of "From Hand to Mouth," "Nelly Kinnard's Kingdom," "In Trust," &c., &c. pp. 372. 1880.

Miss Douglas has established a recognized reputation as a successful writer for the entertainment and instruction of the young. The story in this volume is worthy of her pen, and will not only please, but stimulate its reader to better life.

The Centennial Discourse Delivered in Westhampton, Mass., Sept. 3, 1879, on the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Formation of the Church of that Town. By Dorus Clarke, D. D., Boston. pp. 60. 1879.

This Discourse, like the author's "Saying the Catechism," is full of interesting historical facts, and suggestive lessons.

Camps in the Caribbees : The Adventures of a Naturalist in the Lesser Antilles. By Frederick A. Ober. pp. 366. 1880.

In this volume we have a work of more than ordinary interest and of permanent value. Besides leading us into a part of the world rarely visited or described, it presents its fresh information in the form of the care-

ful observations and inquiries of scientific investigation. These "adventures," therefore, have both the attractiveness of the traveler's narrative and the substantial worth of sharp-eyed science.

The islands referred to are those between the Greater Antilles and the continent of South America. Possessing features of physical structure of peculiar interest, and with settlements ante-dating Jamestown and Plymouth, these beautiful islands have till recently remained an almost unknown field to the naturalist. In 1876. Mr. Ober, under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institution, undertook their exploration with the special view of bringing to light their ornithological treasures. The exploration covered a space of nearly two years, during which he visited mountains, forests and people seldom if ever reached by tourists before. He traveled with all the helps and appliances for successful investigation. The illustrations of the book are made from photographs taken from nature. The sketches are original and fresh from these new fields. Mr. Ober has done his work well. His narrative is full of life and abounds in entertaining and instructive information. An appendix is added giving a general catalogue of the birds found in the Lesser Antilles, with a table showing their distribution and those found in the United States; also a full description of the various new species of birds.

The enterprising publishers have gotten the work out in substantial and attractive style.

The Keys of Sect; or The Church of the New Testament compared with the Sects of Modern Christendom. By Julian M. Sturtevant, D. D., LL. D., ex-President of Illinois College, and author of "Economics, or the Science of Wealth." pp. 413. 1880.

Whatever explanation or apologies may be made for it, the present divided and distracted state of the Christian Church is greatly to be deplored. It is an unseemly spectacle before the world. The evils it involves are enormous. No wonder that earnest Christian men rise up to protest against it, and inquire after a remedy. To this deep sense of the error and wrong in the sect principle and practice, the volume before us owes its origin. It is an earnest attempt to find out the cause of the evil, and direct the way to a better condition of things.

Dr. Sturtevant has given much thought to the subject, and writes with scholarly ability, and under the force of earnest convictions. He finds the source of the sectarian organization of Christianity in the generally accepted doctrine concerning the "power of the keys," in the prevalent belief that the ministry, or the Church in its corporate or organic capacity, has been constituted with right or power of guardianship over the rites of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. He believes that the teaching of neither Christ nor the apostles gives such "power of the keys" as an instrument for the organization and government of Christian communities. Baptism and the Lord's Supper are to be viewed as free privileges belonging to believ-

ers, enjoyed on their own personal responsibility, not dependent for their validity or efficacy on the intervention of a prelatical or priestly ministry, nor in the guardianship of a close church corporation. His remedy, therefore, is this total abandonment of this claim of the keys. "In our efforts to find a remedy for sect, we have proposed to deprive the Church of this power, by proving that the exercise of it is a usurpation." "Government, the usurpation of the prerogative of God, is the one corruption of the Church from which sect originates, and when that is abandoned, sect will perish because its cause has ceased to exist." The author admits that the remedy is very radical; but maintains that nothing short of it will meet the case or restore the Church organization to harmony with New Testament teaching and pattern. The author's Church polity is Congregationalism, of the most independent sort.

The book as a whole is an earnest protest against both priestly and legislative ecclesiastical tyranny over believers in matters in which Christ has left them free. It strongly presents some principles of great importance to the unity and peace of the Church. But his proposed remedy is so radical, it seems to us, that in applying his solvent to sect, he would probably dissolve the Church itself. He takes too little account of *doctrinal* differences in creating sects, missing thus its deeper cause. It is gratifying to see that in this discussion of "sects," no mention is made of the Lutheran Church, the main current of Protestant Christianity.

The Breaking Waves Dashed High. (The Pilgrim Fathers.) By Felicia Hemans. With Designs by Miss L. B. Humphrey, Engraved by Andrew. 1880.

This is one of a uniform series of illustrated hymns and poems. It presents Mrs. Heman's beautiful poem of the Pilgrim Fathers with Designs that add greatly to the touching expressiveness of the picturesque delineations in that well-known poem. The illustrations are full of life and sentiment, and the volume is an exquisite work of art. It is a charming gift-book for the lovers of the beautiful.

CHARLES SCRIBNER & SONS, NEW YORK.

The Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism. By Dr. Gerhard Uhlhorn, Abbot of Loccum; and Member of the Supreme Consistory in Hanover. Edited and Translated, with the Author's sanction, from the Third German Edition, by Egbert C. Smyth and C. J. H. Ropes. pp. 508. 1879.

The prominent rank of Dr. Uhlhorn as a scholar and theologian creates high expectations as to any work that is announced from his pen. Through his contributions to Herzog's Encyclopædia, his work on the Clementine Homilies, and other publications, he has become very widely and favorably known. He is one of the most eminent among the Lutheran clergy of Germany. The high anticipations raised by the recognized ability of the author are more than met in the work before us.

The theme of the book, that wonderful spiritual revolution which marked the first preaching of the Gospel, and the grand progress of Christianity during the first four centuries, a revolution without a parallel in the history of the world, was fitted to exercise and employ the able author's best powers. And well were his powers adapted to the task. However frequently the facts of that great period have been repeated and the theme discussed, there was room for a new presentation of them—a presentation that would include the results of the latest and fullest historical investigation. Dr. Uhlhorn writes from the data of the most advanced inquiry and amplest information. With the finest analysis and synthesis of facts, he has outlined the movement of the moral and spiritual forces of that period, giving a picture of the grand contest with great impressiveness. He divides the subject-matter into three Books, treating respectively of The Powers in the Conflict, The Conflict, and the Victory. Among the particular excellences that characterize his whole treatment, besides his abundant use of the new materials found in the investigations of Marquardt, Mommsen, Friedländer, Boissier, De Rossi, Keim, Overbeck, and others, must be noted "the vividness with which the principles and progress of the conflict are concerned, the skill with which they are illustrated from the writings of those concerned in it, and the introduction of striking personal experiences and incidents of the period," along with remarkable preservation of the unity of the theme and distinctness of the impression produced. The translation is admirably done, giving us the work in clear, terse, idiomatic English. The sentences are remarkably free from the faultiness so apt to mark translations. The book is rich in instruction. It gives clear disclosure of the divine character of Christianity, the true source of its victory, and the reading of it will add tone to the faith of our generation. It is a volume for every minister's library. The value of the book is enhanced by a good Index, and by Notes containing exact and copious references to authorities referred to in the body of the book. The publishers' work has been well done.

S. C. GRIGGS & CO., CHICAGO.

The Orator's Manual, etc.

This seems to be a very complete treatise on the subject of oratorical culture. There is no lack of publications in this department. A cursory examination leads to a favorable judgment of this new candidate for public favor. It combines the element most needful for both public and private instruction.

Somebody's Ned. By Mrs. A. M. Freeman. pp. 209. 1879.

A story of prison treatment, and needed reforms. There is doubtless need of reform in our prisons, and such tales will help on the work.

German Without Grammar or Dictionary ; or a Guide to Learning and Teaching the German Language, according to the Pestalozzian Method

of Teaching by Object Lessons. Part II. By Dr. Zur Brücke, Director of Chicago School of Modern Languages, and Superintendent of German Instruction in the Public Schools of Hyde Park. pp. 262. 1879.

The object of this book is to enable the learner to speak as well as read the German language. It adopts what is called the natural method, leading the student, by easy practical lessons, to form sentences and acquire a vocabulary. He is conducted in Nature's path—hearing, talking, and reading afterward. The book is admirably arranged for this purpose. A brief compendium of German Grammar is added, compiled from the best German methods now in use. This is given for the sake of teachers and older pupils. Full directions for the use of the work are given. It is a superior manual for acquisition of the German.

HITCHCOCK & WALDEN, CINCINNATI, O.

Evangelic Rationalism, or a Consideration of Truths Practically Related to Man's Probation. By Loren L. Knox, D. D. pp. 250. 1879.

This is a small, but valuable volume. Dr. Knox writes from an orthodox standpoint, and discusses with great clearness and force the leading truths and principles as held by evangelical Christians over against the objections and negations of so-called liberalism. These truths are impressively vindicated, and shown to accord with the highest demands of reason and logic. The discussion is marked by fairness and candor, and will greatly help sincere inquirers after the truth on the high points of Human Responsibility and Probation, the Atonement, Faith, and Retribution. The reader will find his convictions of the reasonableness of Gospel truth strongly confirmed, and his moral life quickened by these well-written pages.

The Thirty Years' War. By Charles K. True, D. D., author of "Life and Times of Sir Walter Raleigh," "Elements of Logic," etc. pp. 211. 1879.

The long and terrible conflict that gained religious freedom for Germany, is here drawn out so as to be understood by even youthful readers. It is perhaps too much condensed and freed from dates and details, but the picture of the grand struggle of Protestantism for liberty of conscience is impressively given. It is a good book to be given to the young.

HARPER & BROS., NEW YORK.

Through J. B. Lippincott & Co.,

Harpers' Latin Dictionary. A New Dictionary Founded on the Translation of Freund's Latin-German Lexicon. Edited by E. A. Andrews, LL. D. Revised, Enlarged, and in Great Part Re-written, by Charlton T. Lewis, Ph. D., and Charles Short, LL. D., Professor of Latin in Columbia College, N. Y. pp. 2019. 1879.

It requires only a brief examination of this truly great work, to be con-

vinced that in it Latin Lexicography has made a most important advance. The appearance of the Dictionary of Dr. Wilhelm Freund in 1834, constituted a new era in its department. It was based upon the gigantic labors of the earlier lexicographers, such as Stephanus and Forcellini, the latter of whom devoted thirty-five years to the work, citing no passage as an illustration without a careful study of it in its connection, and nevertheless being so liberal in his citations, that the statement has been made, that if all the Latin classics were burned, they could be reproduced from the *Totius Latinitatis Lexicon*. It manifested, however, a most thorough recultivation of the entire field, aiming to present a complete history of every word during the whole period of its existence in the Latin Language. Seven distinct lines of investigation were applied to each word, comprising the grammatical element, with respect to both regular and irregular forms, the etymological, occupied with derivations, the exegetical, showing the meaning as used in various connections, the synonymical, tracing the differentia from words of kindred meaning, the historical, marking the mode of its acceptance at different periods, the rhetorical, indicating the usage in different classes of composition, and the statistical, with its decision concerning the frequency with which the word was employed. The orthographical and prosodical investigations were also very thorough. In the preparation of this work, no less than seven lexicons were first compiled by Dr. Freund, each comprising a different period of Latin literature.

The best English-Latin Lexicons which have appeared during the last forty years, have been translations, either abridged or amplified, of Freund. Of these translations, with revisions, our country produced Leverett and Andrew. Andrew's Lexicon, published in 1850, contained many valuable additions, and for a number of years was the standard authority in America and England. It was found in use not to be without mistakes, some chargeable to Dr. Freund himself, others defects in translation. The science of comparative philology was also continually advancing, causing especially the etymologies to lack the accuracy and fulness that could be exhibited in the light of more recent discoveries. Dr. Freund himself undertook the work of revision, and first committed the results of his labors to Rev. J. T. White, D. D., and Rev. J. E. Riddle of England, who upon the basis of Dr. Freund's manuscripts prepared the English revision of Andrew, known as White and Riddle's Latin-English Lexicon. (First edition 1862, fifth edition, 1876). In addition to correcting the more manifest errors of Andrew, it added much new etymological material, and many more words. It is especially valuable for its additions in the department of ecclesiastical Latin. It received the warm commendations of Max. Müller, Dr. Leonard Schmitz, and others; but at the same time, in some quarters, severe criticism, especially by Prof. Lane of Harvard in the *North American Review* for 1863. The chief defects charged upon White and Riddle's Lexicon were that the work was executed too mechanically,

the citations were examined in defective texts, and a number of the errors and omissions of Freund and Andrew were passed over unnoticed. Classical scholars, however, can readily pardon these faults, because of the great improvements that were made; and valuable though this last work is, yet in some particulars White and Riddle's Lexicon is not entirely supplanted.

Dr. Freund prepared also for Harpers' Latin Dictionary a careful revision of Andrew, re-writing some of the articles, and making upwards of two thousand additions. This material was incorporated by the editors in the present work. Prof. Charles Short, LL. D., of Columbia College prepared the portion under the letter A, while all the rest of the work was prepared by Charlton T. Lewis, Ph. D., who ought to be known to English Lutherans by his translation of that classic Lutheran Commentary, Bengel's Gnomon of the New Testament. So thorough has been the re-working of the material, so many are the changes and additions that it may be regarded an entirely new book. It is difficult to find a half dozen lines at any place that do not manifest some change.

The size of the volume, while 72 pages less than White and Riddle in same type, is nearly 400 pages more than the original Andrew. A comparison of the list of authorities cited at once shows that the field of investigation has been greatly widened. The Orthographical Index, taken from Brambach's "Aid to Latin Orthography," prefixed to the Dictionary, is a most important addition, although it occasionally differs from the orthography of the work itself. Many of the articles have been greatly augmented. One of the most unsatisfactory articles in Andrew was that on *Jam*, which occupies only one-sixth of a page. This we find very thoroughly treated in Harpers' in a full page, while White and Riddle give over five pages. *Atque* increases from a page and two-thirds to two and two-thirds; *bonus* from one and a half to three and a half; *capio* from one page to two and a half; *solvo* from one page to four; *cum* from one page to seven; *sine* from one column to six.

Students who have learned the etymology of Latin words from the former edition will be compelled to thoroughly revise this portion of their acquirements, if they wish to keep pace with the progress of the science. *Rumor* is no longer from *rumo*, to chew the cud, but cognate with the Sanscrit *ru* and the Greek ῥύω. *Funus*, a funeral, is no longer from *funis*, but cognate with the Sanscrit *dhu-mas*, Lat. *fumus*, smoke. *Urbs* is cognate with Sanscrit *vardh*, to make strong, and Persian *vardana*, city, instead of from *orbis*. *Nequam* is no longer originally an adverbial accusative, but from *ne-aequus*. The student is warned against finding *ago* in *jurgo*, as the former edition suggests. *Calamitas* is not from *calamus* a reed, referring to the destruction by storm of the standing corn, but from the same root with *in-columis*. *Virgo* does not come from *vireo*, to bloom, but is cognate with *varg*, Sanscrit *urg*, strength. *Posco* has no relation to

a hypothetical *petesco*, but also finds its explanation from the Sanscrit. So also *cibus*, *crus*, *crux*, *disco*, *erga*, *puer*, *quia*, *semper*, *spurcus*, *surdus*, *tam*, etc., which we have noticed in leafing through the book. The error of the former edition in deriving several Latin words from the Greek by sibilization, *sequor*, *vicus*, *vinum*, is also avoided. A large number of new etymologies are proposed, as in *erro*, *obliviscer*, *opus*, *pons*, *populus*, *queror*, *salvo*, *teneo*. The attention given to comparative etymology is also worthy of notice. For example: "*Canis*, [Sans. *cvan*, Gr. *κύων*, Germ. *Hund*, Eng. Hound]." "*Tango* [root *tag*, Gr. *τε-ταγ-ών*, grasping *τη*, take; Lat. *tago*, *tagax*; Goth. *tékan* to touch; Eng. take]". *Nudus* [for *nugdus*; root *nag*, *nig*-, to make bare; Sans. *nagna*, naked. Cf. Germ. *nacht*; Eng. naked.]

Another very important feature of this work, is the frequent insertion of the synonyms of the word defined. Sometimes they are simply stated; and at other times the distinctions are carefully drawn. This will not obviate the necessity for the constant use of some work on Latin synonyms, like those of Döderlein and Ramshorn, but will prove of the greatest service to students by suggesting lines of investigation, and training them to accuracy in the choice of the precise English equivalents required in a text to be translated. It has been well remarked that "advance in scholarship means in great part an increased power of perceiving the minute distinctions of meaning, which association introduces into words."

The statistical element should not be overlooked. We find, for instance, under *Amo*: "In the Vulgate, *amo* and *amor* are comparatively little used, probably from their bad associations, *amo* being used 51 times, and *amor* 20. Instead of these words, *diligo*, *dilectio* and *caritas* were used. *Diligo* (incl. *dilectus*) occurs 422 times, and *dilectio* and *caritas* 144 times in all; *dilectio* 43 and *caritas* 101 times."

To test satisfactorily the exegetical element will require a considerable period of constant use. But we find a few mistakes of the former edition that were noted corrected. We prefer the definition of *caementum* in White and Riddle, as not so apt to confuse a young student, while we notice that *siquidem* still lacks several definitions that should be given.

We have made several tests to discover the number of new words introduced. The first two pages tested gave *examarico*, *examinatrix*, *exaporior*, *exardeo*, *exarmatio*, one new word in every ten. Two pages in a different portion of the volume, gave us *recreabilis*, *recremo*, *recrucifigo*, *rectiangelum*, *rectificatio recursativus*, one new word in every seven. How greatly the value of the Dictionary in thus augmented can be readily seen. We have thought it strange, however, that in view of the fact that Prof. Lane of Harvard is mentioned in the preface as having coöperated with the editors, so many of the very unusual words for whose omission he attacks White and Riddle in the *North American Review* for April, 1863, p. 502, are not here given.

This volume is, therefore, a necessity to all thorough classical students. It is more than a dictionary; it is an encyclopædia of the Latin language. Prof. Mayor of the University of Cambridge, England, the well-known editor of Juvenal, has said: "It must supersede all its rivals for common use." It would seem as though it would be many years before another Latin-English Lexicon were required. Yet two are announced as in preparation in England, one at Cambridge, the other at Oxford. The former is a revision of manuscripts left by the late Prof. Key, once Professor of Mathematics in the University of Virginia, and afterwards Professor of Latin in the University of London. His Latin Grammar and his treatise on Terentian metres are well-known to scholars, and raise great expectations concerning the thoroughness of the work, on which he was occupied for many years of his life.

H. E. J.

Studies of the Greek Poets. By John Addington Symonds, author of "Sketches and Studies in Southern Europe," etc. In Two Volumes. pp. 488 and 419. 1880.

We have here a reprint of volumes already known to the English public. Some changes and additions have been made, rendering the work a more complete survey of Greek poetry. The author has brought to the production of the work fine treasures of classical learning and an excellent critical taste. With a well-formed comprehensive view of the whole period of Greek Poetry, he marks out clearly its salient characteristics and analyses its productions with discriminating judgment. Instead of the more common division of Greek literature into three chief periods, he makes five, characterized as periods of "superb adolescence, early manhood, magnificent maturity, robust old age, and senility." The great name of Homer covers the whole of the first period, and after him, the author traces the development and various changes of literary effort. He discusses the Greek mythology in the light of the latest investigations and comparisons, and illustrates the literary periods by fine critical examinations of their representative writers. The Gnostic and Lyric Poets, and the Satirists, with their distinguishing peculiarities, are distinctly brought before our view. Greek Tragedy and Comedy are characterized and illustrated in their best examples, with proper and well-put comparisons with modern writings in these departments. The Greek Anthology, also, is presented and discussed. The work, in the aggregate, forms an instructive introduction to this branch of ancient literature. It abounds in bright passages, in sharp analyses and graphic delineations, with numerous specimens of different writers in translation.

It is to be regretted that a work, in the main so good, should be disfigured and injured by the author's introduction into it of his intense rationalism and unbelief. This is especially thrust forward in the last chapter, which he has added as a "Conclusion," in reply to strictures made by crit-

ics on the earlier chapters as they came out in their first form. He wholly rejects the supernatural claims of Christianity, while admitting that "the life of Christ is the perfect life." His theory of the universe is simply materialistic evolution. Rather, his view has none of the doubtfulness of "theory." He says: "We *know* now that the whole past history of the universe is involved in the blood-beats of the smallest animalcule discernible by the microscope." His only God is a pantheistic conception of universal Law. His prayer is addressed to this "Law." His morality he frames from the standpoint of Marcus Aurelius, and consists in conforming to nature. Man, in his conception, must consent to come down and take a smaller place in the meaning of things: "Man is shown to be among the less important products of the cosmical system." The human soul and personal immortality are thrust from the places conceded to them in Christian thought. Modern science is claimed to have overthrown Christianity along with Theism and nearly all the long accepted views concerning the world and man. That the author should put into a volume, meant, evidently, largely for educational use among students, such extreme teachings, so utterly unsustained by the best scholarship and learning of the age, so false to Science whose leading is pretended to be followed, is a grievous wrong to the readers whose confidence is sought, and an injury to those whom the main part of the work would instruct.

J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO., PHILADELPHIA.

The Second Coming of the Lord; Its Cause, Signs, and Effects. By Rev. Chauncey Giles, author of "Man as a Supernatural Being," "The Incarnation and Atonement," "Heavenly Blessedness," etc. pp. 264. 1879.

This is a presentation of the second coming of Christ after the conceptions of Swedenborgian interpretation. The representations of the Scriptures concerning it are all spiritualized. The end of the world means only the end of an age of human thought and life, and passing into a more advanced one. The disturbances in the mental and moral world from free thought and inquiry are the "signs" that betoken the change. By the Lord's coming in the clouds of heaven is meant, therefore, a revelation of spiritual and divine truth. "Every eye shall see Him," refers to the clearness of spiritual light in the better time coming. "New truth is to break out from the letter of the Word as light from parting clouds, and this truth is the embodiment of the new forces that are to raise the dead, execute judgment and create the new heavens and the new earth." The resurrection is not a resurrection of the body, but the rise of the spirit as the true human being after death. The book throughout reflects the doctrines of the "New Church." The author writes with clearness and force, and the volume will be interesting to such as desire to see the peculiar views which Swedenborgianism presents as to the Second Coming.

The following books have been received, the review of which is necessarily deferred till the next number, in consequence of the Editor's sudden illness as mentioned elsewhere.

FROM THE AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY, NEW YORK

Women Worth Emulating.—By Clara L. Balfour.

A Crown of Glory. By Catharine M. Trowbridge, author of "Satisfied," etc.

The Workman: His false Friends. By Rev. Jos. P. Thompson, LL. D.

The Bridal Souvenir. Compiled by Rev. Samuel Cutler, author of "Name above every Name," etc.

The Glorious Sufficiency of Christ. By Rev. Cornelius Tyree, D. D., Liberty, Va.

HARPER & BROS., NEW YORK.

Through J. B. Lippincott & Co.,

The North Americans of Antiquity. Their Origin, Migrations, and Type of Civilization considered. By John T. Short. pp. 544. 1880.

Afternoons with the Poets. By Charles D. Deshler. pp. 320.

Lessons from my Master, Carlyle, Tennyson, and Ruskin. By Peter Bayne, M. A., LL. D., Author of "The Chief Actors in the Puritan Revolution," "Life and Letters of Hugh Miller," etc. pp. 449. 1879.

S. C. GRIGGS & CO., CHICAGO.

Through J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia.

Summer-Savory, Gleaned from Rural Nooks in Pleasant Weather. By Benj. F. Taylor, LL. D., author of "The World on Wheels," "Between the Gates," etc. 1879.

The Younger Edda: Also called Snorre's Edda, or the Prose Edda. An English Version of the Foreword; the Fooling of Glyfe, The Afterword; Brage's Talk, the Afterword to Brage's Talk, and the important Passages in the Poetical Diction (Skaldskaparmal). With an Introduction, Notes, Vocabulary, and Index. By Rasmus B. Anderson, Professor of the Scandinavian Languages in the University of Wisconsin, author of "America not Discovered by Columbus," "Norse Mythology," etc., etc. 1880.

PORTER & COATES, PHILADELPHIA.

The Children's Book of Poetry. Carefully selected from the works of the best and most popular writers for children. By Henry T. Coates, editor of the "Fireside Encyclopædia of Poetry." Illustrated with nearly 200 engravings, from designs by Doré, Harrison Weir, J. E. Millais, Geo. H. Thomas, Giacomelli, and other distinguished artists. 1879.

D. LOTHROP & CO., BOSTON.

Art in the Nursery. Pictures for Baby to Draw and Pictures for Baby to Laugh at. 1879.

Child Lore. Its Classics, Traditions, and Jingles. Edited by Clara Doty Bates. 1879.

Up and Down the Merrimac. A Vacation Trip. By Pliny Steele Boyd. 1879.

D. APPLETON & CO., NEW YORK.

Early Christian Literature Primers. Edited by Geo. P. Fisher, D. D. The Apostolic Fathers and the Apologists of the 2d century, by Geo. A. Jackson. 1879.

PHILLIPS & HUNT, NEW YORK.

Missions and Missionary Societies of the M. E. Church. By Rev. J. M. Reid, D. D. Two vols.

H. A. YOUNG & CO., BOSTON.

Studies on the Baptist Question; including a Review of Dr. Dale's "Inquiry into the Usage of Baptizo." By Rev. David B. Ford. 1879.

J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO., PHILADELPHIA.

The Lost Truths of Christianity.

CHARLES SCRIBNER & SONS, NEW YORK.

For sale by J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia.

The Gracchi, Marcus and Sulla. By A. H. Beesly. With Maps. (Epochs of Ant. History.)

The Roman Empire of the Second Century, or the Age of the Antonines. By W. W. Capes, M. A., late Fellow and Tutor of Queen's College, and a Reader in Ant. History in the University of Oxford, with 2 Maps. (Epochs of Ant. History).

J. FREDERICK SMITH, PHILADELPHIA.

The Diet of Augsburg, A Historical Life Picture. Translated from the German of Dr. A. Wildenhahn, by Rev. J. G. Morris, D. D., LL. D. (Life Pictures of Luther and his Times). Edited by J. K. Shryock, A. M., editor of the "Fatherland Series." 1880.

THE LUTHERAN PUBLICATION SOCIETY, PHILADELPHIA.

Report of the United German Evangelical Lutheran Congregations in North America, especially in Pennsylvania. With a Preface by D. John Ludwig Schultze, Ordinary Professor of Theology and Philosophy in the Royal Prussian Frederick's University, as also Director of the Orphan House Royal Pedagogium. Published by the Orphan House, Halle, A. D. 1750. Translated from the German by Rev. Jonathan Oswald, D. D. No. I.

GEORGE BRUMDER MILWAUKEE, WIS.

Deutsche Sprachscoule in Uebungsbeispielen. Orthographie, Grammatik und Stil in Konzentrischen Kreisen. Für die Volksschule bearbeitet. Von M. Baron, Th. Yunghanns und H. Schindler. Americanische Ausgabe. In 4 Heften,

PERIODICALS.

The reprints, by the Leonard Scott Publishing Co., of the *London Quarterly*, the *Edinburgh*, *Westminster* and *British Quarterly Reviews*, and *Blackwood's Magazine*, have been received for the quarter. They have, as usual with these old, well-established publications, brought us articles of great interest and substantial value. The various periodicals of the HARPERS have also been received, rich with entertaining and instructive matter. See advertisement of all these publications on another page.

AN EXPLANATION.

A word of explanation is necessary in sending out this number of THE QUARTERLY. As is already generally known, DR. BROWN, who is the Editor, was, on the morning of the 9th of December, suddenly disabled by a severe stroke of paralysis. Though entirely conscious, he has since been wholly unable to speak or communicate his wishes by writing. A portion of THE QUARTERLY had already been printed under his direction and supervision, and arrangements made for the closing articles. But he had reserved thirty-two pages at the beginning of the number for a special discussion upon which he was engaged. Whilst in the midst of its preparation, however, the disabling attack came, making it necessary, if the number was to be issued, to secure other matter to fill up the pages that had been thus reserved. Inability to obtain a single article of proper length, will explain why two articles precede the one numbered as second. This sudden illness of the Editor has also necessarily postponed the review of the books sent to him, except of a few; the review of one of these being furnished by the kindness of DR. JACOBS. A list of the books so received is given in the proper place.

As DR. BROWN'S condition is steadily improving, the hope is earnestly cherished that under the blessing of Providence he will soon be able to direct the future issues of THE QUARTERLY, which will of course be regularly continued, and to resume his work in the important sphere in which he has been so devotedly and ably serving the Church. The friends of the REVIEW are earnestly requested to give it their continued and substantial encouragement.

M. V.

THE
QUARTERLY REVIEW
OF
THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH.

APRIL, 1880.

ARTICLE I.

PECULIARITIES OF THE CODEX SINAITICUS.*

By CHARLES A. HAY, D. D., Professor in the Theological Seminary,
Gettysburg, Pa.

This precious document, discovered by Tischendorf in the monastery of St. Catharine in the desert of Sinai, and presented, through him, by the authorities of the Greek Church to the Emperor Alexander II. of Russia, is now deposited in the imperial library at St. Petersburg. What a treat it must be to a Christian scholar to feast his eyes upon such a veritable and venerable relic of antiquity. To look upon the very pages written by Egyptian scribes more than fifteen hundred years ago! Few, however, can afford the expenditure of time and means necessary to gain access to the Codex, and enjoy this luxury. But an almost equal satisfaction is afforded now to scholars everywhere, through the skilful and diligent labors of Tischendorf, seconded by the princely liberality of the Emperor Alexander. The sight of the admirable *fac simile* of this Codex, published by that distinguished scholar, at the expense of the Emperor, cannot fail to awaken enthusiastic delight in the appreciative student. Indeed, a kind of awe steals upon us as we look upon this minutely accurate representation of the charac-

* For an account of the history and general appearance of the Codex and of the *fac simile* see the first number of this REVIEW, Jan. 1871.

ters that were traced upon the parchment that has outlived the changes of more than fifteen centuries. We seem to be standing by the side of the ancient scribe, in the city of Alexandria, in the days of the Emperor Constantine, and watching him as he reads a word or two from a manuscript that may have been written in the days of the apostles; perhaps, indeed, he is copying from the autograph itself; and then we seem to see him turn to the wide sheet of parchment before him and transfer to it what he has just read, little dreaming, however, that under the eye of a watchful Providence this identical record would be preserved for so many centuries, and that it would be so carefully scrutinized and studied with delight in lands beyond the seas by Christian scholars of nations yet unborn.

We do not much wonder at the enthusiasm with which Tischendorf was inspired when he discovered this, which is now commonly believed to be the most ancient of all existing manuscripts of the Sacred Scriptures, and at the glowing terms with which he describes it and sets forth its preëminent excellence as a witness for the original text. With expressions of devout gratitude to God he thus rejoices: *et jam nunc senex ille venerabilis mille quingentorum annorum prodit victoris instar lauro vel, ut rectius dicam, corona vitae redimitus; surrexit e sepulchro ut hujus aetatis hominibus, quotquot aeternae salutis verbum adpetunt atque curant, disertissimus sit antiquae veritatis testis.* We heartily sympathize with his expressions of delight; and this the more at this particular juncture, when our own excellent version is undergoing revision, and such a “venerable witness” comes just in time by the weight of its testimony to turn the scale in a number of cases of otherwise evenly balanced evidence as to what was or was not the original reading of the sacred text.

A copy of this fac simile was presented, some years ago, by the Emperor Alexander, through the kind offices of Ex-Governor Curtin, then U. S. Ambassador at the Court of St. Petersburg, to the Theological Seminary at Gettysburg. Having had frequent occasion to make use of it, in illustration of a course of instruction in Biblical Criticism, and experiencing no small inconvenience in referring to it, owing to the fact that there is,

of course, no reference in the original to our modern division into chapters and verses, we undertook to indicate these along the margin, for our own comfort and for that of our successors in office. To do this most satisfactorily, we found it necessary to *collate the Codex, verse by verse, with the ordinary textus receptus*, a somewhat tedious but very interesting and instructive process. Whilst thus reading along, our attention was arrested by a number of peculiarities in the document, altogether unexpected, and some of them sufficiently startling. For some of them we had been prepared by frank and business-like statements in Tischendorf's preface and commentary. But, surprised at once by the frequent and important divergencies between the Codex and the received text, we began noting them down, as we passed along, and found our list so rapidly growing, and the proofs of negligence or ignorance in the transcribers crowding upon us to such a degree, that our feelings of admiration for the document were somewhat chilled, and we could not repress the wish that the copyists had been compelled to observe some of the rules that have, from time immemorial, been rigidly enforced upon transcribers of the *Hebrew* text.

Now, we are not unmindful of the motto: *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*. And it affords us no pleasure to say a word disparagingly in reference to a man, or men, (for Tischendorf maintains that the Codex was the joint production of several calligraphists) whose ashes have been slumbering so many centuries; but "facts are facts," and no science deserving the name can afford to ignore them. Facts we want, in every department of knowledge. The true scientist is grateful for them, whether they militate against or confirm his favorite theory. If this be so in natural science, that deals with the myriad phenomena in the visible world around us, and in the still more mysterious microcosm of human nature within us, shall it apply any the less to those precious records that convey to us the mind of the Spirit in the word of God? And if, in the course of our investigations after truth in this department, we stumble upon facts that disturb us, shall we refuse to look at them, or, upon the principle of doing evil that good may come, try to conceal them? Owen denounced Walton; Whitby denounced Mill; Middleton

denounced Bentley; and all for what? For *publishing* the discovered various readings in the sacred text. These critics were charged with “rendering the Scriptures precarious;” as if they had themselves *invented* the various readings. As well may geologists be denounced for making known the results of their researches among the buried rocks, all written over with the records of ages still more remote. The Holy Scriptures court investigation, not only as to their *meaning*, but also as to the *form* in which God was pleased to give them and to preserve them for our use.

Without further delay we proceed to indicate some of the peculiarities of this Codex, only regretting that we have not access to a font of Greek type that would more accurately represent the exact appearance of the original text. Such cannot be obtained, however, short of Leipzig or St. Petersburg, where the two portions of the fac simile were printed. To imitate, as nearly as we can,

THE ORIGINAL UNCIAL CHARACTERS,

we must use the ordinary Greek capitals; and, as these are usually in a small proportion to the cursive letters in a font of type, we are often driven to the employment of the common cursive Greek text. The reader will please bear in mind, however, that the entire original manuscript was written in beautiful, uniform uncial letters, about twice as large as the capitals employed in this article, usually without any interval between the words or sentences. No doubt this style of writing had much to do with some of the blemishes and other peculiarities of which we are about to speak.

The magnificent fac simile before us, whilst presenting, in the beautiful type with which it is printed, an exceedingly close imitation of the remarkably symmetrical and uniform handwriting of the original manuscript, derives additional value from the twenty-one engraved imperial quarto pages, that are photographic copies of portions of the original, some of them presenting entire pages, and others selected passages of special interest, together with a great variety of specimens of existing papyrus and other very ancient parchment codices.

These not only exhibit the slight differences in the handwriting of the several transcribers, but they illustrate also the method of correcting the text by the writers themselves, or by those who subsequently possessed the manuscript. They show how redundant words or sentences were bracketed, omissions supplied in the margin, substitutions marked as erroneous and true readings indicated. It would not be difficult, by their help, to trace the gradual change from the uncial to the cursive style of writing, and Tischendorf seems quite confident that he can thus fix the date of most of these emendations. Here is his note upon one of them: "Sub prima columna, quae textu caret, litteris minusculis crebrisque compendiis atramento nigerrimo adscriptum est: *μνησθητι κε την ψυχην του̃ ἁμαρτωλου̃ διονυσίου μοναχοῦ ὅταν ἔλθης ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου.* Ipsam scripturam exhibit tabula XVIII. Saeculi videtur XII." That is—a mediaeval monk, who happened to have access to the venerable document in the monastery of St. Catharine, about the time of the second or third crusade, took the liberty of inserting upon a blank space of the parchment, just before the beginning of the prophecy of Habakkuk, in a cramped Greek handwriting, "in very small letters, with frequent contractions, and in very black ink, the prayer: Remember, O Lord, the soul of the sinner Dionysius the monk, when thou comest in thy kingdom." When we look at the black and tangled scrawl with which that monkish sinner defaced the beautiful page, we feel almost tempted to criticise his prayer.

CONTRACTIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS

very rarely occur in the original text. Those most common are ΘΣ for Θεος, ΚΣ for κυριος, ΙΣ for Ιησους, ΧΣ for Χριστος, ΠΝΑ for Πνευμα, ΑΝΟΣ for ανθρωπος, ΟΥΟΣ for ουρανος, ΥΣ for υιος, ΠΗΡ for πατερ, ΜΗΡ for μητηρ, ΠΝΙΚΟΣ for πνευματικος, ΔΑΔ for Δαβιδ, ΙΛΗΜ for Ιερusalem, ΙΗΛ for Ισραηλ. In all these cases the contraction is indicated by a line drawn above the letters composing it, as ΑΝΟΣ for ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ. When the letter *N* comes to stand at the end of a line, it is usually represented by a short horizontal stroke above the preceding letter. *ΚΑΙ* is very fre-

quently expressed by its initial letter with a terminal stroke inclining to the left.

It is only very rarely that

UNUSUAL COMBINATIONS OF LETTERS

are employed. Sometimes the word *MOR* is written in a single character, viz., in *Rom.* 7 : 3 and a few other instances. This is done by inserting a small *o* in the bosom of the *M* and then drawing a perpendicular line downwards from the acute angle in the middle of the *M*, thus making it answer as an *T*, and combining the three characters in one. A somewhat similar expedient is adopted with the prepositions *IIPO* and *IIPOΣ*, the same compound character being used for both, and thus sometimes causing confusion. In *Rev.* 11 : 8 the letters *T* and *P* are combined in a remarkable monogram, in the midst of the word *EΣTATPΩΘH*. The perpendicular line of the *P* is prolonged and a line drawn horizontally across it, near the middle, answering to the top of the letter *T*. This combination then takes the place of the syllable *TATP* in that word, and from its resemblance to the *cross* practically makes a play upon the solemn word in which it stands. The same combination answers for *X* and *P*, the initials of *Christ*.

In collating the Codex with the commonly received text one is at once struck with the

FREQUENT OMISSIONS

that occur in it, of single words, or of entire sentences, that stand in the usual text, and, consequently also, in our English version. Startled by this, one is tempted to find fault with the Codex, as though it were presenting to us a very defective text. But, upon a closer inspection, and an examination of other ancient documents, we are soon convinced that in many such cases the Codex Sinaiticus correctly represents the original text, and that in the ordinary editions of the New Testament we have a corrupted reading of the passages in question. The word or words wanting in this Codex were often wanting in the original text, and have been inserted in later copies, at first being written in the margin and afterwards, by subsequent transcribers, taken into the text itself, thus finding their way into the textus

receptus and into our translation. It is, indeed, remarkable how closely the most ancient witnesses, viz., the Codices Sinaiticus and Vaticanus, of the fourth century, the Codex Ephreми, written probably a century later, the earliest versions, and the earliest Church Fathers, in their quotations from the sacred records accessible to them, all agree together. With lively satisfaction we see this "venerable witness" confirming the testimony of those previously regarded as the most reliable, and gathering thus too for itself additional evidence of its own intrinsic excellence.

PROPER OMISSIONS.

We mention a few of these. Perhaps the most important and striking is the passage *1 Jno. 5 : 7, 8*. "For there are three that bear record [in heaven, the Father, the Word and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one. And there are three that bear witness in earth,] the spirit, the water and the blood: and these three agree in one." No trace appears in our Codex of the words in brackets. And there is such an abundance of confirmatory evidence in proof of the fact that these words never constituted a part of the original text, that we feel quite sure of their being expunged by the present revisers of our English version.

Acts 8 : 37. Here, too, the Codex Sinaiticus accords with all the earliest and best witnesses in entirely ignoring the test question and answer between Philip and the eunuch: "And Philip said, If thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest. And he answered and said, I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God." The presence of this verse in some late manuscripts is best explained by supposing that it was first inserted in the margin, from some baptismal formula, and subsequently found its way into the text.

Mt. 6 : 13. With almost equal confidence we can place in the same category the conclusion of this verse, the doxology of the Lord's Prayer, of which we find no trace in our Codex. We are curious to see whether the revising committees will regard the evidence against this clause as sufficient to exclude it from the text. If so, we can readily imagine that no change they may feel compelled to make will grate so harshly upon the de-

vout ear, that from early childhood has associated this doxology with the petitions that undoubtedly fell from the lips of our Lord.

1 Tim. 3 : 16. Hardly less perplexing to our revisers will be this famous text, where our Codex, with most of the other ancient witnesses, testifies against the word "*God*" in the received text, and in our version. Beyond question the Sinai Codex reads "*who*" instead of "*God*," $O\Sigma$ instead of $\Theta\Sigma$ the contraction for $\Theta EO\Sigma$. To take the word *God* out of our translation will seem to many almost like sacrilege; yet the data within our reach seem to demand it. And, after all, the sense of the passage will not be materially affected by the change.

Mr. 16 : 8-20 and Jno. 7 : 53-8 : 11. Here we have two gaps in our Codex that are very startling; no less than twelve verses in each case. We have no reason whatever to suppose that the manuscript from which our Codex was copied had the slightest trace of any of these verses. In this respect it differs from the other great authority, the Codex Vaticanus, which at the end of Mark's gospel leaves a space just about large enough to contain the concluding verses as they stand in the common text, though they were never inserted in it. This passage and the one in John are greatly exercising the acumen of textual critics; and all would feel greatly relieved if some worthy successor to the lamented Tischendorf were raised up to discover additional ancient testimony authoritatively to decide these perplexing questions. Every additional ancient manuscript that has been recently discovered has, indeed, added to the number of existing various readings, by some peculiar to itself; yet, at the same time, it has brought its testimony to bear upon other disputed passages in such a way as to contribute to the clearing up of the difficulties and the ultimate restoration of the original text in its purity. Through such help we are now, beyond all question, very much nearer to that result than when our translation was made, more than two hundred and fifty years ago.

Coinciding, as our Codex does, in many of its omissions with most of the best ancient authorities, it confirms their testimony that such omitted passages never formed a part of the original text. But we are sorry to be compelled to say that its omis-

sions are not always of this character. They are very often such as to be accounted for only upon the supposition of inexcusable carelessness on the part of the transcriber. Take a few examples of these

IMPROPER OMISSIONS.

The writers of our Codex were not all equally careful. Tischendorf decides from the handwriting that there were four of them; and the splendid photographic plates, that bring out the minutest peculiarities of their style of writing, confirm his opinion. But they all are chargeable with this fault. They drop single letters, sometimes words, sometimes entire sentences!

In *2 Tim. 4:8*; the words *ΤΟΙΣΗΓΑΠΗΚΟΣΙΝ* are omitted, "to them that love," thus completely destroying the sense of the passage.

In *Acts 2:3* *ΩΣΕΙ* is omitted; "like as," which destroys the comparison and makes the "tongues of fire" literal.

In *Acts 23:6* *ΗΜΕΡΑΣ* is omitted, destroying the sense of the clause. In *Lk. 3:1* *ΤΗΣΙΟΥΔΑΙΑΣ* is omitted.

Math. 24:35. This entire verse is omitted: "Heaven and earth shall pass away."

Rom. 11:30. The whole verse is omitted: "For as ye in times past have not believed God, yet have now obtained mercy through their unbelief."

Heb. 4:9. The Codex omits the verse: "There remaineth therefore a rest to the people of God."

Acts 2:21 is also omitted: "And it shall come to pass, that whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved."

Now it is proper to state that where such blunders were made, or where wrong words were written, by mistake, one of the original writers, soon afterwards, or some one else at a later date, made the necessary correction, inserting in the margin the omitted words, or indicating, by points placed over the letters erroneously inserted, that they should not have been written. Erasures were very rarely resorted to, the original mistakes be-

ing allowed to stand, enclosed within brackets or marked as above mentioned.

An interesting instance of erasure and emendation occurs in *Jn. 2 : 2*, upon which Tischendorf makes the following note: Locum hunc maxime notabilem accurate expressimus tabula xvii. Primum ita scriptum erat: *και οινον ουκ ειχον οτι συνετελεσθη ο οινος του γαμου ειτα λεγει.* Verbis *οινον ο. ε. ο. συνετε* omni cum cura sublatis proptereaue lectu difficillimus *υστερησ. οινου* repositum est; quae reliqua sunt, *ελεσθη* usque ad *ειτα*, uncis inclusa, a C^a etiam punctis notata sunt. Antiquissimam viro scripturam non tam ipse scriptor mutasse censendus est quam *A*, et formis et atramento primam manum tantum non adaequans. The original reading is still however plainly visible under the darker ink and heavier letters of the correction.

A specially interesting specimen of original omission, and subsequent insertion, viz., in *Jno. 21 : 25*, is photographically exhibited and described at length by Tischendorf. He asserts that this concluding verse of John's gospel was not found by the original copyist in the manuscript that he was following, but that it, together with the subscription, was added by the one who, about the same time, reviewed the whole book and corrected it after another copy. We subjoin his note on this passage, as illustrating his minute accuracy in matters of this kind.*

*Versus octo ultimi. inde ab *εστιν δε και αλλα*, non eadem manu atque quae praecedunt scripti sunt. Supplevit autem *A*, quem toties ab antiquissimo textu distinguere difficile est, hoc vero loco eo difficilior quum nec spatii ratio correctorem prodat et ipsa evangelii subscriptio eundum cum supplemento auctorem habeat. Unde factum est ut ipse aliquemdiu rem parum perspicerem. Iam vero nec mihi nec aliis, quibus pervidendi copiam feci, ulla dubitatio remansit quin prima manus ultra verba *η μαρτυρία αυτου* non progressa sit, nulla quidem subscriptione addita, quem ad modum nec evangelium Matthaeum habet. Accuratius enim singula attendenti manifestum fit, additamentum a textu atramento differre. Textus enim totam per paginam cineraceum aliquid habet, additamentum vero subrufo utitur colore. Accedit maior quaedam literarum gracilitas levisque in nonnullis ipsius formae differentia, cujusmodi imprimis sunt *K A T T X*. Repraesentavimus locum gravissimum tabula xix,

But by far the most frequently occurring cases of improper omissions are instances of what is technically called

HOMOIOTELEUTON,

or mistakes from similarity of ending. A writer, in copying, lets his finger slip, or his eye drop, from an upper line to a lower, where a word occurs just like the one he has written. Failing to observe that he is omitting anything, he writes on from the second similar word and so commits the blunder designated as above. Cases of this kind are extremely frequent in this Codex, and some of them are, indeed, of such extent as hardly to be accounted for precisely upon the principle above stated. For the lines in this Codex are very short, as there are four columns upon every page, and the characters are so large that a single word occasionally fills out a whole line, whilst these omissions sometimes cover an entire verse. The copyist may, indeed, have had before him a manuscript with lines written across the page, in which a single line might contain an entire clause. But this is not likely, as the earliest manuscripts were usually written with two or three columns on a page.

An interesting passage in which there appears to be an omission of this kind is *Matt. 19 : 9*, where the words between *MOIXEITAI* and *MOIXEITAI* are wanting in our Codex: "and whoso marrieth her which is put away committeth adultery." In this case, however, and in several others of like character, the same omission occurs in some other manuscripts, and also in some of the early versions and quotations; thus giving rise

quamvis quae differunt ex omni parte non queant ante oculos poni, praesertim quum maximo momento sit coloris discrimen. Ceterum si quis hebetioribus oculis utatur, comparandus ei est locus III., 12, ad fidem faciendam aptissimus. Ibi enim priora verba in ipsum textum recepta: *καὶ βραχὶ ἐπὶ*, colore cum additamento hujus loci conveniunt tantum, quantum differunt a textu cui inlati sunt; tantam vero etiam litterarum cum textu reliquo similitudinem habent, ut distingui ab eo vix possent, nisi litterae quae lineam excedunt alienam manum manifestam facerent.

Quae quum ita sint, statuendum est, eum qui hoc Johannis evangelium descripsit in exemplari suo extremum versum non invenisse propterea nec addidisse, suppletum vero esse ab eo qui eadem aetate totum librum recensebat ac passim ex alio exemplari corrigebat atque augebat.

to the question whether, perhaps, the words were not really wanting in the original text. This question has to be decided, as all others in regard to which the authorities are at variance, by a careful critical examination of all the evidence in the case.

But in a vast majority of the cases of so-called homoioteleuton that occur in our Codex it stands entirely alone, making its own blunders in its own way, sometimes almost compelling us to think that the writer was dozing, and suffered his finger to pass line after line before it rested on the "similar word" that formed the limit of the homoioteleuton. Take a few illustrations of the besetting sin of this Codex.

Mr. 10 : 35-7, from *INA* to *INA*: "*that* [thou shouldst do for us whatsoever we shall desire. And he said unto them, What would ye that I should do for you? They said unto him, Grant unto us *that*] &c."—All between the brackets is omitted in our Codex.

Lk. 10 : 32, from *ANTIAPHΛΘEN* to *ANTIAPHΛΘEN*: "*on the other side* [and likewise a Levite, when he was at the place, came and looked on him and passed by *on the other side*] &c.

Lk. 14 : 15, 16: from *ATTΩ* to *ATTΩ*: *unto him* [Blessed is he that shall eat bread in the kingdom of God. Then said he *unto him*] &c.

Eph. 2 : 7. The whole verse omitted, from *XPIΣΤΩΙΗΣΟΤ* to *XPIΣΤΩΙΗΣΟΤ*.

Also *Rev. 4 : 2*, from *ΘΠΟΝΟΤ* to *ΘΠΟΝΟΤ*, the whole verse omitted.

Usually the erroneous omissions are more brief, as in *Jn. 6 : 55*, *ΑΛΗΘΩΣ* to *ΑΛΗΘΩΣ*, making the verse read: "for my flesh is [] drink indeed."

But sometimes they are so long as to defy our attempt at explanation.* *2 Pet. 1 : 12, 13*, from *υμας υπομνησκειν* to *υμας εν υπομνησει*: "*you always in remembrance* [of these things, though ye know them and be established in the present

*In using the cursive type we purposely omit the aspirates and accents, in accordance with Tischendorf's usage throughout his commentary, as an intimation to the reader that these letters are simply meant to take the place of the unaccented uncial text.

truth. Yea, I think it meet, as long as I am in this tabernacle, to stir you up by putting *you in remembrance*] &c.

A most singular omission is that in *Jn. 19 : 20, 21*, where the Codex reads thus: *ο βαρσιλευς των Ιουδαιων αλλ οτι*, in which, between the words *ΙΟΥΔΑΙΩΝ* and *ΑΛΛΟΤΙ*, the correct text reads as follows: "This title then read many of the Jews: for the place where Jesus was crucified was nigh unto the city: and it was written in Hebrew and Greek and Latin. Then said the chief of the Jews to Pilate, Write not, the King of the Jews." All of this is absent in our Codex, and without it the context is unmeaning. The writer passed from *ΤΩΝΙΟΥΔΑΙΩΝ* in verse nineteen to *ΤΩΝΙΟΥΔΑΙΩΝ* in verse twenty-one, omitting what would have occupied no less than a dozen lines of the original text. But this gap was filled by a marginal correction, in a miniature handwriting, recognized by Tischendorf as that of one of the original copyists, and he says he has done it "elegantissime."

In *2 Pet. 3 : 8*, the words between *ΕΤΗ* and *ΕΤΗ* are omitted, making the verse read: "One day is with the Lord as a thousand years [-] as one day."

In *Rev. 16 : 13*, the words between *στοματος* and *στοματος* are wanting: "of *the mouth* [of the dragon and out of the mouth of the beast, and out of *the mouth*] &c.

In *Mtth. 27 : 56*, the transcriber, by passing from one *ΜΑΡΙΑ* to another, excludes Mary Magdalene from the company of the watching women after the crucifixion.

And in *Mark 15 : 47* he omits all between the *ΜΑΓΔΑΛΗΝΗ* of this verse and the same word in the first verse of the next chapter.

The sixth verse of the second chapter of Ephesians ends with *χριστῳ Ἰησοῦ*; the seventh verse ends with the same words. The transcriber, ending the sixth, resumed his writing at the beginning of the eighth, omitting the seventh entirely.

In *Acts 14 : 20, 21* the writer has omitted from *πολιν* to *πολιν*; "*the city* [and the next day he departed with Barnabas to Derbe. And when they had preached the gospel in that *city*,] &c.

In *Mt. 26 : 62*. The Codex omits from *αυτω* to *αυτω*, *i. e.*

the question of the high-priest and the statement of our Saviour's silence.

In *Gal. 2 : 8*, the writer omits from *περιτομης* to *περιτομης* : "*circumcision* [for he that wrought effectually in Peter to the apostleship of the *circumcision*] &c.

In *Jno. 16 : 15*, he omits from *υμιν* to *υμιν* ; *unto you*. [All things that the Father hath are mine ; therefore, said I, that he shall take of mine and shall show it unto you.]

And in the following seventeenth verse he omits from *μικρον* to *μικρον*. *A little while* [and ye shall not see me ; and again, *a little while*] &c.

Let this suffice as illustrations of a carelessness that one would hardly expect in transcribers of the Divine Word in an age when copies of the Scriptures were so rare and costly. And if it be true, as Tischendorf conjectures, that this is one of the fifty copies that Eusebius was ordered by the Emperor Constantine to have prepared in Alexandria for public use in the principal churches of his realm, our wonder is only enhanced in view of this fact.

We meet, however, with other peculiarities also, that cannot be ascribed to negligence or accident, but must be accounted for in some other way. Such, for instance is the unauthorized

INTRODUCTION OF SYNONYMOUS TERMS.

In *Luke 4 : 39*, where the undoubted original reading is *ΕΞΕΠΧΟΝΤΑΙ*, our Codex reads *ΠΙΑΚΟΓΟΡΣΙΝ ΑΡΤΩ*. Such phenomena as this Tischendorf seems to regard as "obvious blunders," as he "passes them over in silence" in his best edition of the New Testament. But it is well to know and remember the fact that such variations frequently occur, and they militate somewhat against the theory of Tischendorf that the writers of our Codex were mere slavish copyists, and but little acquainted with the genius of the Greek language.

Take a few more specimens :

In *Lk. 2 : 21*, the Codex reads *λεχθεν* for *κληθεν*.

In *Lk. 5 : 32*, it reads *ασεβεις* for *αμαρτωλους*.

In *Acts 7 : 35*, it reads *δικαστην* for *λυτρωτην*.

In *Rev. 16 : 17* it reads *οτε* for *εβδομος*.

In Matt. 27 : 15, it reads *παρατουντο* for *ηθελον*.

These surely are neither careless nor accidental variations, and they are distinct peculiarities of our Codex, for which with the light we now have we must hold it solely responsible.

But, beyond all this, we find the Codex inserting terms that are not even mere synonyms, but

CHANGES WITHOUT ASSIGNABLE CAUSE.

In Rev. 10 : 1, we have *ΘΠΙΞ* instead of *ΙΠΙΣ*, *i. e.* the angel had “hair” about his head, instead of what John really saw, viz. “a rainbow” ! All that Tischendorf has to say about this is : “C^a correxit *ΙΠΙΣ*,” *i. e.* the third corrector supplied the proper word. We are left to form our own opinion of the original copyist who could make a mistake like that. Reader, what is yours ?

In Acts 7 : 8, the Codex asserts that Abraham circumcised Isaac on the “seventh” day ; *εβδομη*, instead of the original text *ογδοη*, “the eighth.”

In John 19 : 13, the Codex has *Γολγοθα* instead of *Γαββαθα*.

In Jn. 18 : 38 it reads *τις εστιν η αλαθεια*, instead of *ΤΙ &c.*, *i. e.* “*who* is truth ?” for “*what* is truth ?”

In Jas. 5 : 10, the Codex reads *καλοκαγαθιας* for *κακοπαθιας*.

Nor can we suggest any kind of explanation for such

GLARING MISTAKES

as the following. In Luke 1 : 26 we read *Ιουδαιας* for *Γαλιλαιας*, where the Codex makes Nazareth a city of Judea !

In Acts 3 : 13 we read *ΠΑΤΕΡΑ* for *ΠΑΙΔΑ* : “the God of our fathers hath glorified his *father* Jesus.” And this inexcusable blunder stood uncorrected, according to Tischendorf, until the twelfth century, *i. e.* for eight hundred years ! “*E, demum, ut videtur, ΠΑΙΔΑ.*”

In Matt. 4 : 12, we read *ακουσας δε Ιωαννης οτι παρεδοθη ανεχωρησε*, *i. e.* John, having heard that he [viz. Christ, the immediate antecedent] was cast into prison, departed, &c.!

Upon this passage Tischendorf remarks: *A* ante *Ιωαννης* transposuit; item *A*, qui *ὅτι* ab *A* scripto spiritum imposuit.

We meet, occasionally, with very singular

CLERICAL BLUNDERS.

An interesting instance of this kind we notice in Mr. 9 : 47. The writer reached the end of the page, and before turning it over, in writing the last line, found he had room for two letters of another word. We here give the last line as it stands in the original text:

ΜΟΝΕΙΣΤΗΝΖΩ

and the first on the next page

ΣΙΛΙΑΝΤΟΡΘΗΛΤ

Now here we have the singular nondescript ΖΩΣΙΛΙΑΝ, which is neither Greek nor any thing else. And how are we to account for it? The scribe read the verse: "It is better for thee to enter into the *kingdom of God* with one eye, than having two eyes to be cast into hell fire." Coming to write the phrase *kingdom of God*, βασιλειαν του Θεου, he seems to have thought of the synonym ζωην αιωνιαν, *eternal life*, and so began to write that, viz. ΖΩ instead of ΒΑ. But, having turned his page, and taken another look at his copy, he saw the rest of the word *kingdom*, and wrote it accordingly, leaving the phenomenon ζωσιλιαν. Can any one suggest a better explanation?

The reader may notice here, in the lines above given, the itacism of *I* for *EI* in the word βασιλειαν, and the contraction ΘΤ for Θεου.

As simple clerical blunders we can perhaps best account for such slips as the following: Mt. 6 : 1, δοσειννην for δικαιοσυνην; though Tischendorf calls this a remarkable passage, and the common text reads ἐλεημοσυνην. Lk. 3 : 32, Βαλλς for Βοοζ; and verse 33 Αδαμ for Αμιναδαβ. Acts 16 : 15, υμας for ημας; and she constrained *you*, for *us*. And this interchange of the first and second person plural, in all its cases, occurs with *painful frequency*, in every instance, of course, perverting the sense of the passage. Rev. 2 : 22, παλω for βαλω. Rom. 5 : 7, μογισ for μολις. 1 Cor. 8 : 7, εστιν for

εσθιουσιν. Lk. 1 : 19, ελεος for ονομα. Acts 25 : 20, κρινεσθαι for πορευεσθαι; here apparently anticipating the former word which occurs properly at the end of the verse. A similar anticipation of ινα καθως occurs in 2 Jn. 6. Acts 27 : 34, παρακα for παρακαλω. Acts 17 : 15, καθισπαντες for καθιστανοντες. Lk. 15 : 13, the substitution of εις χωραν μακραν for ζων ασωτωσ; the former phrase having been written two lines above. The correct words were afterwards placed in the margin. 1 Pet. 2 : 5 λιθος οντες, which makes no sense, instead of λιθοι ζωντες, "living stones"; and verse 21, απεθανεν for επαθεν. 2 Pet. 1 : 3 τον Θεον και is added, and in 2 : 9 πεφυλακισμενος is omitted. 2 Pet. 3 : 12, και σπενδοντας is omitted. Acts 2 : 21, the entire verse is omitted by our Codex alone, without any assignable reason, and Rom. 11 : 30 in like manner. In 1 Pet. 4 : 5 the scribe omitted οι αποδωσουσιν λογον; and in Acts 26 : 13 he writes κατην for κατα την. In Mr. 4 : 28, he omits ειτα σταχυν, "then the ear." In Lk. 21 : 8, he omits ο καιρος ηγγικε μη, changing a prohibition into a command, by making the verse read: "Take heed that ye be not deceived: for many shall come in my name, saying I am Christ, [—] go ye therefore after them." In Jn. 16 : 1 he omits MH: "These things have I spoken unto you, that ye should [] be offended. And in verse 9 of the same chapter he omits OT: "Of sin because they believe [] on me."

In the face of such blunders as these one does not so much wonder at Tischendorf's judgment concerning these scribes, as being mere slavish copyists, paying no heed to the sense of what they were transcribing.

But let us now take a few illustrations of their carelessness as shown by their frequent insertion of

REDUNDANT LETTERS, PHRASES, &C.

In Lk. 2 : 7 and 12: EΠN for EN. Mt. 4 : 7, MOI is redundant.

In Rev. 20 : 1, αλυσεσιν for αλυσιν.

In 2 Pet. 2 : 18, μαθηταιοιτητος for ματοιοιτητος.

1 Pet. 4 : 2, *Θεληματι ανθρωπου* for *Θεληματι Θεου*. 2 Jn. 3, *αυτου* is redundant.

2 Cor. 3 : 18 : *μεταφορμοφουμεθα* instead of *μεταμορφουμεθα*. Heb. 31 : 21, *ΑΤΤΩ* is redundant.

The letter *M* is frequently inserted before *Ψ*; as in Jn. 2 : 8, *προσωπολημφια*, for *φροσωποληφια*.

Mt. 10 : 41, *λημψετε* for *λημψεται*.

Rom. 13 : 2, *λημφονται* for *ληφονται*.

This usually regarded as an Alexandrianism.

And we meet also with

FREQUENT CARELESS REITERATIONS.

2 Pet. 2 : 19, *ελευθεριαν* is repeated.

Rev. 2 : 10. After *βαλλειν* there is a redundant *βαλιν*.

Rev. 4 : 8, *αγιος* is here written three times, as in most other MSS., and then it is written *five times more*! The last five were subsequently marked as redundant.

Rev. 7 : 13 : *εις των πρεσβυτερων* is written twice.

Acts 1 : 14 : *ομοθυμαδον* is repeated.

Lk. 24 : 17 : *αλληλουςλους*, and in verse 28, *πορροτερωτερω*.

Lk. 21 : 30 : the Codex repeats *γεινωσκετε*.

Sometimes clauses and even entire sentences are carelessly repeated; as in

Lk. 21 : 23, the clause *εν εκειναις ταις ημεραις* is written twice.

In 1 Thess. 2 : 13, 14 twenty-six words are distinctly written the second time; just as though the scribe had ceased writing at *ἐκκλησιῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ* in verse 14, when he resumed his work his eye fell upon *τοῦ Θεοῦ* in verse 13, and he deliberately wrote a second time as follows : *εδεξασθε ου λογον ανθρωπω αλλα καθως εστιν αληθως λογον Θεου, ος και ενεργειται εν υμιν τοις πιστευσιν. υμεις γαρ μιμηται εγενηθητε, αδελφοι, των εκκλησιων του Θεου*. A later hand has bracketed these words.

In Eph. 6 : 3, Lk. 17 : 16, and Heb. 4 : 9, we notice the same careless rewriting of an entire verse.

Our Codex shares with some other ancient manuscripts in exhibiting numerous instances of so-called

ITACISMS.

By these is meant: "the confusion of certain vowels or diphthongs having nearly the same sound." Thus we read in

Jn. 6 : 53, $\Phi A\Gamma E T A I$ for $\Phi A\Gamma H T E$, a double itacism.

2 Pet. 1 : 14, $T A X E I N H$ for $T A X I N H$.

Jn. 16 : 15, $M E I K P O N$ for $M I K P O N$.

Phil. 1 : 12, $\Gamma E I N \Omega \Sigma K I N$ for $\Gamma I N \Omega \Sigma K E I N$.

The very singular reading in Lk. 8 : 29 may perhaps be accounted for in this way, *i. e.* a careless interchange of cognate vowels. The Codex reads, $\Pi A I \Delta E \Sigma$, "boys," for $\Pi E \Delta A I \Sigma$, "fetters," with which the man possessed of devils was bound. In such instances as this the exchange of vowels seriously affects the sense, but in most cases they are nothing more than a proof of a loose mode of orthography arising from a vicious pronunciation."—*Scrivener's Introd.*, p. 10.

CORRECTIONS AND MARGINAL ADDITIONS.

The most of these, inserted by the hand of the original corrector, are manifest improvements of the text as originally written, *i. e.* they correct the easily recognizable blunders made by the copyist; whilst those inserted in the cramped and ungraceful hand of the later correctors are often changes for the worse; as, for instance, the insertion of $\Theta \Sigma$, with the sign of contraction, between the lines, and above the original $O \Sigma$ of the text, in 1 Tim. 3 : 16.

All of the earliest corrections and marginal notes are in uncial letters, *i. e.* similar in shape to those of the text, though frequently smaller and sometimes beautifully minute; but some were added after the uncial characters were no longer in use, and some even in comparatively rude Arabic characters by the monks of St. Catharine at a still later day. Let us mention a few of the most interesting ones.

Eph. 1 : 1 : Here the words $E N E \Phi E \Sigma \Omega$ are placed in the margin, the original text showing no trace of them; thus throwing the weight of this venerable testimony in favor of the *circular* character of the epistle, as intended for the common use of the churches in Proconsular Asia, rather than as meant for one of them alone. At the same time it seems equally plain

that the insertion of the specific address was made at a very early date. And we have also good reason to believe that copies of the same epistle were in circulation, as early as the second century, addressed to the church in Laodicea.

Lk. 2 : 14 : Here is a passage that has no doubt greatly perplexed our Revision Committees. Did the angels sing :

“Glory to God on high,
Peace on earth, and
Good-will to men?”

Or, did they sing :

“Glory to God on high, and
Peace on earth to men of good-will?”

Quite a difference ! What a recasting of Christmas sermons, if the latter reading be correct ! And it all depends upon a single letter. In our Codex the word *ΕΥΔΟΚΙΑΣ* ends with the sign of the genitive case, and such must have been the reading, too, of the very ancient manuscripts (older, perhaps, than the one from which our Codex was copied) that were followed by the Latin version in its *hominibus bonae voluntatis*. Now, some corrector has marked in our Codex this last letter as superfluous. *How much we would like to know how old is the single point placed over that letter !* It is but a point, indeed, but if we were sure that it was placed there by the original corrector, it would testify to the absence of the letter in the exemplar from which our Codex was copied. Here even Tischendorf's acumen is of no account. We cannot tell how long this Codex bore unchallenged testimony to the reading : “to men of good will.” However much we may regret it, we must quote the original testimony here as against the three-fold stanza of the angels' song. And the shock to our early associations is not the worst of it. How completely the introduction of this single letter shrivels the sentiment of the celestial message ! It is no longer a congratulation to *mankind* ; it is a message *to a select few*—the men of [God's?] good-will. How much depends sometimes upon a single letter ! Will our revisionists follow this letter and forbid us hereafter to sing : “Good-will to men”?

I Cor. 13 : 1-3 : Here the original writer at first omitted all between the words *ΜΗΕΧΩ* and *ΜΗΕΧΩ*, *i. e.* “I am become

as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal. And though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries and all knowledge; and though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity." But he must have discovered his mistake before he wrote the general heading at the top of the page, for he placed this omitted passage upon the wide margin above the third column, and thus had to crowd aside the running title, written subsequently. It is extremely interesting thus to follow up these ancient finger-marks and see just how those old Egyptian calligraphists made mistakes and then corrected them.

Mt. 8 : 29. This was at first written *ο δε ημας απολεσαι προ καιρου*. A corrector has marked the word *απολεσαι* as erroneous and added in the margin *βασανισαι ημας*. This, so far as the mere preference for the synonym is concerned, is of little importance; we mention it as an instance of carelessness even in one undertaking to correct the text, for he writes a redundant *HMAΣ*.

In the case above-mentioned, 1 Tim. 3 : 16, the insertion of *ΘΣ* between the lines, just above the original *ΟΣ*, was made, in the opinion of Tischendorf, as late as the twelfth century, by the fifth corrector.

We have now presented a few specimens of the various kinds of divergencies between the received text of the New Testament and the recently discovered ancient Codex. We selected them from upwards of seven hundred that we noted down whilst collating these copies for another purpose. That there should be so many cannot fail to excite surprise, and perhaps also a feeling of disappointment, a sudden revulsion from the admiration for, and confidence in the venerable document, that we have been hearing so highly lauded by its discoverer and other able and judicious critics of the sacred text.

But we will do well here, as everywhere else, to be careful that we do not rush from one extreme to the other. *Sit modus in rebus*. Let us understand and remember, first of all, that in a considerable number of the differences between these texts, credit and not disparagement is due to the Sinai Codex. In very many cases it presents the true, original reading, abun-

dantly endorsed by other ancient and trustworthy witnesses, and *the error lies in the commonly received text*. It is particularly gratifying, too, that this remark applies with special force to some of the most important differences that we find between them. And it is this fact, more than any other, that gives such extraordinary value to this manuscript.

Then we must bear in mind too that, in by far the largest number of divergent passages, where *the mistake is in the Codex*, it is nothing more than an easily recognizable clerical oversight, equivalent to the typographical errors that often disfigure the modern printed page; and, moreover, that we have good reason to believe that these faults were discovered and carefully corrected before the document left the hands of the original transcribers. Most frequently, indeed, they were of such a nature that the sense of the passage in which they occurred was not at all affected by them, or, at least, to so slight a degree that it is often not possible to indicate the difference in idiomatic English.

Further; whilst we have seen that the transcribers do sometimes appear to have arbitrarily employed words synonymous with those which *all the other ancient witnesses* testify to have been used by the original writers, thus taking an unwarrantable liberty with the text that was before them, yet their ordinary style of copying shows plainly enough that they, as a general rule, simply and faithfully, not to say mechanically, perpetuated the text current in their day, without stopping to reflect upon its meaning or intentionally attempting in any way to modify it.

And how thankful we should be for the providential care that has preserved for our use, amid the ravages of so many centuries, not only this inestimable treasure, but so many others, also, of almost equal antiquity and value, many of which have only recently been brought to light; and which, by their *manifold yet essentially harmonious testimony*, have made it possible for us to restore the whole of the sacred text (with the exception of a very few comparatively unimportant disputed readings) to its original integrity!

Nor do we at all despair of there being discovered, amid the ancient literary treasures that are still hidden away in lonely oriental monasteries, or perhaps were buried out of the sight of

ancient heathen persecutors, even still more valuable copies of the sacred text than those brought to light by the indefatigable Tischendorf.

O that the mantle of that prince of explorers in this department may yet fall, if indeed it has not already fallen, upon some rising, youthful genius, inspiring him with a no less lofty enthusiasm, and urging him to an equally devout and diligent and successful cultivation of this rich and attractive field, the Textual Criticism of the Holy Scriptures!



ARTICLE II.

THE GROWTH OF SPIRITUAL LIFE.

By Rev. H. C. HOLLOWAY, A. M., Newville, Pa.

All life is a mystery. That it always and universally exists, can scarcely be doubted; but to tell *what* it is in its manifold developments in the kingdom of Nature and of Grace is quite another matter. Prof. Grindow says: "Life in its proper, generic sense is the name of the sustaining principle by which everything out of the Creator subsists, whether worlds, metals, minerals, trees, animals, mankind, angels, or devils, together with all thought and feeling."* According to this, nothing is absolutely lifeless. "The life which works in your organized frame," said Laon, "is but an exalted condition of the power which occasions the accretion of particles into this crystalline mass. The quickening force of nature through every form being the same."† "The characteristic," says a well known writer, "which, manifested in a high degree, we call Life, is a characteristic manifested only in a lower degree by so-called inanimate objects."‡ Oersted, Hufeland, Humboldt, Coleridge, in his "Theory of Life," Arnold Guyot, in "The Earth and Man," and many others have written learnedly and at great length on

* Life: its Nature, Varieties, and Phenomena, pp. 13, 14.

† Panthea: or the Spirit of Nature, by Robert Hunt, p. 50, 1849.

‡ Herbert Spencer, *Westminster Review*, 1852, p. 472.

the subject; yet in their attempt at a definition of Life, what have they done toward explaining it? When Bichet defines it as "The sum of the functions by which death is resisted," what is it, as Coleridge well asks, "but a circuitous way of saying that life consists in being able to live?"

As little to the purpose is Dr. Fletcher, when he says that "Life consists in the sum of the characteristic actions of organized beings, performed in virtue of specific stimuli;" or Richerand, when he tells us that "Life consists in the aggregate of those phenomena which manifest themselves in succession for a limited time in organized beings." In all these attempted definitions, we are told many things that are both true and beautiful, but they do not *explain* anything; they rather deal with the *phenomena* of life. They are no definitions really, merely statements of certain signs of life. They do not tell us what life is. Impenetrable mystery still veils it; and no philosophy will ever be able to explain it; its essence is undiscoverable in the "sunless chambers of an exclusively secular philosophy." Yet in whatever spot we see it, whether at our feet or in the planet, or in the remotest star, we may be sure that life is there,—life physical to enjoy its beauties—life moral to worship its Maker—life intellectual to proclaim His wisdom and power.

And now passing from the physical, into the realm of spiritual life, what confronts us here but much that is mysterious? Here, too, are depths not fathomed by the most enlightened wisdom. The period of its commencement, the manner of its manifestation, the stage of its progress, may be marked and understood, but when we have comprehended its qualities and nature, as far as possible, there is left an unknown residuum of spiritual facts defying analysis. What, after all, is that which we call SPIRITUAL LIFE, as distinguished from the other phases of intellectual and emotional, practical, and moral life, belonging to us as human beings? We know, in many particulars, its qualities, but what is it essentially? Is it, properly speaking, any new power communicated to us by divine grace, or is it merely a new disposition—a new bias to the human mind? And as to its origin, when, and how, does it begin

in the soul? What is precisely the action of truth upon the minds of men? What part, or what condition of the mind does it touch first? Where does the life-giving process commence; with the affections or with the understanding? What is the agency of the Holy Spirit as "distinguishable in thought from the instrumentality of divine truth?"

These and similar questions have received much attention, and occasioned much discussion in the theological world; and they are referred to now, not for the purpose of suggesting a solution, but simply in order to show that when we come to think deeply and closely of that which underlies the phenomena of religious consciousness and character, much presents itself which awakens perplexing inquiry, hesitation and a sense of ignorance. In view of this fact, there are now, as there always have been, those who hastily assume the unreality of the whole subject. That we encounter apparent and real difficulties is very evident, but that is very far from disproving the existence of a glorious fact. Those who believe, "and have tasted of the heavenly gift," (Heb. 5 : 4) who are conscious of spiritual life, who can say from deep conviction, like St. Paul, "By the grace of God I am what I am," (1 Cor. 15 : 10), can never be affected by the skepticism of other people about what they have never experienced themselves, any more than we, who can use our eyes, could be disturbed by doubts as to the reality of human vision, suggested by a blind man, on having doubtful disputations respecting optic nerves, laws of light, or theories of color. The common sense answer in the gospel, given from experience, "One thing I know, that, whereas I was blind, now I see," (John 9 : 25) is the truest philosophy, the most unanswerable logic, and suffices to dispose of a good many difficulties, suggested by those who stand outside the circle of spiritual life.

But what now suggests itself is, that whatever mysteriousness may attach to what we call "the life of God in the soul of man," is only analogous to the mysteriousness which clings to life in all gradations of the ascending scale, from the lowest to the highest, from the meanest plant to the life of the noblest angel. Our Lord's parable of the seed growing, teaches us the

mysteriousness of life in its lower form : "So is the kingdom of God, as if a man should cast seed into the ground, and should sleep and rise night and day, and the seed should spring and grow up, he knoweth not how," (Mark 4 : 26, 27). That the mystery of spiritual life in the soul is equally great is not denied. The word of God puts it before us as such : "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh and whither it goeth ; so is every one that is born of the Spirit," (John 3 : 8). "And without controversy, great is the mystery of godliness," (1 Tim. 3 : 16). But the mystery here is not any greater than that which is known to exist in vegetable life, in its incipient and successive stages. The wonder which lies in the one, lies also in the other, and if there is a disposition to doubt the one, because of its mysteriousness, the same ground exists for disbelieving the other also. But what man is there who would doubt the existence of life in the vegetable world? And yet he can no more see that life, than the life that exists in the spiritual world. In the one case he judges and concludes from the fruits, and so in the other, for "by their fruits ye shall know them," (Matt. 7 : 20); know them as possessed of spiritual life. The wonder which lies close to the lowest round of Nature's ladder, is but a sample of the wonder bound to its topmost step. God's works are but partially, can be but partially, seen by man. "Lo these are parts of His ways ; how little a portion is heard of Him," (Job 26 : 14). The mystery of life, then, from end to end, in "the blade" of corn and in the soul, on earth and in heaven, is a divine mystery. In conspicuous light, does the divinity of the wonder appear in the origin and progress of true religion ! Truly "the finger of God" is here. But the divine aspect of the mystery does not diminish it ; rather it enhances it. Seeing so much of God in regenerated and spiritual life, we find, indeed, the mystery *shifted*, but that is all. It is lifted and placed like a sealed book, on a higher shelf ; it is far from being on that account more easily reached. But a wise man, as in things natural, so in things spiritual, will be content to walk amidst the twilight, perhaps amidst the deepening gloom of mystery. He knows that nature is a system imperfectly understood, and he is, therefore,

prepared to find that the grace of God in the soul, is a method of divine operation and also imperfectly understood ; but that will not hinder him from regarding it what it is, a blessed reality, and acting upon it just as confidently as he would, if he understood everything belonging to it from first to last. So far as he has to "walk by faith not by sight," (2 Cor. 5 : 7), he sets his feet as firmly on the ground as he might if he saw distinctly every inch of pathway which he is to tread. It is, then, not an unwarranted assumption to say that spiritual life has existence in the soul that has been brought under the influence of divine grace. This cannot be fairly doubted any more than the existence of physical or animal life in the worlds around us. The mysterious aspect of the case, does in no way militate against this eternal fact, for a mystery is not a thing contrary to reason nor utterly unknown as to its existence, but a matter of which we have clear evidence that it *does* exist, only the *nature* or *mode* of it is incomprehensible.

When, then, does this spiritual life begin? We are well aware that we now enter upon a much disputed theological question,—one that has elicited much controversy, and which we cannot hope to settle for all who have thought and written upon the subject. And here, as in the process of Nature, we can only speak of facts ; the mode we must submit to infinite wisdom and power.

We say, then, this spiritual life in the soul begins with baptism. We refer now more specially to the baptism of infants ; for there is a difference. Schmidt, in his Doctrinal Theology, says : "The immediate design of baptism is, finally, to work saving grace in man. But, as also the word of God has the like effect, baptism is intended to produce this result only in such cases in which it is applied to human beings at an earlier period than the word ; this is the case with infants who are not yet susceptible to the preaching of the gospel. But in adults who, with their already developed reason, can understand the preaching of the gospel, the word has precedence, and produces its results *before* the sacrament,"* (the Sacrament of Baptism).

* Doctrinal Theology, p. 554.

Gerhard says: "When, therefore, they are baptized, who have already been regenerated through the word, as a spiritual seed, they have no need of regeneration through baptism, but in them baptism is a confirmation and sealing of regeneration."

What, then, is baptism? It is not simply water, (1 Pet. 3 : 21 ; John 3 : 5 ; Matt. 3 : 11 ; Acts 10 : 47 ; 2 Kings 5 : 9-14), but it is the water comprehended in God's command, (Acts 2 : 38 ; 10 : 48 ; 22 : 16), and connected with God's word, (1 Pet. 1 : 23 ; Ezek. 36 : 25, 26 ; Rom. 10 : 17). What gifts or benefits does baptism convey? It worketh forgiveness of sins (Acts 2 : 38 ; Eph. 5 : 25, 26 ; Col. 2 : 11-13 ; Zech. 13 : 1 ; 1 John 1 : 7 ; 1 Cor. 6 : 11 ; Rom. 8 : 1), delivers from death (Rom. 6 : 4, 5 ; John 11 : 25, 26 ; Hos. 13 : 14 ; 1 Cor. 15 : 55, 56), and the devil (Col. 1 : 12-14 ; Rev. 12 : 10, 11 ; 1 Pet. 5 : 8, 9 ; Eph. 6 : 13 ; 1 John 3 : 8), and confers everlasting salvation (Rom. 8 : 17 ; Tit. 3 : 5 ; 1 Pet. 3 : 21), on all who believe (Heb. 11 : 6 ; Gal. 3 : 26, 27 ; Acts 8 : 37 ; Rom. 8 : 8-14), as the word and promise of God declare,* (1 Thess. 2 : 13 ; 2 Pet. 1 : 4). Baptism is, therefore, more than a mere outward form or pledge of reception into the visible Church of Christ. It is also an internal operation. It is a means of regeneration. Through this means grace is offered. It is, therefore, more than a mere empty sign. It is something real, as all things which God gives are real. We are not saved by shadows or empty signs. If Christ had intended to give us only shadows or figures, he would have brought us again back into Judaism. We, however, have the substance, hence there must be united with baptism an efficacious, real work of an internal nature. The work accomplished is as real as the means used are real. If not, what good can come from baptism? The New Testament Scriptures distinctly and unequivocally declare baptism to be a means of man's moral renovation. Jesus said to Nicodemus, "Verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God," (John 3 : 5). In Titus 3 : 5, Paul, speaking of God our Saviour, says : "He saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of

* Luther's Smaller Catechism, iv.

the Holy Ghost." Here the subject is the same as in John 3 : 5, the new birth or regeneration. Paul here, writing to Titus, views the question of our salvation in an objective sense, that is, not with respect to man's own preparedness for salvation, but with regard to the means which God himself chooses to employ in producing this preparedness. He accordingly says: "God our Saviour saved us by the washing of regeneration," &c. Here, then, he specifies the means which God adopts in regenerating man, or in infusing spiritual life into the soul, and in subsequently justifying the sinner and granting him the inheritance of eternal life (Titus 3 : 7); for regeneration or spiritual life as necessarily precedes justification and sanctification, as the actual, natural birth precedes the child's education. See also Rom. 6 : 3, 4; Col. 2 : 12, 13; 1 Cor. 6 : 11. If these, and the foregoing passages of the divine word mean anything, they mean that baptism is one of the divinely appointed means in the divine plan for the regeneration of man; and that in baptism the germ of spiritual life is inserted, and it is a divine act or operation, susceptible of a glorious subsequent development revealed in the Christian's sanctification.

The Augsburg Confession says, (Art. ix.): "That grace is offered through baptism." Gerhard, that prince of theologians, says: "By baptism we are regenerated; it is the washing of regeneration (John 3 : 5), reception into the covenant of grace, (1 Pet. 3 : 21), adoption as the sons of God (Gal. 3 : 26), the putting on of Christ (Gal. 3 : 27), deliverance from the power of Satan, and the possession of eternal life," (Col. 1 : 13, 14; Mark 16 : 16).

Hollazius: "The primary design of baptism is the offering, application, conferring, and sealing of evangelical grace."

Chemnitz: "There is no doubt that through the washing of water by the word, Christ operates by his Spirit in children who are baptized, and causes their reception into the kingdom of God, although we do not understand in what manner this is done."

We can do no better than quote the words of Prof. Worley here: "The Church does not teach, and never has taught, that baptism is regeneration; but she does teach, and in accordance

with the word of God must teach, that through baptism grace is offered, and that in all those who allow the work of grace to commence and grow in their hearts, not resisting the Holy Spirit in baptism, but in humble trust to God's promise affixed unto baptism, allowing him to renew, transform and sanctify the heart, it is a means of God unto regeneration and the new birth of the Spirit, and secures in these the forgiveness of sin, life, and salvation."*

It would seem then, from the word of God, and the accepted faith of the Church, that spiritual life begins with baptism. It is the insertion of the germ of spiritual life, accomplished, as the Saviour teaches Nicodemus, by "water and the Spirit." Like the life of the body at the first birth, spiritual life must have a beginning, and that beginning occurs in baptism as the second birth. That some adults, by actual impenitence, hypocrisy and obstinacy, deprive themselves of the salutary efficacy of baptism, we freely admit," (Gerhard). But baptism is not the awakening of a life that previously existed, but a new life implanted. Reason does not seem to be against Scripture in this view, for it would seem fair to suppose that if the child's soul is capable of receiving impressions from sin, it would be equally capable of receiving impressions from grace, and even more so when we remember that it is the will of God that all should be saved. "Where sin hath abounded grace did much more abound," (Rom. 5 : 20).

Being assured, then, that spiritual life has existence in the soul, and having ascertained its origin, the next point that claims our attention is, its growth.

Between life and growth there is an intimate connection. They are found together in all living things. The plants grow, and the animals; and there is a growth of mind as well as of body. Growth is something that pertains to all true life, physical, intellectual and spiritual. The first chapter of Genesis describes the era of creation, when man appeared at once in the completeness of his beauty, strength and grace of his glorious manhood. The idea conveyed with regard to plants is, that

* Evangelical Review, Vol. XVIII., pp. 49, 50.

they were created perfect, (Gen. 1 : 12). The creative era has long since passed away. From that period until now, has been an era of development. Nature, providence, man, society, civilization, the Church, and the economy of grace, all have been, and are, subjects and examples of development. There is, indeed, a sense in which it may, and ought to be said, that the first moment of spiritual life in the soul is a period of creation ; for, "If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature," (2 Cor. 5 : 17). Again, St. Paul declares, "We are created in Christ Jesus unto good works," (Eph. 2 : 10). A supernatural, instantaneous change then takes place ; as when God said in the first creation, "Let there be light ; and there was light," (Gen. 1 : 3). The Divine Spirit then communicates that which is the germ of our whole subsequent spiritual life, but ever after, the process is one of growth. Thus, then, spiritual life in the soul is to be regarded as a growth ; like the growth of grain in the field, or like the growth of knowledge. Indeed, the fundamental law of religion is growth—progress. This is what Christ teaches in regard to his kingdom when, referring to the course of Nature, he says : "First the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear," (Mark 4 : 28). So after, "as if a man should cast seed into the ground—and the seed should spring and grow up"—the germ of spiritual life has been inserted in the soul through baptism, it is developed and matured by the teachings of the word, according to St. Peter : "As new born babes desire the sincere milk of the word, that ye may grow thereby." The efficacy of baptism does not cease at the moment succeeding its administration, but is regularly maintained. The life of the Christian is, as Luther so happily expresses it, always "im Werden und nicht im Sein," that is, he grows in grace continually, but still like the Apostle, he can always say : "Not as though I had already attained, either were already perfect," &c. (Phil. 3 : 12–14). The beginning and the first stages of religious life in the soul are always feeble, like that of the tender plant or blade of grass when it first springs up, or like that of the new-born babe ; but from this small beginning it may grow till it attains a fulness and maturity that are fitly symbolized in "the full corn," ripened in the ear, or the full grown man in

Christ. Maximum from minimum is divine law. In the parables of the mustard seed (Matt. 13 : 31), the leaven (v. 33), and of the seed growing, Christ discloses the laws of His kingdom. "First the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear," (Mark 4 : 28).

The blade is a thing of *promise*. Look at its thin, springing, graceful leaf of softest green, how it folds up within itself latent beauty and power! Though slender and frail, what capabilities of endurance and growth it has; how it will bear rain, frost, nipping winds, and sultry heat; how, by that which would seem one moment to threaten its life, will it be nourished the next; what a strength and persistency of life it possesses, so that it will make good its position, and hold its own, and climb up into the air in a manner most marvellous. And that flat single spire of grass will be found to be a sheath hiding within itself a swelling, expanding substance which will unfold into an organized form of life, most curious, wonderful and productive. And as you think of all this, think also of something else of which it is the type. "So is the kingdom of God." What promise there is in the early life of grace! It may be very weak, its manifestations may be feeble in the extreme; but judge not of it by the present appearances, but by its inward capabilities and powers. That seed in the soul is the seed of God. It may become strong and vigorous; and, in its latter end, although preserving its identity, only developing what was hidden in it from the beginning, may be as different from what it was at first, as the golden ear differs from the green blade. The piety of a man, just born again of the Spirit of God, may strike one as so frail, that the thought of what it may have to encounter produces the utmost fear. We sometimes tremble for new converts, as we see them exposed to the trials of the world—the snares of sense, the lusts of the flesh, and the subtlety of the devil. But if there be genuine grace coupled with honest purpose, a power is there sufficient to overcome all dangers; for what is the secret promise with regard to the life which thus begins—"first the blade?" Is it not a law of God—a divine principle or power? Not a something in nature independent, but something in nature springing out of the *first great cause*, which is God, and by Him sus-

tained? And if the promise of life in the blade be not independent much less the promise of spiritual life, it rests upon the grace of God. The will and word of God, as disclosed in revelation, are our daily ground of hope as to the growth and increase and fruitfulness of religion in any soul. The mind of heaven alone must be our teacher and guide, or we will come utterly short of all good:

The *immaturity* of the blade is as striking as the promise. That very promise supposes that the future is to be different from the present. The swelling of the ear—the ripeness of the full corn in the ear—bring out in vivid, effective contrast the immaturity of the blade. So, as we think of the developments of piety to follow in the life of the young Christian, those very developments throw us back again upon the thought of the infirmity and imperfection of the earlier stage of the Christian life. Of course, at present, there is immaturity of knowledge, of judgment, of experience, even of faith and feeling. There are many things of a spiritual kind which can be learned only in process of time. In this respect, spiritual knowledge differs in no wise from any other kind of knowledge. Even the wondrous gifts of inspiration did not enable the apostles, all at once to understand the mysteries of the kingdom of God. Even with the Holy Ghost for a Teacher, it took them years to learn, what they were enabled to teach. Truth beautifully opened upon them; it fell as light from heaven into their souls, as they walked forward in the ways of God; and a very instructive and profitable course of study it is for the readers of the New Testament to arrange chronologically the sacred contents, and then to mark how, step by step, truth breaks on the vision of the inspired seers. And if in relation to dogmatic truth time is an essential condition of improvement, so in relation also to experimental and practical godliness time is indispensable for progress. We must pass through the stages of spiritual infancy and spiritual youth, before we can reach the maturity of spiritual manhood. We must, as spiritual children, acquire certain habits in order to the attainment of ease, and skill, and, so to speak, dexterity of practice as spiritual men.

Since the creation of Adam, the law of life has been growth through stages of immaturity to perfection, so far as that is attainable below; and the length of the period of immaturity is according to the worth and dignity of the nature concerned. The lowest ripens first; the highest last. So also is the stability and duration of life in proportion to the tardiness with which it comes to perfection. The gourd of Jonah springs up in a single night, but a single worm cuts it down in another night. In a single season may the willow become something of a tree, while the oak on the hills requires an hundred years in order to become great, but *when* grown, it is the *oak*, not the willow. Between the blade and the ear in nature, there may be but a few months; between the blade and the ear in grace, there may be many years. Very expressive are the illustrations used in the sacred scriptures to set forth this truth. Our religious course is likened to the rising and increasing light of the morning which shineth brighter and brighter unto the perfect day, (Prov. 4 : 18). We are said to be, at first, babes, then men in Christ. The kingdom of heaven in us at first is like leaven hid in meal "till the whole is leavened, (Matt. 13 : 33). The Christian virtues or graces, "love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance," (Gal. 5 : 22, 23) are called the "fruits of the Spirit," rich, ripe, and shaking "like Lebanon;" and this growth of religious principle and character from its slender germ to its full maturity,—the christian man, having become in heart and life thoroughly spiritualized, and really "meet to be partaker of the inheritance of the saints in light" (Col. 1 : 12), is the highest and best attainment possible for man on earth. After this nothing remains but to be gathered into the garner of the Lord.

Beautifully have we this same truth of growth set forth in the life of our divine Lord on earth. Concerning him St. Luke (2 : 40) says, "and the child grew and waxed strong in spirit, filled with wisdom; and the grace of God was upon him." All scripture coincides in telling us that the ripe perfection of his manhood was reached step by step. "It became Him for whom are all things, and by whom are all things, in bringing many sons into glory, to make the Captain of their salvation *perfect*

through suffering," (Heb. 2 : 10). Of himself he says: "Behold I cast out devils, and do cures to-day and to-morrow, and the third day I shall be *perfected*," (Luke 13 : 32). "Though He were a Son, yet *learned* He obedience," (Heb. 5 : 8.) Once more it is said, "Jesus *increased*," (Luke 2 : 52). The child, it is written, *grew* (Luke 1 : 80). "Two pregnant facts. He was a child, and a child that grew in heart, in intellect, in size, in grace, in favor with God. Not a man in child's years. No hot-bed precocity marked the holiest of infancies. * * Gradually and gently He woke to consciousness of life and its manifold meaning; found Himself in possession of a self; by degrees opened His eyes upon this outer world, and drank in its beauty. Early He felt the lily of the field discourse to Him of the Invisible Loveliness, and the ravens tell of God His Father. Gradually, and not at once, He embraced the sphere of human duties, and woke to His earthly relationships one by one—the Son, the Brother, the Citizen, the Master." * This growth is often imperceptible to the Christian himself and to others, and much less apparent in its later, than in its earlier stages. The growth of grain, like the movement of the earth round the sun, is imperceptible to our senses; but after a period of time has passed we can see that it has grown. The first year's growth of an oak or elm is very striking to the senses; but after it has attained the size of some of our historical oaks, it may add still something in bulk to its stately trunk, and spreading branches, and the change be not at all perceptible or striking. So, well grown Christians need not wonder if the signs or marks of religious improvement in grace, are not so manifest as at the beginning of their Christian life. God is as omnipotent in grace as in nature, for he is the author of both. Yet in grace, as in nature, growth may be very slow and even imperceptible. There are, no doubt true Christians, who are not conscious of making improvement, *i. e.*, they are not conscious of attaining the end which they seek but they are conscious of making endeavors, conscious of spiritual aspirations, self control, constant effort. "We do not get on, somehow," they say; "we make no pro-

* Robertson's Sermons, Vol. I., Series Second, pp. 216 217.

gress; wind and tide are against us; we are constantly driven back." But, however discouraging in this respect their experience may seem, they cannot but feel that they strive in the way of life. Faithfulness, not success, has the promise of reward, (Matt. 25 : 21). For the believer's comfort it ought to be sufficient that he is conscious he does thoughtfully, earnestly and perseveringly employ the means, although he cannot see that he is at present attaining the end. The husbandman has more to do with the sowing than the growing; with tilling the field and casting in the seed, than with the blade bearing the ear. The Christian has more to do with trying to improve, than with actual improvement,—with honestly using the means, than with triumphantly reaching the end. His notion of actual improvement may be entirely at variance with the divine idea of it. He may want peace, comfort, joy; God may see that conflict, trouble, and disappointment may be better for him. The truth is, Christians often improve when they think they do not. They fancy they are growing worse, simply because they see their infirmities and defects more, which in itself is an advantage; for if they strive to overcome these evils, they increase in humility, repentance and trust. And when following after some specific grace—faith, patience, forgiveness, purity, or the like, perhaps the believer imagines that his movements are backwards, not forwards, yet, though it so appears to him, it does not so appear to others, who may be better judges of him than he is of himself. In rowing against the stream in tempestuous weather, the boatmen may be dispirited, as if not making headway at all; whereas, observers on the shore see that every pull is telling on the progress of the barque. The getting on of a boy at school may be more visible to his teacher, than to himself; so, many a Christian who takes most discouraging views of his own case, may be greatly improving in the sight of the blessed God and Father.

Moreover, if we look at human nature, human circumstances, and human history, we see reasons why spiritual growth can not be *hasty*. The nature on which grace has to work is degenerate, wilfull, and of great obstinacy; the temptations which beset the child of God, are manifold; the situation in which he

finds himself in this present world, is, in many respects, most unfavorable. The soil is hard, sterile, full of thorns and briars, stony and wants depth. The resisting forces, natural and positive, active and passive, are many and powerful. The first great change wrought in the soul by the truth and spirit of God, though a new creation, was but rudimentary. Much as may have been attained more remains to be attained. As St. Paul declares, "Not as though I had already attained, either were already perfect; but I follow after, if that I may apprehend that for which also I am apprehended of Christ Jesus," (Phil. 2 : 12). "The ear" comes not at once, "first the blade," then the bringing of things into place and form, "the ear," and the filling out into perfection and ripeness, "the full corn in the ear."

Very marked are the *advantages* of gradual advancement. We notice this as we watch the growth of a child up to the stage of manhood. It is a gliding by gentle movements, from point to point; an ever deepening hue of life. We are thinking now of intellectual, moral progress, and we cannot but observe what benefits and advantages arise from this in the experience of mankind. Let us compare ourselves in this respect, with Adam, who, in unique, exceptional history, missed the successive stages of infancy and childhood and youth. He was a complete creation, fully developed when he came from the hand of his Maker. Have we not the advantage over him? Have we not the pleasant memories, an enrichment of mind, a breadth of sympathy, and an experience of many things which he could not have had? We have passed through a strengthening and ripening process, the loss of which could be scarcely compensated for, by any miraculous inspiration of knowledge. As a tree includes all former growths in its last, as ring after ring of vegetable life in the heart of the oak engirdles all its predecessors, so man in his maturity contains within himself all the thoughts, feelings, and experiences which have arisen within him from his infancy upwards; and what treasures of knowledge and usefulness and of joy, as well as of sorrow, they prove, no one who reflects, can fail to discover.

And so with spiritual life. We can, it is true, conceive of gracious operations in the soul being cut short by one wonder-

stroke of maturing energy,—the child in Christ being made at once a man, all intermediate experience superseded; but we cannot conceive of this abridgment of the divine economy as otherwise than involving a loss to the character of him whose sanctification should be thus compendiously disposed of. Better, far, gradually to advance, and slowly, and by degrees, with time for reflection and digestion, to pick up knowledge; far better to deepen in pious feeling from day to day, and to flourish in virtue, season after season. The advantages of gradual growth are seen in the strength and solidity it gives to the body or character. The growths of a single season in nature, like the willow, or the stalk of corn, pass suddenly away, not being able to withstand the blasts of winter and the searching cold. But the cedar or the oak, not content to drop a few slack fibres into the yielding loam, thrusts its sturdy wedge into the cloven rock and pushes far below the brush wood in search of stronger moorings; and so when the tempest comes down, it springs elastic to the hurricane on its buttress of subterranean boughs and amid all the veerings of the blast finds gallant purchase in its network of cables. The cedar grows from year to year. The solid timber of its trunk grows denser and more compact, new layers are added to its girth, and this slow growth gives it all its resisting forces. And the growth of the cedar is the symbol of the growth of the Christian in grace. The righteous shall grow like a cedar in Lebanon, (Ps. 92 : 12). It is this kind of growth to which St. Paul refers, (Eph. 4 : 16): “From whom (Christ) the whole body fitly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body unto the edifying of itself in love.” The advantages of gradual growth, then, are apparent in connection with results on earth, and we apprehend the advantages will be equally apparent in connection with results in heaven; for doubtless, what we daily learn by experience here, often painful, will yield rich, ripe harvest in the immortal future.

According to the Scriptures, spiritual growth should be uniform. This improvement is very broad, as well as a very deep thing; it comprehends the whole of man’s moral character,

the entire range of his daily life ; his desires, his motives, his purposes, his acts, &c. Nothing, however, is more common in religious character than a one-sided development, a piety which is strong in certain directions and very feeble and faulty in others. One man is distinguished by one excellence, another by a different one ; few by all kinds. These differences among Christians largely come from differences of character, from constitutional peculiarities, or early education. "The finest specimen of a Christian is he in whom all the graces, like the strings of an angel's harp, are in the most perfect harmony." This embraces faith and devoutness, knowledge and practical consistency of life. And here comes the clustering of all the virtues of the New Testament like the close and intimate union of the thirty, the sixty, and the hundred fold aggregate of grain in the full ear of corn. We can not specify, much less illustrate, this variety of combination of scripture qualities ; we can only point to these familiar subjects, and insist upon their harmonious combination in the Christian character. In some we notice here a cleft, there a chasm, needing to be filled up ; or some habit prominent beyond all proportions—a protuberance, particular virtues, like "the seven thin ears blasted with the east wind ;" and again, others, like the "seven ears of corn" upon a stock full and good, (Gen. 41 : 6). But the Christian, who answers the description of the Bible, will have comprised within him the whole round of moral and spiritual graces, such as faith, zeal, love, knowledge, resignation, patience, courage, encompassed and fastened together by charity, which is "the bond of perfectness." St. Paul teaches the same truth when he speaks of the perfecting of the saints, that "we may grow up in Him in *all* things, which is the head, even Christ," (Eph. 4 : 15). Thus we are said to be "built up in Christ Jesus." Thus, too, we are exhorted to "grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ," (2 Pet. 3 : 18). So also, upon the other hand, there must be absolute submission to Christ. As St. Paul teaches : "Casting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ, (2 Cor. 10 : 5). From this it is to be understood that every

part of our nature shall be conformed to the law of Christ, educated—bringing into submission every thought, and trained according to certain definite truths and principles that are exhibited in Christ. He is the best sculptor who on the dead marble produces forms where each feature is not only beautiful in itself, but in harmonious combination and proportion also to every other. When, therefore, we look for the Bible model Christian, we look for Christian character in its entirety, mental, spiritual, moral, practical; in its relation to truth, to consistency, to law, to society, to the Church, to worship, to doctrine, to domestic and social life; and in all its publicities and retirements.

This growth, moreover, is *constant*. Continued life involves continued growth. This idea is embodied in all the figures employed in the word of God to teach us the growth of spiritual life in the soul. Human life as it first appears in the child just born, possesses the power of growth. A cessation of growth implies a cessation of life. So the Christian at first, when in baptism grace is offered, is yet a babe in Christ, (1 Cor. 3 : 1). He is a lamb of the flock. Weak in knowledge and in grace, he, however, continues to grow, "till he comes into the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, and unto a perfect man, unto the stature of the fulness of Christ, (Eph. 4 : 13). In vegetable life we have the same truth illustrated. So soon as the seed is deposited in the soil and quickened, it begins to grow. It grows by day and by night, and thus continues to push upward towards the sunlight, and thence proceeds to perfection. There is a constant accretion and consolidation of character. The Christian is exhorted always to abound in the work of the Lord, (1 Cor. 15 : 58), and to "go on unto perfection," (Heb. 6 : 1). Jesus said to the believing Jews, "If ye continue in my word, then are ye my disciples indeed," (John 8 : 31). At another time the Saviour exhorts in these words: "Continue ye in my love," (John 15 : 9). At Antioch Paul and Barnabas, speaking to the religious proselytes, "persuaded them to continue in the grace of God," (Acts 13 : 43). They did the same at Lystra and Iconium, "confirming the souls of the disciples, and exhorting them to continue in the faith," (14 : 22). The same law is disclosed to us on this point in the language

which compares the course of the believer to that of the sun: "The path of the just is as the shining light"—the morning twilight—"that shineth more and more unto the perfect day," literally, "unto the fixed day"—noon, when the Sun has reached his highest point, and seems there to stand in unabating glory (Prov. 4: 18). The final message is, "Be thou faithful *unto* death, and I will give thee a crown of life," (Rev. 2: 10).

Once more, we remark that spiritual life and growth imply *ripeness*. "The full corn in the ear" is ripened life according to its nature. It symbolizes ripened moral and spiritual character. Some men's goodness is strong but hard; strong but crude; we appreciate it, but we do not love it; we look at it, but we keep our distance. There is nothing in some good men to draw us towards them. Our conception of the highest development of personal Christianity includes what is winning, in association with what is vigorous. There is a clothing of beauty thrown over and fitting a body of strength. Old age sometimes degenerates into contradiction and peevishness, into alienation from, and even antipathy to, the fresh and gushing joys of youth. Such a temper is odious; but old age sometimes flourishes with a green freshness, which takes off nothing from the maturity of characteristic qualities; there remains a large and generous sympathy with what is innocent and beautiful in youth. There are loving smiles and words of kindness and tenderness, and looks of approval for acts and ways, which advanced years can no more repeat. It is a genial kind of Christian maturity like that, which we admire and would imitate. A shock of corn fully ripe, ready for the garner is very beautiful. A cluster of grapes in round rich purple bloom, is very beautiful. The afternoon or evening sun, an hour or two before its setting, seen through a veil of clouds, which soften its splendor, diminish its glare, and cool its heat, is very beautiful; so, very beautiful is the piety of the saint of God, when, rich in faith, rich in doctrine, rich in love, rich in hope, rich in all social virtues, it lingers awhile here on earth, ere it passes up into heaven.

It has been said of an historical character that "the coloring of his mind was better than the drawing." And there are men

better in theory than in practice ; better in their tone and temper, than in their most marked and definite acts. But on the other hand, there are persons, the drawing of whose minds is better than the coloring ; that is, they are better in their conduct than in their spirit ; better in the distinct qualities which appear in their lives, than in the general cast and character of those lives from beginning to end. What we should aim at is good drawing and good coloring too ; a distinct, definite, bold outline of all Christian virtues and doctrines portrayed in the Scriptures, with a certain glow of Christian feeling thrown into every part, and a toning down of the whole into harmony. Figures apart—the ripeness desirable, is a ripeness of knowledge, of faith, of spirituality—a ripeness of wisdom, and charity, of hope and of cheerfulness. It cannot be forced. It cannot come as the immediate consequence of effort. It is the result of long continued growth, of lengthened and varied experience, of much discipline, of much trial, of much self-sacrifice. It is the effect of divine truth in the heart cordially embraced, firmly held, constantly tested. It proceeds from communion with Christ, from deep love to him, from sympathy with him in his sufferings, and conformity to his death. It is the fruit of the Spirit, and can never be seen except where He dwells and works in all the efficacy of his gracious operations. The spirit of the Lord overshadows, penetrates, and vivifies the spirit of man ; takes up all subordinate influences, lays hold of good and evil, checks and destroys the latter, appropriates and applies the former. Thus comes the ripeness of Christian thoughts, and of Christian affection, of spiritual life and character,—thus comes the perfect man, the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ.

We glance finally, at the cause and conditions of this growth of spiritual life. The cause is to be found only in God. It is said, “The earth bringeth forth fruit of herself” (Mark 4 : 28), by which is meant that the mysterious increase of the plant is independent of human power, skill and care, but not of God. “The earth is the Lord’s and the fullness thereof,” (Ps. 24 : 1). One “plants,” another “waters,” “God giveth the increase” (1 Cor. 3 : 7)—the Almighty “blesseth the springing thereof.” (Ps. 65 : 10).

The wheat, the mustard seed, grow up under God,—so does a child's life, the life of its body, the life of its soul. We cannot entertain a second thought upon these familiar subjects, without recognizing in them that mystery of life and growth upon which we have already dwelt—a mystery which necessarily involves the fact of God's blessing and power being underneath and above these natural processes from first to last; and the thought serves to bring out into impressive distinctness the fact that God is the Author of spiritual life, and the cause of all its advancement. We are apt to imagine that if spiritual life be once inspired, it is all we need; that if God once creates us "anew in Christ Jesus," we can take care of ourselves ever afterwards. But the fact is, we require not only a renewal at first—not only the new birth by the Holy Spirit at the beginning, but a renewing "day by day." The Psalmist says: "Thou renewest the face of the earth," (104:30). The miraculous creation at the beginning did not supersede this necessity to the end. The plain and most important lesson on this part of our subject is, that we are constantly dependent on the Spirit of God. The husbandman may not think of God. He may take the growth of grain in his fields as a matter of course, and the corn may not grow the worse for it. But the case is different in relation to the work of grace; and the ground of the difference is very apparent. The growth in one case is physical, in the other it is spiritual. In the one case it is a outward thing, apart from us, fixed yonder, in the ground; in the other case, it is in ourselves, in our own souls; a growth involving the discipline and the improvement of a conscious, intelligent, moral nature. Spiritual improvement depends upon what we think, upon what we receive and retain; what we do and purpose; what we endeavor, ask, and seek. Our experience, then, must be brought into unison with our divine position, and our divine relationship. We are dependent upon God for grace; without him we can do, we can *be*, nothing; and our consciousness must take form accordingly. We must rely for daily grace for daily strength, for daily growth, on him who "hath given us of his spirit."

Adverting again to the imagery of the parable by our Lord,

we may observe that there are at least four things essential to the growth of wheat: light, heat, air, and changes of weather. The corn will not grow in darkness without the sun. No artificial illumination will make up for the want of the orb of day. Nor can it dispense with spring warmth and summer sultriness. No process of warming by any mechanical apparatus suffices for our fields; neither can the plant thrive when it is walled in or screened from the invigorating breeze, from the constantly circulating atmosphere. Even the sleet, and the snow, and the storm, as well as the gentle rain, serve a purpose, amongst the manifold departments of God's natural economy. To round and ripen even the single golden grain of harvest, behold how all the elements combine!

The spiritual suggestions offered by these simple facts are applicable to all believers. If we would "grow in grace," we must avail ourselves of the means to such an end. They must be the means, too, of God's appointing; for no substitution of man's devising, be it ever so plausible and pleasing, can take the place of divine appointments. It ought not to astonish us that a similar law holds in the spiritual realm to that in the natural. In the former, as well as in the latter, God works by means, and that of his own selection. By these appointed means he is ever ready to work, and without these, no work can be looked for. We ought not to be surprised at being held accurately down in this realm, as in the other, to the exact conditions of benefit. We ought not to hope to evade the precise terms here more than there; to suppose that we can substitute one factor for another, prayer for labor, desire for endeavor, any more than in raising a hill of corn, or in turning the wheel of a mill. No one ever finds the powers of Nature unready or inadequate. Whenever properly invoked, they instantly and energetically respond. So it is, without doubt, in the spiritual realm. Powers of Nature we call them in the one case; powers of Grace in the other. But they both alike belong to one God, and we have every reason to believe they are both equally sufficient for their intended purpose. God is ready to work with men in Grace, as well as in Nature. He has not to be persuaded unwillingly to work any more than gravitation has

to be persuaded. The forces of the spiritual realm are adequate and willing to be employed; but man must employ them. They depend on the co-operative endeavors of man. But more specifically, what are these means? They are the sacrament of Baptism, the Word of God, and the Lord's Supper. Grace having been offered in baptism, it now remains that certain necessary conditions be complied with in order that this spiritual life be retained, grow, and come to perfection. If we would grow in grace, we must avail ourselves of the light of the divine word; we must open our hearts to receive more and more of its incomparable instruction. The study of the Bible stands foremost amongst the means of our spiritual improvement. Its power and efficacy are declared in the words of St. Paul. "It is the power of God unto Salvation to every one that believeth", (Rom. 1 : 16). "It is the sword of the Spirit," (Eph. 6 : 18). "For the word of God is quick and powerful," (Heb. 4 : 12). If we would grow in grace, we must catch the rays of the Sun of Righteousness; we must yield up ourselves to the blessed influence of Christ's invitations, promises, and encouragements, which make His life and teaching so attractive, so animating, so inspiriting and cheering to every one who loves to cherish his divine words. "The plant of life within us requires the watering of the word, and the new man must grow up into perfection in the union of our Lord Jesus Christ." That these conditions may be secured for the child of God, he has ordered and arranged his holy Church, and committed to her the office of the keys, in the preaching of the word and the administration of the Sacraments. In this Church we have the Holy Communion as another of the appointed means to nourish, strengthen, and grow to perfection the spiritual life. Jesus says: "I am the bread of life; he that cometh to me shall never hunger, (John 6 : 35). And again he says: "I am the living bread which came down from heaven; if any man eat of this bread, he shall live forever, and the bread that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world" (v. 51). When the Jews wondered at this—even as many do now—how it could be that Christ could give them his flesh to eat, &c, He very explicitly and emphatically told them—as he tells us—

(vs. 53, 56) "Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you. Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day. For my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me and I in him."

Thus by diligent use of the appointed means of grace in the Church of Christ, and a life long work of self-denial, self-discipline, repentance and daily sorrow for sin, and constant consecration to the Lord, we "grow in grace" and go unto perfection in the spiritual life. Just as every living creature needs its appointed food that it may grow thereby, so, by the diligent use of the divinely appointed means of grace we "may grow up into him, in all things who is the head, even Christ," (Eph. 4 : 15).



ARTICLE III.

JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH THE CENTRE OF REFORMATION DOCTRINE.

A translation from Thomasius' History of Doctrine, By E. J. WOLF, D. D.,
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The *formal* principle of the Reformers is given in the Preface to the Augustana as general basis of the entire doctrinal structure: "We herewith present the Confession of Faith of our adherents and of ourselves, the substance and the form which upon the basis of the Holy Scriptures and the pure Word of God, they preach, inculcate, maintain and teach in our countries, cities and principalities"* In carrying out this principle the Confession proceeds to cite in proof of its doctrines not only the Scriptures, but likewise the testimony of the most eminent Church Fathers and of Ecclesiastical Canons, thus according an authority of the second rank to the ancient genuine tradition, proving "that we have adopted nothing either in regard to

*Compare the fuller statements of the Form of Concord Epit. 516 ff. Solida declaratio 568 ff.

doctrine or ceremonies that is opposed to the Holy Scriptures or to the universal Christian Church.”*

Justification through faith is not only expressly designated as the *material* principle (Art. xx.), but it is placed in the middle of the Confession as its constitutive centre. Around it is formed the entire doctrinal structure of the First Part. This organic relation may not be externally apparent, but in point of fact everything is found to be either antecedent to or consequent of the Fourth Article. The antecedent articles are the confession of the Trinity (Art. i.), of the Person and Work of Christ (Art. iii.), and of the doctrine of Original Sin (Art. ii.) Then follow the doctrinal statements concerning the obtaining of justifying faith, (Office of the Ministry, Art. v.), concerning the New Obedience in which it exercises itself (Art. vi.), of the Church as the concrete association of believers (Arts. vii. and viii.), of the ordinances of the same, the Sacraments (Arts. ix.–xiii.), of Church Government and its relation to the secular power (Arts. xiv.–xvi.) The conclusion is formed by the complementary articles xviii.–xxi.

I. THE THEOLOGICAL, CHRISTOLOGICAL, ANTHROPOLOGICAL ANTECEDENTS—ANTECEDENT ARTICLES WHICH HOWEVER ARE ALREADY RETROSPECTIVELY INVOLVED IN THE PRINCIPLE.

a. The article of the Holy Trinity in the simple form of the ancient Church comes first,† with express rejection of the earlier and later heresies (including that of the Unitarians) which conflict with it. To this the Augustana assigns the foremost place. In doing this she joins herself into a living unity with the primitive Church and demonstrates the catholicity of the Evangelical Church. She knows herself to be one with her in all the chief articles of faith—*Ecclesiæ apud nos de nullo articulo dissentiunt ab ecclesia catholica*. The internal connection of this article with justification, as being obvious of itself, is not further indicated.‡

*Concluding words of the Confession, p. 69. [The references in this article to the Symbolical Books are to Müller's edition.—Tr.]

†Schm. Art. 299.

‡The practical import of this Article is strikingly shown by Luther in his exposition of Jno. xiv.–xvii. and of the last words of David, and at the

b. The more direct antecedent is that of the confession of the Person and Work of Christ (Art. III. Schm. Art., p 299).^{*} This likewise the Augustana adopts in the simple form of the ancient Church, in such a way however, that special emphasis is laid on the truth of Christ's humanity and on the unity of His Person, the Scholastic restriction of His merits to original sin and the sins prior to Baptism is set aside, and in place of that, the full entire significance and effect of His vicarious sufferings and death are acknowledged: "there are two natures of Christ, human and divine inseparably conjoined in unity of person, one Christ, true God and true Man, who truly was born, suffered and died, that He might reconcile the Father to us and be a sacrifice not only for original sin but also for all actual sins of men." Patent is here again the causal connection with justification. For the grace of God which the Gospel offers to us (*promissio gratiæ*) is procured for us through Christ, the forgiveness of sins in which the essence of the Gospel consists, is brought about by means of His vicarious suffering and dying—His death the atoning sacrifice for the world—all this is expressly set forth, and in such a way that the internal necessity of such an atonement is at least indicated. Luther had with great clearness given expression to it in his New Year's sermon, *Kirchen-Postille*, Walch VII., p. 310: "There are some, especially among the modern professors, who declare, that forgiveness of sins and justification by grace are matters exclusively of divine imputation, that the act of God imputing sin to any one, or not imputing it, alone suffices for one thereby to be absolved from his sins, as taught according to their opinion, in Ps. 32:2 and Rom. 4:7, 8: "Blessed is the man to whom the Lord imputeth not iniquity. Were this true the whole New Testament would be of no account. And Christ has done a foolish and unprofitable thing in suffering for sin; even God Himself has in this altogether needlessly enacted a delusion and practiced jugglery, inasmuch as He might have forgiven sins and not imputed them, without the sufferings of

same time a profound effort is made by him to evolve it from the Christian consciousness.

^{*}For the sake of convenience Art. III is given before Art. II. as is done likewise in the Schwab. Art. and elsewhere.

Christ, hence also some other faith than that in Christ might justify and save, to wit, that which would rely simply on the gracious mercy of God that one's sins will not be imputed to him. * * Let us therefore beware of such poison and not lose Christ, our comforting Saviour. Above all things we must here have Christ. It is indeed true, as expressed in the above passages, "Blessed is the man to whom the Lord imputeth not iniquity." But although it be of pure grace that our sins are not imputed by God, yet He has not willed this to be, *unless beforehand and superabundantly there be made satisfaction to His law and His righteousness*. Such a gracious nonimputation must have previously been purchased and obtained from His justice for us. Therefore, inasmuch as this was with us impossible, He appointed one for us and in our stead, who took upon Himself all the punishments which we had deserved, and fulfilled the law for us and therefore propitiated and turned away from us His wrath.

Hence grace is indeed given to us freely, in this that it costs us nothing, but it cost another one for us a vast price and has been procured by an inestimable treasure—by the Son of God Himself. It is therefore necessary that we have, first of all, Him who has done this for us, and it is impossible to obtain grace except through Him." Ibid: "Behold now to this end is Christ, through whom such grace and salvation are given thee, as through Him who has superabundantly, in thy stead and for thee, satisfied the whole law and justice of God." Cf. Kirchen-Post. Vol. xi., p. 317. "If the wrath of God is to be turned away from me and I am to receive grace and pardon, this must be procured from Him by some one in recompense for service, for God cannot be kind or gracious to sinners, or remit punishment and wrath unless payment and satisfaction therefor shall have been made. But no one could have made amends for the eternal, irretrievable destruction and eternal wrath of God, which we have merited by our sins, not even an angel from heaven, none but the eternal Son of God Himself, and this in such a way, *that He take our place, take our sins upon Himself* and answer for them as if Himself were the guilty one, &c. This He

did for us, our dear Lord and only Saviour and Mediator before God, Christ with His blood and death, when He became a sacrifice for us and by His purity, innocence and righteousness which were divine and eternal, out-weighed all sins and wrath, which He had to bear on our account—yea wholly drowned them and swallowed them up and obtained such abundant merits, that God is now satisfied, and says: 'To whom He thus brings help, he shall have help indeed.'"

The Apology, p. 98, says: "The Gospel proves all men to be under sin, all to be deserving of eternal wrath and death, and offers, for the sake of Christ, remission of sins and justification, which are received by faith." P. 99: "For how is Christ our Mediator if we do not *in justification embrace Him as the Mediator*, if we do not feel that for his sake we are regarded righteous?" P. 101: "God's wrath cannot be appeased by opposing to it our works, because Christ alone is set forth as the propitiator and on account of Him the Father is reconciled to us."

c. The immediate antecedent is the acknowledgment of the deep sinful corruption to which, since the fall of Adam, and through him, Man has become subject; for "the magnitude of grace cannot be comprehended, unless by the consciousness of our sins." To the same extent in which Protestantism holds up the free grace of God as the alone ground of our salvation, does human worth, human works, human capacity for good sink away and the abyss of enmity to God, which lies back of these, come into view. Hence the Confession proceeds forthwith here both to purify and to develop. It not only rejects the statement that Original Sin is merely a disease, not only condemns Pelagianism and semi-Pelagianism in its most refined forms; it recedes from the Scholastic (especially the Scōtist) definitions of Original Sin—as a mere defect, and of the *fomes* that remains after Baptism, and on the other hand it goes back to Augustine, p. 81, and to the Synod of Oranges, and comprehends both sides of natural depravity, the negative and positive, and in Art. II. puts forth the statement: "Our Churches likewise teach that since the fall of Adam all men who are naturally engendered are conceived and born in sin, that is, that all are from their

mother's womb full of evil desires and propensities and can have by nature no true godly fear, no true faith in God, and that this same congenital disease or Original Sin is truly sin, and condemns to the eternal wrath of God, all who are not born again by Baptism and the Holy Spirit."

The inseparable relation of these two parts, is expressly emphasized, Apology, pp. 80, 82: "We express both in the definition of Original Sin, namely those *defects*, in view of which man cannot trust in God, fear God and love Him, and his having *Concupiscence*."

By *Concupiscence* they however understand not only sensuous desire (Augustine) but a disposition that is without God, and hostile to Him, the lust after the world and selfseeking, in their broadest sense. ("Concupiscence is not only a corruption of the qualities of the body, but also, in the higher nature, a depraved turning unto what is carnal)."

By *defects* they mean the total want of the true knowledge of God, of love, confidence, obedience to God and utter inability to perform these acts, (Apology, pp. 79, 80).*

The Confession goes so far as to assert that "not a part but the whole man in his entire nature is tainted with this hereditary malady" (p. 79 § 6 in the German text), and to declare "Original Sin is the innermost, vilest, profoundest corruption of our entire nature and all its powers, especially the higher ones, the origin and root of all actual sins," (Smalc'd Art. III : 3).†

*Apol., Art. II., §§ 12, 13, 25: "*Concupiscence* * * is an evil lust and propensity * * in that we in our best and highest powers are carnally minded against God."

† How deeply Luther himself viewed this natural corruption is well known. His conceptions of it are more intense and realistic than Augustine's. He finds the seat of it immediately in the intellectual, spiritual essence of man, in his highest, noblest powers. There are its roots. "Original Sin is properly the fall of our entire nature through which in the first place the understanding is darkened, so that we can no longer know God, His will or His works. Then again the will has become strangely perverted and vitiated, so that we do not trust the mercy and goodness of God, nor fear him, but renouncing the word and will of God we follow the lust and enticement of the flesh. So, too, our conscience is no longer quiet and at rest, but timorous and having recourse to unseemly and for-

This natural *habitus* is already in itself and aside from its manifestations, really sinful (*vere peccatum*) and brings man under the divine curse, which rests upon everything that is impure. As a state (as *material*) it continues likewise after Baptism, in itself sinful and condemnatory, although the guilt is removed in Baptism. Aug. Art. II.; Apol. II., §§ 26–43. (*Peccatum manet actu, praeterit reatu.*) Thus profoundly does the Confession apprehend the doctrine concerning sin. Luther's personal experience gives the key-note to the whole, the experience of the confessors and of all godly men confirms it (p. 142), even the better representatives of the Scholastics (Thomas, Bonaventura), support it, the Holy Scriptures most clearly attest it, §§ 27–45, pp. 82–84.

It became necessary, in connection with this, likewise to materially modify the scholastic definitions of the primeval state, which had their foundation in those superficial views of Original Sin. For the more complete the view of the consequences of the Original Sin to the human race, the more exalted will be the conception of the primitive state, and the more precise will be the definition of the difference between that and the present *status corruptionis*. If through the fall the integrity of human nature sustained injury even to its innermost heart, then *justitia originalis* cannot have been a mere *donum superadditum*, by the loss of which man merely returned into the natural state, but it must coincide with the idea of the divine image, and this again cannot be resolved into that which the Scholastics understood by it [namely, the loftier part of man, which however from the beginning was at variance with the lower nature, consisting of the "*vires inferiores et corporis*," the harmony of the two being effected by a special "*donum gratiae superadditum*." This *donum* is the *justitia originalis* of the Scholastics],

bidden means and helps to shield it from God's judgment, Walch I., 204. So, on Jno. 16 : 9 : "Unbelief is the principal sin in all men. It was in the beginning the first sin in Paradise, and will be the last of all sins." On Ps. 51, he says: "The nature of man and the entire essence (*Wesen*) of man are corrupted. For after the Fall both the will and the understanding, along with the entire nature and essence of man, was wholly corrupted. Cf. also Melanchthon's *Loci* (A. D. 1521), p. 22.

but the divine image rather consisted in the self-determining, ethical conformity to God of the entire man; it covers the idea of *justitia originalis*: "Therefore original righteousness possessed not only a sound condition of the bodily organism, but also these gifts; a sure knowledge of God, fear of and trust in God, or righteousness and the power of doing these things * * not only acts but also gifts and the power of performing these things." This is what the Scriptures mean when they declare that man was made in the image and likeness of God. The image of God was a "bright light in the heart, the divine wisdom and righteousness which were mirrored in it," (Apol. II., 17-23).*

d. In immediate connection with what is thus far given, arises the question relative to the ability for good which remains to the natural man. Compare with Art. II. Art. XVIII., which is complementary to it. Here care must be taken, first of all, against the mistake that any speculative theory of human freedom is here treated of. The Confession confines itself in this instance also to the practical sphere of experimental salvation. It does not in the remotest degree deny that man still possesses, even after the fall, the power of volition—self-determination: "We acknowledge that there is a free will to all men; * * we do not deny a (certain) liberty to the human will."—Apol., p. 218, §70. But the question is whether, in that condition, in virtue of his self-determination, a man can determine to return to God, to faith, to the love of God, whether he is capable of himself to will or to do anything truly good, *i. e.* anything corresponding with the holy will of God, and the answer to this is already contained in the main statement that justification is a pure act of grace. As such, consequently, it must exclude all merit, and can be neither secured nor brought about by the work of man. The latter follows as the consequence of the former. For if the case were so that we indeed obtain the pardon of sins through grace, but for the subjective conditions of it, repentance and faith, we must look to our own powers and their coöperation, (the Romish doctrine), it would destroy all

*The Form of Concord hits the nerve of the matter perfectly by its definition: *Justitia naturalis et concreata*, p. 576, §10.

the comfort of pardon. The more direct answer is found in the Article on Original Sin, with its two elements: "Without the grace, help and coöperation of the Holy Spirit, man cannot become acceptable to God, cannot with the heart fear and believe in God, or cast out from the heart its inborn lust, but all this is wrought through the Holy Ghost who is imparted by means of the word, (Aug. II. and XVIII.) (Apol., p. 78 ff): "The definition of Original Sin denies to unrenewed nature both the gifts and the power or capacity and the acts of beginning and performing spiritual things."*

This is the same experience which every upright Christian has and which repeats, with the Catechism: "I believe that I cannot by my own reason or strength believe in or come to Jesus Christ my Lord." This at the same time marks its proper limits. For this inability of the natural man relates to the sphere of spiritual things: "Without the Spirit man has not the power of fulfilling the righteousness of God or spiritual righteousness. In the sphere of the outward life, man still possesses the capacity to live in conformity with law, to determine himself, in accordance with reason and conscience, to lead, to some extent, an honorable life, to discharge ecclesiastical and civil duties, &c., (Justitia Civilis, Apol. 218, §70). This concession must not, however, be perverted into supporting that error of the Scholastics, by which they would make nature holy by means of the natural powers, to the dishonor of the sufferings and merits of Christ, (Ibid., §76). As decidedly as the relation of man to God in this particular excludes all semi-Pelagianism, so decidedly does the Confession declare against ascribing sin to the Divine Causality—in this, a rejection of Gnostic error is hinted at, (Art. XIX.)†

II. THE STATEMENT OF THE PRINCIPLE.

Art. IV. reads: "It is further taught that we cannot obtain the pardon of sins and righteousness before God, by our own

*Apol., p. 91, §25; Schm. Art. III., p. 311; Luther's Works, Walch, VIII. 1918 f.

†For the fuller exposition of these definitions, which in the older Confessions are given but briefly and simply, see Form. Conc.

merits, works, or reparation, but that we receive forgiveness of sins and become righteous before God for Christ's sake, through the faith that Christ has suffered for us, and that for His sake sins are remitted to us, righteousness and eternal life gratuitously given. For this faith God will impute for righteousness before Him, as Paul in Rom. 3 and 4 declares."

Justification is, accordingly, a pure act of grace and consists essentially in the movement of the grace of God toward the person of the believer. This grace is to be understood not as *gratia infusa*, but as the free, sin-pardoning *gratia evangelica* secured by Christ. The act itself is more clearly defined, negatively, as the acquittal of the sinner from the guilt and penalty of sin, (*remissio peccatorum*); positively, as a declaring righteous, as an imputation of righteousness, adoption into divine sonship (*reum absolvere et justum pronuntiare*)—not in such a way, however, as if both constituted two distinct acts. They are but the two inseparable sides of one and the same transaction, each of which immediately includes the other, as indeed often either part is employed to express the whole act (Apol. II.)

This act is, then, more strictly defined in opposition to the Scholastic doctrine as an *actus forensis*, *i. e.*, an act of divine judgment, by which God absolves the sinner from the guilt of sin and imputes to him the righteousness of Christ: "*Justificari non est ex impio justum effici, sed justum pronuntiare.*" That, to which the term "justify" is here given, is often designated by Luther, and by the German text of the Apology, by such expressions as "to be made holy before God," "to be regenerated," but is at the same time explained by "to be regarded as holy and righteous before God," "to become acceptable," and is saved from all misconception by the constant precaution, "not of merits nor of works."*

In all these definitions the thought again and again recurs that the objective ground of justification is not found in man, not in any thing performed by him, but that it is external to him, over him, in the Christ FOR us—who then becomes also

*Apol., p. 95, §48; p. 100, §§71, 72. Köstlin, Luther's Theologie, pp. 309, 445.

the Christ IN us. On man's part, however, it is faith that mediates justification, and that not only for a beginning or as a preparation, as taught by the Scholastics, not on account of the love which it contains (*fides formata*), not because it is a virtue, an *opus bonum*, which it certainly is, but *sola fide justificamur*.* And it alone can effect this, for there is no other means of obtaining it. Justification rests entirely upon the Mediatorship of Christ. "Now, no one can embrace Christ as Mediator by means of works, but alone by this, that we believe the word which proclaims Him as Mediator. Justification comes to us in the form of a promise, as an invisible boon lying beyond all human feeling or sensibility: *promissio autem accipi non potest nisi sola fide*. The *ex mera gratia* and the *sola fide* are inseparable correlatives.†

This justifying faith is however no mere historic knowledge, such as the devils and unbelievers have likewise, or at least may have. It is not the mere general assent which men give to divine revelation, not the Catholic "*cum assensu cogitare*" but a "certain confident reliance of the heart," the great ethical act by means of which a man, having in repentance made a surrender of himself and all his supposed claims, specifically appropriates to himself the saving grace which is attested in the objective word, hence the personal closing of the subject with Christ under the form of boundless trust: "to desire and to accept the promise is the *fides specialis* by which any one believes his sins remitted on account of Christ and God to be propitiated and reconciled for Christ's sake," *Apol.*, pp. 94-96, §43 ff.

This personal relation, *ad me, ad te*, conditions everything. It cannot be sufficiently understood in words (*comp. supra*, p. 95, the fuller expansion in the German text). The faith which makes holy and righteous before God is not only this that I know history: how Christ was born, suffered, &c., but it is the assurance and firm reliance of the heart, when with the whole heart I regard as certain and sure the promises of God in which

**Apol.*, pp. 99, 100. Cf. p. 113, § 24 ff.

†*Apol.*, pp. 101, 102.

without any merit of mine there is offered to me, pardon of sins, grace and full salvation through the Mediator Jesus Christ, and that no one may imagine it to be a mere knowledge of history, I will add this : This is Faith that with the whole heart I appropriate and take this very treasure, and it is not of my doing nor my giving, not my work or preparation, but it is a heart taking comfort to itself and fully relying upon this that *God gives to us, HE to us and not WE to Him.* He pours upon us all the treasures of grace in Christ." Add to this the classic declaration of Luther in his Commentary on Galatians, (I. 191.): "Christian faith—if it be true faith, is a certain confident trust of the heart and a firm assent by which Christ is apprehended, so that Christ becomes the object of faith, not the object only, but, so to speak, Christ is present in faith itself." "Faith apprehends Christ and has Him present and contains Him within itself as the marriage ring the jewel." This embracing of Christ, this possession of Him gives to faith its specific Christian character, "its essential form, its cast and color"—(*forma quae fidem informat*) this is what makes it true faith. "Therefore," continues Luther, p. 246, "simply faith must be taught because evidently through it thou art so cemented to Christ, that there is formed from thee and Him, as it were, one person, that cannot be separated but is perpetually joined to Him, so that thou mayst with confidence say : I am Christ, *i. e.* the righteousness of Christ, His victory, life, &c., are mine ; and on the other hand Christ may say : I am the sinner, *i. e.*, his sins, death, &c., are Mine, because He is united to Me and I to him, for we are conjoined through faith in one body, Eph. 5 : 30 : 'For we are members of His body, of His flesh and of His bones,' so that this faith unites Christ and me more closely than the husband and wife are united." Compare the splendid development of the same thought in the Pfingst-Predigt on Jno. 3 : 16, Walch, vol. XII., 339 ff.*

*With all the agreement between Melanchthon and Luther, there is yet this difference, that the former is wont to designate as the direct object of faith, the *promissio remissionis peccatorum*, the latter the person and work of Christ.

As this faith is on the one hand an operation of the Spirit of God through the Word, so it is itself, on the other hand "a new light and life, an active divine force which renews heart, mind and spirit and makes of a person a changed man, a new creature," as the Apology expresses it, p. 98, § 64; p. 109, § 4. So also Luther in the famous words of his preface to the Epistle to the Romans which we cannot refrain from giving, since they have received almost canonical authority in the Church: "Faith is a divine work in us, changes and regenerates us of God and slays the old Adam, makes us wholly different beings in heart, spirit and mind, and brings with it the Holy Ghost." And in regard to "fictitious faith:" "For this reason St. Luke and St. James have so much to say about works, lest a man go and form to himself a delusion or fancied opinion which floats above the heart like the foam on a glass. No, faith is a living essence, makes a man new, and effects a total transformation of his being. It enters within and there effects a renewal of the entire man, so that where I previously saw a sinner, I now see in his changed conduct and altered life that he believes. So great a matter is this thing of faith." And this radical renovation is not to be reckoned only as one of the fruits of faith, it belongs to the essence of faith, it inheres in it as its ethical principle.

Hence Luther, as well as the Church Confession, designates at times the whole act of justification as *renovatio, regeneratio*,* without any violence to the fundamental import which always constitutes the predominant and prevailing element of faith.†

III. THE CONSEQUENTS OF THE PRINCIPLE.

a. The foremost of these is the New Obedience in good works, Art. vi. and xx. As faith is a new life in the heart, it cannot remain inactive; inasmuch as it is the experience of the prevenient love of God, it enkindles a reciprocal love, and

*Apol. Supra. Schm. Art. p. 324, Luther: *Justificatio est revera regeneratio*, Jno. 1: 12.

†The modern view that the principle of the new life which is contained in faith is properly the ground of justification is entirely rejected both by Melancthon and Luther: Apol. p. 99, § 71. Köstlin, *Luther's Theologie*, II., 455.

the manifestations of this feeling are good works. Good works must therefore follow faith, or rather they spring forth from it of themselves; it produces them after the manner of natural growth, as the good tree brings forth the good fruits. "This thing of faith is something living, active, drastic, powerful, so that it is impossible for it not to produce good without ceasing; it does indeed not ask whether good works are to be done, but before the question can be asked it has already done them, and is ever occupied in doing them, * * * so that it is impossible to separate works from faith, as impossible as it is to separate heat and light from fire." These works are good, on account of the love of God, which is born out of faith. This love is their source. Only that which grows from these roots is really good. Hence this doctrine of faith is not to be accused as hindering or forbidding good works, but rather is to be commended for inculcating good works, and offering help needful for their performance; for without faith and apart from Christ, human nature is entirely too weak to do them. Art. xx., § 35; Apol. p. 109 ff.*

As emphatic, moreover, as is the stress which the Confession lays upon works, so emphatically, again, does it warn against the presumption of their meritoriousness, (*non excludimus bona opera sed opinionem meriti*). They are not the ground of our justification, for only through this does a person in the first instance become acceptable to God. They could not be the ground, for the reason that *prior* to justification they are absolutely impossible. But even the good works that follow justifying faith never attain to the standard of the holy will of God, since there still remains in connection with them the heart's propensity to evil. He who seeks to build his state of grace upon these, detracts thereby from the merit of Christ and robs himself of the highest and only comfort, yea he renders the assurance of faith absolutely impossible to himself, Apol. pp. 113-115.

The sphere, moreover, in which this new obedience exercises itself, extends to and is limited by God's holy commandments, especially such as concern the daily Christian life of our calling.

*See further Form. Conc.

This of itself does away with the whole Catholic doctrine of works as an efficient cause of justification; so the doctrine of *merito de congruo*, the dangerous distinction between *præcepta et consilia*, the theory of *operibus supererogationis*, of satisfaction and penance,—all this falls to the ground, the entire captivating work-splendor of Catholic holiness loses its halo, and in return the simple, silent, but all the more difficult, works of one's calling are again brought into honor. Cf. Aug., Part II., Arts. XXIII., XXVI., XXVII.; Apol. p. 175 ff. This indeed constitutes one of the most beautiful features of Protestantism.

b. A second series of consequents is formed by the doctrine concerning the means of grace. As justifying faith can not be brought forth by the ability of the natural man, special divine ordinances and means are made necessary for its attainment. Art. v.: "In order that we may obtain this faith, the ministry of teaching the Gospel and administering the Sacraments has been instituted, for through the word and Sacraments as instruments, the Holy Spirit is given, who worketh faith where and when it pleaseth God, in those that hear the Gospel." At this point the Confession affirms Luther's principle: "*Deus interna non dat nisi per externa*,"*—first in relation to the divine word, in opposition to the Spiritualists, who boast that they have the Spirit without and prior to the word, and therefore they can judge, interpret and bend the Scriptures or oral word according to their own fancy," (Schmal. Art., p. 321); then in reference to Baptism and Infant Baptism against the Anabaptists, Aug., Art. ix., and the classic chapter of the Larger Catechism, pp. 485–498, from which we take the following extracts:

"In reply to * * who assert that faith alone saves, and that works and external things contribute nothing toward salvation, we answer that nothing in us but faith does effect this. * * But these blind leaders will not observe that faith must have something which it believes, that is, something to which it clings, on which it rests and depends. Hence faith cleaves to the water and believes that in Baptism are embraced salvation

*Köstlin: Luther's Theologie, II., 493 ff.

and life, not through any virtue of the water, but through its connection with the word and ordinance of God and its administration in his name. Believing this, what else do I believe in than in God, who has planted in it His word and offers to us this external thing through which we may lay hold of such a treasure. * * It must have an external form * * as the whole Gospel is an external and oral message. Whatever God does and performs in us, He means to effect through such external ordinances. Wherever He speaks, through whatever medium He speaks, to this, faith must be directed, to this it must cleave.

Without faith Baptism is of no benefit, although in itself a divine, inestimable treasure. *'He that believeth,*—so much depends upon these few words that they exclude and repress all works which we can do with a view to meriting and obtaining salvation through them. Whatever is not of faith contributes nothing and receives nothing.

Our works, indeed, do not help to salvation. Baptism is, however, not our work, but God's—and the works of God are saving and necessary to salvation, and they do not shut out faith, but require it.

This then is no work performed by us, but a treasure which God presents to us and which faith seizes; just as Christ on the cross is not a work, but a treasure comprehended and set before us by the word, and received through faith. They therefore do us injustice who decry us for preaching in opposition to faith, since it is our whole aim to hold up faith as so essential that without it we can neither receive nor partake of anything."

Then follows the doctrine of the Holy Supper, (Art. x.) That which first of all engaged Luther's attention on the Sacrament, was its significance with respect to justification, with respect to the personal relation sustained to God in salvation. This import of it he perceives in the promise of forgiveness "in Christ's testament of His body broken for us and His blood shed for us." These words are to him of the greatest moment. They constitute the essential element of the Sacrament, while in distinction from this, the body and blood in the bread and wine (the Sacrament in the narrower sense) he regards as signs and seals. This is,

says Christ, the cup of the new eternal testament in my blood, which is shed for you and for many for the remission of sins; as if He said, 'Behold, O man, with these words I promise and bestow upon thee forgiveness of all thy sins and eternal life. And that thou mayst be assured and know that this solemn promise is irrevocably thine, I will seal it with my death and surrender for it my body and blood, and bequeath to thee both as a sign* and a seal that thou mayst remember me,' according to His declaration: 'as often as ye do it in remembrance of me.' " Sermon on the N. Test., Walch xxvii., 147; compare "On Abuse of the Mass, xxviii., 77: "That we may be assured of this promise of Christ, and without doubt rely upon it, He has given us the most noble and most precious *seal* and *pledge*, *His true body and blood under the form of bread and wine*," &c.

It was this accession of the outward authenticating symbol to the contents of the word, that gave to the Sacrament its distinctive character. Aside from this it coincides altogether with the preaching of the Gospel. Hence its efficacy is likewise dependent altogether upon faith, and particularly upon faith in the pardon of sins attested by the word. This faith is, on the one hand, presupposed by the Sacrament, on the other hand its design is to strengthen it. The effect of the Sacrament, *i. e.* the blessing of the Supper, rests therefore essentially on the word,—"the word," says Luther, "is of more consequence than the Sacrament"—and the symbols go to confirm and augment it.

While this is not the whole of Luther's teaching on the Sacrament, yet it is eminently characteristic of his position. His first concern, as on other points, so with the Holy Supper, is to open again the filled-up well of salvation and to point out its import relative to justification and faith. This import he finds in the promise of forgiveness made to self-appropriating faith.

With regard to Confession and Repentance, (Art. xi. and xii.), first of all there are exposed the contradictions and the uncertainty which hitherto prevailed on this Article. Then it is de-

*Luther employed "sign" here by no means in the sense of the Reformed, who regarded bread and wine as signs of the (absent) Christ who was given for us, while Luther always viewed the true body and blood as comprehended in the bread and wine.

clared that *pœnitentia* includes as its two elements both contrition and faith (*contritio et fides*), and that only where the two concur—the former wrought through the law, which discovers and condemns sin, the latter produced by the Gospel—only in the union of these two is there found true, saving repentance. The third element required is reformation of life and the fruits of repentance. That on which everything is here made to depend is absolution.

The Scholastic development of this Article, with its three elements, is however subjected to a searching judgment. *Confession* (private confession) is indeed retained in the Church on account of its practical value, but it is to be freed from the legal coercion with which Romanism had invested it. There is no divine command for the enumeration of all individual sins in confession; it is besides impossible, and leads only to the torture of conscience or to hypocrisy. *Contrition*, necessary as it is, in the sense of genuine, honest sorrow for sin, becomes an “un-evangelical, pharisaical” chimera, as soon as men regard it, like the Scholastics, as a meritorious work. *Works of Satisfaction* imposed by the Church, which had their origin in a misapprehension of the ancient ecclesiastical penitential discipline, are perniciously derogatory to the alone mediatorship of Christ. (*Sola Christi mors est satisfactio pro culpa et morte æterna*). The practice of indulgences, with its assumption of an exchange of eternal pains for temporal ones, and with its doctrine of the merits of the saints and of the treasure of works possessed by the Church, is an infamous nuisance, an anti-Christian abomination. How completely all this was rejected and condemned by the Protestant principle is quite obvious. Comp. Aug. Art. xxv.; Apol., p. 165–200 (*de confessione, pœnitentia et satisfactione*).

c. The Confession, after this, Art. XIII., treats of the idea, number and use of the Sacraments in general. Comp. Apol., pp. 202–205.

The interest of Protestantism in these is primarily concentrated on the question, what relation they sustain to justification and to faith? The answer is, they “strengthen and seal it, because they hold to view, offer and seal to the Christian, object-

ively, in a sensible form, the same grace which the word proclaims (*gratia evangelica*).” The Sacraments are rites which are commanded of Christ and to which is added the promise of grace—instruments by means of which God exhibits that which the promise connected with the ceremony offers. They are thus “external signs and seals of the promise,” as it were a *pictura verbi*, or as Augustine says, a *visibile verbum*. That which is essential and operative in them is, therefore, the word. Hence also the saving efficacy of both is the same: *idem effectus verbi et sacramentorum*—and here, as there, conditioned by faith as the divinely ordained medium for the appropriation of salvation. Without faith they remain fruitless, hence the complete definition, Art. XIII.: “They were instituted not only that they might be marks of profession among men, but rather that they should be signs and testimonies of the will of God toward us, set forth for the excitement and confirmation of faith in those who use them. Therefore the Sacraments must be so used as to involve faith which believes the promises” that are offered and shown forth to us through the Sacraments—a definition this, of the highest importance, which has as its necessary consequence the rejection of the Scholastic doctrine of the efficacy of the Sacraments, *ex opere operato*, against which Luther so earnestly contended, (*impia et perniciosa opinio*) and at the same time limits their number to Baptism and the Supper. Only these two can be shown to be of divine institution. Absolution might at the farthest be yet added. The Apology seems to waver on this point; at a later period it was altogether abandoned.*

What has been thus far presented is the Protestant doctrine of the Sacraments in its most ancient form. It may be understood entirely in Augustine’s sense. The specific benefit secured respectively by each is not yet brought under consideration. Luther in the Larger Catechism goes further. “The word” is indeed also with him properly the efficacious thing. In accordance with his realistic view he goes far deeper into the subject than Melanchthon. Produced by and filled with the Spirit, it is to him a divinely operative, life-producing, creative force. In

*Apol., p. 202 ff.

the word "the Holy Spirit, God, the name of God," deals personally with man, but in the Sacrament it inter-penetrates the earthly emblems and makes them means of communication. For the consummation of the act it is inseparably united with them. Thus the Sacraments become divine-human transactions, Baptism an act of God, (*proprium Dei opus*) in which He himself deals with man—"the water in Baptism is not water simply, but a gracious water of life, *aqua divina, cœlestis, sancta et salutifera*—not in the sense as if there inhered in it, *per se*, a natural, sanctifying power (Tertullian); the water is and remains mere water—but because it is used in the word and name of God." This is the treasure in it, on this rests the power of Baptism.

Faith, which conditions the blessing, can and must cleave to this. *Catech. Maj.*, p. 485 ff. But the objective validity of the Sacrament is not dependent upon its use and blessing, "for my faith does not make Baptism, but receives it," p. 493. Its essence is based entirely on the word and institution of God. He also who without faith receives Baptism, is in reality baptized. Hence Anabaptism is an absurdity and to be condemned. It rends asunder what God has joined together. Hence also the never-failing, ever-continuous efficacy of Baptism, which remains all through life, in which the Christian may ever again take refuge even from unfaithfulness and apostasy, out of which he may ever draw fresh draughts of grace. This constant return to it in repentance and faith, causes "the Christian life to be a daily Baptism, once commenced and always advancing in it," p. 495. Taken in this sense it includes the Sacrament of Penance. Although these deeper definitions of Luther may not yet be reduced to entire unity with those general ones above, they at all events belong to the characteristic features of the ecclesiastical doctrinal system.

d. The last consequent of the Protestant principles, is the Article concerning the Church. It is presented both in the *Augustana* and in the *Apology* altogether in the sense in which Luther from the start apprehended it. Its essential essence, its individual self, is "properly the congregation of faith and the Holy Spirit in the hearts, the fellowship (communion) of faith—

not however a mere idea. We do not dream of a Platonic state, but we say this Church exists; it has an actual, concrete existence as the Congregation of the saints, and possesses certain marks by which its presence in the world may be recognized." Compare the full definition, Art. VII.: "The Church is the association of saints in which the Gospel is rightly taught and the Sacraments are rightly administered."

[The full scope of this definition being elsewhere treated by the author he] restricts the discussion here to a few remarks on the position which is thereby assigned to the clerical office: It ceases to be the infallible interpreter of divine truth. For the truth is revealed in the word for all, and the word is accessible and intelligible to all who use it in a right manner. It ceases to be invested with the privileged Mediatorship of grace for the congregation. For the immediate access to the grace of God has through Christ been opened for all, and faith is the only subjective condition on which this is dependent. And the word makes this faith possible to all who allow it proper action upon them. It loses in general, its position of lordship, and becomes a ministering member of the congregation: *Ministerium Ecclesiasticum*. Its vocation is made to comprise the public ministration of the Word and Sacraments, which Christ has instituted in His Church. That which is comprehended in the functions pertaining to this office: "the right of preaching the Gospel, of administering the Sacraments, of remitting and retaining sins," which involves the authority to exclude from the congregation, is called *potestas ecclesiastica* or *potestas clavium*.* The proper and immediate incumbent of this is the congregation, *i. e.* the Holy Christian Church. "The keys do not belong to the person of one particular man, but to the Church. * * Christ has given the keys chiefly and immediately to the Church," (Schm. Art. tractatus de potestate et primatu papae). She possesses the right therefore to select and appoint suitable persons for this office: "Wherever the Church is there is the command to administer the Gospel. Wherefore of necessity the Church must have the right of calling, choosing, ordaining ministers," Schm.

*Aug. XXVIII. § 21.

Art., p. 341,—but also the duty as well as the right. The Church is commanded to appoint ministers.” The persons to whom she commits this office are bound to administer it strictly in accordance with the Scriptures, and as long as they do this, the congregations owe them obedience, not for their sake personally, but for the sake of the divine word which they serve. From such as teach contrary to it, the Church must withhold its obedience, and she possesses the authority to remove them from the office.

With respect to rank all *Ministri Ecclesiae* are per se equal. The hierarchical gradations of the offices are a purely human regulation. The Romish Primacy is an institution which not only rests upon no divine authority; (papa non est jure divino caput totius Christianitatis), but, in as much as it opposes itself to the Gospel and is in point of fact perpetuated to the injury of the Church, must be firmly resisted. Luther discovers in the papacy the Spirit of Antichrist, Schm. Art., p. 307–339 ff.

This is the substance contained in the First Half of the Augsburg Confession. The Second Part treats of the abuses which the Evangelical party have abolished, (such as the Mass, Celibacy, &c., and settles the twofold distinction—each equally important, which subsists between the ordinances of Salvation and the ordinances of the Church (human traditions), and between the spiritual and secular power.

The close of the Confession declares: “These are the principal Articles which are held in dispute. * * From these it may be seen that we hold to nothing either in doctrine or in ceremonies which is contrary to the Holy Scriptures or to the Universal Christian Church.”

No recapitulation of proofs is necessary to confirm what was said above relative to the scope of the Protestant principles and their consistent application. They have proven themselves in point of fact possessed of creative energy. The thorough purification and the healthy growth which they effected in the doctrinal system of the Church, are the theological seal which stamps the Lutheran Reformation as a work of the same Divine Spirit, which originally founded the Church.

ARTICLE IV.

AUGUST NEANDER.

By Prof. J. H. W. STUCKENBERG, D. D., Wittenberg College, Springfield, O.

Few names in modern theology excite as much interest as Neander. Owing to his eminent services in ecclesiastical history, he has been called "the father of modern Church History;" and so exalted was his character and so potent his influence, that he has been called "the last of the church fathers." Whether we look at his life, his spirit, the mission to which he devoted himself, his relation to the eminent German scholars of his day, his learning, his literary remains, or at the influence he exerted, we shall find him worthy of careful study. Modern theology cannot be understood unless his prominent influence in shaping it is recognized. Others may have surpassed him in originality and in philosophic depth; but no one put himself more fully into his works and no theologian impressed his own spirit more deeply on his age. Rationalism, and Pantheism felt the weight of his character and learning; formalism and bigotry found in him a determined adversary; and the new religious life which manifested itself in Germany at the beginning of this century, found in him a powerful leader. But aside from his great influence in the past, he is worthy of study for his own sake, and also because there are elements in his character and works which are specially needed in our day. It is evident that a sketch so limited as this necessarily is, cannot do full justice to the subject.

HIS LIFE.*

Neander's life was preëminently that of a student. It was more internal than external, and was far more eventful in thoughts and emotions than in contact with the world. Aside from his

*The following are the principal sources whence the materials for this article are derived. Articles by Drs. Kling and Hagenbach, in *Studien und Kritiken*, 1851; *Herzog's Encyclopædia*; and the works of Neander,

prodigious intellectual labors and his inward experience, there are but few events to be narrated. His original name was Mendel. His parents were Jews, living at the time of his birth in Göttingen. His father, Emanuel Mendel, was a merchant of the ordinary Jewish type. His mother's maiden name was Esther Gottschalk. She was related to the Jewish philosopher Moses Mendelssohn, and is said to have been a pious woman and devoted mother. The subject of this sketch was the youngest of six children, and was born Jan. 17, 1789. At his circumcision he received the name David. Soon after his birth, his mother, for some unknown reason, separated from her husband and went with her children to Hamburg. Until fourteen years of age he attended a private school, and then entered the Johanneum College of that city. The teacher who prepared him for this College assured his mother that he was not at all adapted to mercantile life, but that he had fine mental powers which adapted him specially to intellectual pursuits. His studies preparatory to entering the University were also pursued in Hamburg. Here already some of those traits were displayed which were so marked in after life. He was absorbed in his studies, took but little interest in the sports of his fellow-pupils, and was unable to adapt himself to the ways of the world, with which his near-sightedness may have had something to do. He was quiet, timid, abstracted. His awkwardness subjected him to the rail-lery of other pupils, which when carried to extremes would throw him into a passion. Already as a boy he was dependent on the help and protection of kind friends in his intercourse with his fellows. When he left the Johanneum to enter the Gymnasium, he wrote a dissertation in excellent Latin, on the Emancipation of the Jews and their reception by the state as citizens.

In 1805 he entered the Gymnasium. Though a mere boy in years, we infer from his reading at this time that his mind must

especially the prefaces. Numerous works of friends and pupils of Neander have also been consulted. Kling's article referred to above is the most valuable. Schaff's book on Germany, its Universities, etc., etc., is accessible to the American reader, and has not been used in preparing this article.

already have attained unusual maturity. Among others, he read works of Plato, Sophocles, Schlegel, Tilck, Fichte, Boehme, Mendelssohn, Rousseau, and Schleiermacher. Plato was his favorite author, and on the chairs and floor of his room were scattered various editions of this philosopher and commentaries on the same. This author exerted a marked influence on him in preparing him to pass from Judaism to Christianity. Thus to him, as to many in the early history of the Church, Plato was a schoolmaster unto Christ. A friend wrote in 1806: "Plato is his idol and his constant watchword; day and night he ponders him, and there are probably few who so wholly and so sacredly assimilate him."* But however great the influence of the Greek philosopher, he claimed to have received from a passage in Plutarch the strongest impulse to seek a higher source of satisfaction than that given by Judaism. His surroundings, and especially his intimate friends at the Gymnasium, also had an influence in bringing him into the Christian Church. It is said that he once expressed to a friend his joy in the study of Plato. His friend shared his joy, but told him that he could find similar passages in John's Gospel, only far more beautiful and true. This is said to have been his introduction to the New Testament.

On the 25th of Feb., 1806, David Mendel embraced Christianity, being baptized in the presence of three friends, John Gurlitt, Karl August Varnhagen, and Wilhelm Neuman. From the first two he took the names John and August, and from the last he took both the given and the family name, however changing Neumann (New-man) into its Greek equivalent *Neander*; no doubt intending to indicate thereby that in accepting Christ he became a new man. From this time David Mendel was known as John August William Neander, though he usually signed his name A. Neander.†

*The same letter says: "He has learned to look on the world about him with deep contempt."

†An older brother had already been baptized in 1804; his oldest brother was baptized four months later than himself; his oldest sister was baptized in 1807, the other two in 1809; and last of all, in 1816, his mother was baptized. They, however, did not change their name.

In the spring of 1806 he left Hamburg to enter the University of Halle. As the family were in straitened circumstances, an uncle provided the means for his University course. It was intended that he should study law; but this was not congenial to his deep, earnest nature, and he chose theology. Schleiermacher, who was at this time professor in Halle, exerted a powerful influence on him, both by his exegetical and by his historical lectures, and seems to have given to Neander, as to so many others, an impulse which largely shaped the future course of his life. But unfortunately, already in Nov., 1806, the University was obliged to close, on account of the French occupation of the city. Neander and many other students now went to the University in his native city, Göttingen. Here the most eminent ecclesiastical historian of that period, Planck, seems to have exerted on him the greatest influence.

During a visit to Hamburg, in 1807, a marked spiritual change came over him. Friends whom he met led him to reflect more seriously on his state and to study the New Testament more earnestly. At this time he also preached his first sermon, taking his text from the beginning of John's Gospel. When he returned to Göttingen, he seemed to be a new man. He now paid less attention to Schleiermacher, Schelling and Fichte, but more to the Gospel. He also became an enthusiastic student of the Church Fathers. Among the various studies pursued, he determined to make a specialty of Church History and to devote to its study his life. He applied himself so incessantly to study that he overtaxed himself, and suffered from severe pains in his head which interfered with his work. His physician prescribed a course of diet and exercise, and his friends induced him to refrain from excessive application. In the fall of 1808, his health was restored, and he again devoted himself to the study of the Church Fathers.

In 1809 he left Göttingen and was licensed to preach. His examination was a brilliant affair. Another student, who was examined at the same time, states that Neander astonished the examiners. "As often as they touched him, there came forth a stream of deep and learned remarks and, as it were, interesting treatises from Neander." He spent a year and a half in Ham-

burg, giving instruction in schools and private families, and also preaching occasionally and very acceptably. But of this mode of life he soon tired, since it dissipated, instead of concentrating his powers. He was desirous of giving himself again wholly to Church History. Already when he left Göttingen, his friends, among them Prof. Planck, had urged him to become tutor at that University, and this he had agreed to do. However, his relatives and friends in Hamburg so attached him to that city that he was reluctant to leave. But he and his friends felt that his proper sphere was that of a teacher in a University. In 1811, Professors Marheineke and De Wette were called from Heidelberg to the newly founded University at Berlin, and thus a good opening seemed to present itself at the former University for Neander. He became tutor there the same year. But soon after entering on his work, his incessant study brought back traces of his former illness. This brought his mother and a sister to Heidelberg, and they determined to remain with him so as to take care of his health. Already the next year he was appointed professor extraordinarius. The same year, 1812, his first monograph appeared. But his stay at Heidelberg was short. The King of Prussia was making extraordinary efforts to secure the best professors for his new University at Berlin. Schleiermacher, who was the ruling spirit there, was chiefly instrumental in having Neander called. Heidelberg was very unwilling to see him leave, and offered him a professorship in ordinary, and a good salary. But he decided to go to Berlin. Here he began his career as professor in ordinary, with a fixed salary of 800 thalers a year, besides the fees from students. The theological faculty which he entered already contained such eminent men as Schleiermacher, Marheineke and De Wette. He began his labors in Berlin in 1813, when 24 years old, and remained there till his death.

Neander remained a bachelor all his life. He was not averse to marriage, but he believed that Providence indicated that he should remain single. At a gathering of students at his house, the question was asked, whether it was not unchristian not to marry? He answered that it was unchristian if one arbitrarily determined not to marry, but not if one is so led by God as to remain single. His mother died in Berlin in 1817. His sister

Hannah, seven years older than himself, remained with him till his death, affectionately taking care of him and managing his household affairs. Of his outer life little need be said during the thirty seven years he spent in Berlin. His intercourse with the world was limited to a few chosen friends and to the students. His health was never robust, and his physical condition frequently alarmed his friends. In 1847, his eyes suffered, so that he was obliged to cease labor on his Church History. By the help of an amanuensis he, however, revised some of his works for new editions, and also dictated practical expositions of several of the Epistles. His activity continued to the end. Only a few days before his death he delivered an address on missions, at the request of the students. His final illness was short. In his delirium his mind was occupied with the continuation of his Church History, and he actually dictated an account of the Friends of God. After finishing, he asked what time it was, and then said: "I am tired, I will now go to sleep. Good night!" Quietly he slumbered away. He died July 14, 1850, aged 66 years and 6 months. His funeral took place on the 17th, the sermon being preached from John 21 : 7, "Therefore that disciple whom Jesus loved saith unto Peter, It is the Lord."

CHARACTERISTICS.

Neander's world, as intimated, was inner rather than outer, a world of contemplation and feeling rather than of the senses. The German word *Innerlich-keit* (inwardness, subjectiveness) gives one of the most prominent traits of his character, and interprets much of his life. While a master in describing persons and in unfolding psychological traits, he was but little acquainted with the ways of the world and was not at all a man of affairs. Abstracted and easily absorbed by some favorite theme, he had neither taste nor tact for the ordinary practical pursuits. In this respect his traits were the very opposite of those usually found among his own people, the Jews.

Richard Rothe speaks of himself as having a "monastic nature," which adapted him to solitude better than to the busy

world. But with more truth may it be said of Neander, that his nature was thoroughly monastic. He was not only a celibate, but he was also a hermit, with the study as his cell. So little was he familiar with the ways of the world that he needed the constant watchfulness of his sister to save him from mortifying blunders. This, however, did not prevent the formation of the warmest friendships. His nature was as ardent as it was guileless, and to congenial spirits he became so devotedly attached that he gave them his best thoughts and affections, and even himself. Wherever the heart was concerned he gave himself wholly, not by halves; hence in youth, as in after life, there were a few whom he deeply loved. In some of his letters he speaks with enthusiasm of friendship, and his warm heart is felt in his eloquent words. The Preface to one of his volumes is almost wholly devoted to the memory of a recently deceased young friend. He calls him his most devotedly loved young friend, whose image will remain indelibly in his heart. Having no family, he concentrated the affections of his great heart on the few with whom he became intimate. His lack of tact, and the want of æsthetical taste and culture, repelled some; but those who could overlook mere formalities and could appreciate his excellent qualities of heart, became his warm friends. Richard Rothe calls him "the dear, excellent Neander," and says on the occasion of a visit from Neander: "I always take pleasure in the nearness of this dear man. There is in him a fountain of an inner fulness of life which makes one's heart leap, and makes one forget whatever difference of view may exist." By means of his lectures and contact with students he also won many a heart, though but few could enter into intimate relations with him.

Neander has been called a "Johannine character," because in him some of the marked traits of the Beloved Disciple were found. His nature was deep and contemplative, and love was one of the ruling forces of his being. With warm affection he contemplates Christ as his personal Saviour. As he is monastic and ascetic, so also a deep mysticism runs through his life. He is decidedly opposed to the culture of the head at the expense of the heart; and he has no sympathy with a religion or theol-

ogy which addresses merely the understanding, instead of the whole man. In an age when orthodoxy was largely dead, and when a cold, heartless, lifeless rationalism prevailed, he asserted the claims of the emotional nature, not merely in religion, but also in theology. In this he was a true disciple of his teacher Schleiermacher, who made the feeling of dependence on God the essence of religion. But in Neander the emotional nature was stronger in proportion to the other faculties, than in his teacher. No sentence throws more light on Neander than the motto of his life and works: "Pectus est quod theologum facit." This motto was most bitterly attacked by the Hegelians, who ignored the claims of the heart and made theology as well as philosophy a dialectic process. In ridicule his system was called "pectoral theology," and his followers were called "pectoralists." But no amount of ridicule could drive him from his position, which he pertinaciously, and sometimes even passionately defends. In one of his prefaces he says: "We continue to maintain the theology of the heart (*theologia pectoris*), which is also the true theology of the spirit, the *German theology*, as Luther called it." In the same place he says, that he shall never cease to protest against the one-sided intellectualism which is destructive both for the heart and the mind, which can be healthily developed only when in unison. He speaks of a fanaticism of the understanding which destroys all deep life, all high aspiration, as well as spontaneity of spirit, and which seeks to make of man, whose true nature ever strives after the supernatural, an intelligent, over-wise brute. In opposition to the cold intellectualism and negative, destructive criticism developed in the school of Hegel, he defended the rights of feeling; hence those who belonged to the school of Baur and Strauss charged him with a lack of critical acumen.

But while opposed to the cold rationalism and critical Hegelianism of his day, Neander did not belong to what was called the orthodox party. For them he was entirely too liberal, and they thought he yielded too many points to the critical school. He was convinced that he could neither please the hyper-critics, nor those who rejected all criticism. He defends honest criticism which, he claims, is in harmony with childlike faith without

which neither Christianity nor Christian theology is possible. In his preface to the life of Jesus, he answers the question, what those who believe the symbols will say to his assertions? What they or others may say, is to him a matter of indifference, since he is concerned only about his relation to the truth, especially Christian truth. He then says distinctly, that he would not sign unconditionally any existing creed, as an expression of his religious conviction, excepting the Apostles' Creed, which gives the fundamentals of the Christian faith, and without which there could be no Christian Church. He has no sympathy with those who want only a repetition "of that which already existed in the sixteenth or seventeenth century, and who think that the entire dogmatic system and method of viewing divine and human things then prevailing must return again."* He thinks that this spirit wants to stop the development of theology. He views this development as moving on toward a more glorious period of the Christian Church. He accepts what he calls the "material principle of the Reformation and of the Evangelical Church, the doctrine of the sinfulness of human nature (which does not exclude that in this nature which is allied to the Divine, but presupposes it), and the doctrine of justification by faith in Jesus as the Saviour. That which is essential in the Evangelical Confessions, especially in the Augsburg Confession and its Apology, so far as it is an expression of this principle, together with the unchangeable truths to which the Apostles' Creed testifies—this I regard as the unmovable foundation of the Evangelical Church, which on this basis protests against every papacy, whether that of Rome or that of an impure spirit of the age, protests against human ordinances of every kind."† Against those who want to force dogmatic formulas on men, he quotes Niebuhr: "I have often said that I do not know what to do with a metaphysical God, and that I want no other than the God of the Bible, who is heart to heart. Let him who can do so, attempt to harmonize the metaphysical God with the Bible; and he would be entitled

* Preface to the History of the Planting and Training of the Christian Church.

† Preface to the third edition of the Life of Jesus.

to write symbolical books which can be declared an authority for all times."*

Neander's faith is based on Christ as the Saviour of sinful man; and he feels himself drawn to all who have the same faith. He extols the "true catholic spirit," and by means of it he is enabled to appreciate the varied movements which have sprung up in the Christian Church. Under manifold forms and in the different creeds he searches for the Christian spirit as the essence. It would be difficult to find another historian who could enter so fully into the most diverse tendencies in the Church. He views the history of the Church as the unfolding of the life of Christ; and as no individual can represent Christ in all his fulness, every believer represents only some elements of that life. This accounts for the infinite variety in ecclesiastical history. With genuine affection he traces this life in its development both in the Catholic Church and in the sects. But he has a special preference for the description of this life as it manifests itself in individuals; and the individual and psychological elements are very prominent in his writings.

He was humble, simple, childlike. He was severe with himself. The needy found a true friend in him, and the income from some of his books was devoted to benevolent objects. He was kind, gentle, and affectionate, though sometimes he replied with a certain degree of acrimony to those who attacked his views. His memory was prodigious. Though he took only a few notes of some lectures of Schleiermacher at Halle on Church History, he could a year afterward dictate them from memory. His industry was such that he was at times with difficulty restrained from studying all night, and repeatedly his excessive application, as we have seen, seriously affected his health. His books bear testimony to the great extent of his reading and his faithfulness in research. Whenever accessible, the original authorities were consulted. He was not only truthful in the sense that he expressed his honest convictions; but also in that he spared no pains to learn the truth respecting the subjects he was discussing. Hagenbach says: "Probably few studied the

*Close of the same Préface.

original sources as he did, few read so much and so stored it in the memory that they could wander, as it were, with open eyes among the forms of the past history of the Church. Not only was he at home in the original sources, but also in the works of others in ancient and modern times in German, English, French and Dutch. Classic and biblical literature aided him in his work, and especially was the thorough exegete a help to the Church Historian.* Though he did not give the mass of learning accumulated the best form, it always has the intellectual and spiritual freshness of its author.

HIS INFLUENCE.

A recent writer says of Neander: "Whence the enormous influence of this man, who, if his work as a teacher and the number of his hearers and disciples are to be taken as the criterion, would be placed above Schleiermacher himself? These two men, for more than twenty years, stood side by side at the head of theology in Berlin, and here it was evident that Schleiermacher's influence was more intensive and more deep, but that he could draw around him only a small circle of those who had special intellectual endowments, while Neander gathered about him the theological masses and held them there."†

Neander was the man for the times, and this made his influence so potent. Rationalism had made theology a desert, and had robbed religion of its life and inspiration. Hegel's philosophy, which was hailed as the final philosophy, and which proposed to solve the mysteries of God and the universe, was the prevalent system, and in the Universities superseded nearly all other systems. Its one-sided, cold, critical intellectualism ridiculed the emotional element in theology and tended to suppress the heart in religion. Man was deified as an intellectual machine, and all true development was regarded as a mere logical process. But however grand the intellectual achievements of this system, it did violence to human nature. The heart asserted its claims and demanded its rights. That Neander did not neglect the intellectual is evident from the vast treasures of learning

*Studien und Kritiken, 1851.

†Zur Geschichte der neuesten Theologie. Prof. Karl Schwartz.

deposited in his works. But in those works the whole man is seen, not merely his understanding, and there is a constant intermingling and blending of the intellectual and the emotional. He met the demands for learning as few have done; and besides, he met the needs of the heart; hence those who were starving on the barren fields of speculation, eagerly turned to him. Looking with aversion on that which is vulgar and carnal, he formed an ideal world of his own in which he moved; and to this world he attracted many others, especially devoted, aspiring and gifted young men. It was an axiom with him, that the theologian must also be a Christian; he must enter by faith and love the objects he would describe. Hence in his lectures and works the Christian was not buried in the theologian, but was seen and felt. The crowds who heard him at the University received the impress of his spirit as well as of his thought, and often their hearts were touched when their heads were convinced. His "pectoral" theology was so attractive, potent and influential, just because it was "pectoral" as well as learned.

His professorship of about forty years gave him an opportunity of influencing thousands of theological students, who afterwards preached in all parts of Germany. Besides his lectures at the University, he had meetings for students at his house, for the discussion of intellectual and spiritual subjects. By this means they could approach nearer him and receive more fully the impress of his personality. They could not but feel the power of his love and devotion and inwardness. Another says: "Uncommonly powerful was Neander's personal influence in his intercourse with students. In larger and smaller circles, he became a rich blessing to a great many, and in general his powerful influence on his age was due to the might of his personality. A thoroughly simple and childlike nature, helpless in outward things, almost a child in social intercourse, faithful to his calling, severe toward himself, full of mildness and love toward others, his life given wholly and unreservedly to his Lord—thus his personality stands before us."*

*Herzog's Encyclopædie, article Neander.

His personal influence, however, was not limited to the students, but was also felt by those who were more mature. Richard Rothe, the greatest ethical writer of this century, met him in Berlin and was deeply impressed with his intellectual and spiritual freshness. "He is a wonderful man, externally he seems to be dead, but within he is fresh and marrowy in Christian life." "Neander stands on a height which I envy him. The blessed peacefulness of his truly theological contemplation which is exalted above all the streams of speculation and reflection, and which finds in the historic form of Christianity the purest and highest ideals, charms me as often as I am with him."† Under his influence Rothe's former preference for mysticism was revived. Together with Julius Mueller and Nitzsch, Neander founded the "German Journal for Christian Science," and made valuable contributions to its pages. He was also intimately associated with Schleiermacher, Tholuck, Hengstenberg, and many others who worked for the revival of religious life. He felt himself specially drawn to the philosopher Schelling, and hoped that his philosophy would counteract the evil tendencies of Hegel's system. He is not ashamed to sit at Schelling's feet, and with evident pleasure he dedicated to him the first volume of his Church History.

The influence of his writings cannot be estimated.‡ He began his literary activity in 1812, with a monograph on "Emperor Julian and His Age." A year later he published his second Monograph, on "St. Bernard and His Age." Five years after this, appeared his "Genetic Development of the chief Gnostic Systems," a work which revived a new interest in the study of Gnosticism. In 1822 he published his third monograph, "St. Chrysostom and the Church of His Age, especially in the Orient;" and also the "Memorable Occurrences (Denkwuerdigkeiten) of Christianity and of Christian Life," three volumes. Three years later appeared his "Agnosticus, the Spirit of Tertullian and the Introduction to His Writings."

†Life of Richard Rothe.

‡ It would take too much space to attempt a critique of these writings. Dr. Schaff, a pupil of Neander, has given a summary of the excellencies and defects of Neander's works, in his History of the Apostolic Church.

But all these only prepared the way for his greatest work, the "General History of the Christian Church and Life." The first volume appeared in 1826, the last in 1845. The whole work consists of five volumes, in ten parts, and brings the history down to the time of Boniface VIII. In 1832, his "History of the Planting and Training of the Christian Church through the Apostles" appeared, and in 1837 the "Life of Jesus." He is also the author of numerous smaller works. Besides Church History, he also delivered lectures on Dogmatics, Ethics and Exegesis.* It is, of course, in Church History that his influence is most marked; and well does he deserve the name, "the father of modern Church History." Yet Hagenbach says: "Neander's exegetical lectures were not less highly prized by the students than the historical ones, and it may well be said that in this department also he founded a school."

His "Life of Jesus" was called forth by the work of Strauss on the same subject, and by the destructive criticism of Bauer. When the work of Strauss appeared, the Prussian Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs asked, whether it was not advisable to oppose the pernicious influence of this book with other than intellectual weapons? Neander being asked for his opinion declared that only intellectual means were to be used, and that the truth would no doubt issue victoriously from the conflict. To aid in bringing about this result, he wrote his "Life of Jesus."

The spirit of his great work on Church History can be best learned from his own words. In the Preface, he says that from early life it was one of the chief aims of his life "to represent the History of the Church of Christ as a speaking evidence of the divine power of Christianity, as a school of Christian experience, and, for all who are willing to hear, a voice of edification, instruction and warning, resounding through the centuries." "We regard Christianity, not as a power which was born out of the hidden depths of human nature, but as a power which came from heaven which opened itself to humanity alien-

*His lectures on Dogmatics and Ethics are said to have been specially rich in Biblical elements.

ated from it ; a power which in its nature and origin is superior to every thing which human nature is able to produce of itself, and which is intended to give to this nature a new life and to transform its inmost being."

Though a historian of past ages, Neander also carefully studied his own age, and recognized in it three distinct tendencies: the traditional tendency, which clings tenaciously to the past; the destructive tendency, which regards destruction as progress; and the tendency which lies between these two extremes and tries to prepare the way for a new creation by placing itself on the immovable divine foundation. He spoke of his age as a time of severe conflict in science, as a crisis, as a period of pangs and birth-throes. He says: "We stand on the boundary between an old and a new world, the latter to be called into existence by means of the ever old and ever new Gospel. For the fourth time a new epoch is being prepared by the Gospel; for this reason we can give only works preparatory for the time of the new creation, since after the time of the regeneration of life and science the great deeds of God will be announced with new and fiery tongues." However lifeless the Church might be, he knew that the divine leaven was still working in humanity, and he was confident that it would continue to work. Earnestly, devotedly and incessantly, he labored for the new epoch which he thought was about to dawn. He himself lived to see a new life springing up in the Universities and the Church; and this quiet, retired student, professor and author was one of the chosen servants of God in promoting this life.

ARTICLE V.

THE THEISTIC ARGUMENT.

By REV. W. E. PARSON, A. M., Washington, D. C.

Theism : Being the Baird Lectures for 1876, by Robert Flint, D. D., LL. D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburg ; author of 'The Philosophy of History in Europe, etc. pp. 432. Wm. Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh.

Anti-Theistic Theories: Being the Baird Lecture for 1877, by Robert Flint, D. D., LL. D., etc., etc. pp. 554.

The lectures in these two volumes were delivered in Glasgow, St. Andrews, and Edinburgh, in connection with the Lecture-ship founded by Mr. James Baird.

Such books are rare enough in our book-making age. For the sake of the matter they contain, and for those who may not have the time to make for themselves a careful study of them, we shall in this article give a *résumé* of their contents.

The first sentence in the volume entitled 'Theism' states the case for us thus :

"Is belief in God a reasonable belief, or is it not? Is theism true, or is some antagonistic, some anti-theistic theory true?"

The author lays very great stress on the fact that if our faith is not rational it is not valuable. He is no visionary, finding in self-consciousness, inner testimony, or any such subjective witness, the final proof for God's existence. Religion must be reasonable, and to be reasonable it must rest on knowledge of its object.

"For all men, then, who have religious beliefs, and especially for all men who have Christian beliefs, these questions, What evidence is there for God's existence? and, What is known of His Nature? are of primary importance."

After glancing at the religious and moral issues involved in the theistic argument, our author, in taking up the scientific issues, asks: "Does the world explain itself, or does it lead the mind above and beyond itself? Science cannot but suggest

this question; religion is an answer to it. When the phenomena of the world have been classified, the connections between them traced, their laws ascertained, science may, probably enough, have accomplished all that it undertakes—all that it can perform; but is it certain that the mind can ascend no further? Must it rest in the recognition of order, for example, and reject the thought of an intelligence in which that order has its source? * * The question is one which may be answered in various ways, and to which the answer may be that it cannot be answered; but be the answer that or another—be the answer what it may—obviously the question itself is a great one—a greater than any science has ever answered—one which all science raises, and in the answering of which all science is deeply interested.”

“He can be no wise theologian who does not perceive that, to a large extent, he is dependent on the researches of men of science for his data, and who, firm in the faith that God will never be disgraced by His works, is not ready to accept all that is truly discovered about these works, in order to understand thereby God’s character.”

After this preliminary statement, we have a sketch of the historical development of Theism—which is defined to be the doctrine that the universe owes its existence, and continuance in existence, to the reason and will of a self-existent Being, who is infinitely powerful, wise, and good. Assuming that nothing can reach far forward into the future which does not stretch far back into the past, Professor Flint proceeds to show how early a hold this theistic belief has had on the race. We are not to think that the various notions of God and a future state found in heathen countries are broken and scattered rays of the light which the first man received from God. Natural as this view was in the early ages of the Christian Church, and in mediæval times, and consonant with the views of the Roman Catholic Church as to tradition, the light of modern science, the geography, ethnology, comparative mythology, &c., of the present day, make such a position wholly untenable. “A man who should thus account for the phenomena of the religious history of heathen humanity, must be now as far behind the scientific

knowledge of his age regarding the subject on which he theorises, as a man who should still ascribe, despite all geological proofs to the contrary, the occurrence of fossils in the Silurian beds to the action of the Noachian deluge."

From this point the author proceeds to give a definition of religion, making it to be man's communion with what he believes to be a God or Gods; his sense of relationship to, and dependence on, a higher and mysterious agency, with all the thoughts, emotions, and actions which proceed therefrom. Religion is always and everywhere a consciousness of relationship to a worshipped being. And the one truth which belongs universally to this consciousness, is the fact that "the religious consciousness, or the frame and condition of spiritual life distinctive and essential in religion, is not peculiar to some one province of human nature, but extends into all its provinces." By this statement Professor Flint means to affirm that the seat of religion can no more be in the intellect alone, than it can be in the affections alone, or in the will alone.

And here our author, without going out of his way to do so, deals some severe blows to those who magnify the testimony of mere feeling. "Mere feeling cannot tell us anything about what is out of ourselves, and cannot take us out of ourselves. Mere feeling is, in fact, mere absurdity." Religion's seat is the centre of human nature, and its circumference is the utmost limit of all the energies and capacities of that nature. It includes all the highest exercises of reason, all the purest and deepest emotions and affections, and the noblest kind of conduct.

After this general definition of religion, the author passes on to compare Polytheism with Theism. Reason can not rest in a belief of more Gods than one; for the more the universe is studied, the more apparent does it become that it is a single, self-consistent whole. The notion of separate deities is against the results of reason; and still more the notion of hostile deities. Pantheism is equally insufficient for the proper development of religion. In his 'Anti-Theistic Theories,' Prof. Flint defines Pantheism to be "the theory which regards all finite things as merely aspects, modifications, or parts of one eternal and self-existent being; which views all material objects, and

all particular minds, as necessarily derived from a single infinite substance. The one absolute substance—the one all-comprehensive being—it calls God.” In connection with this theory, and as bearing on the theistic argument, the very instructive and suggestive fact is brought forth, that Pantheism has never been the religion of any people. It has been the philosophy of speculative individuals, but the religion of no people. India had to combine Polytheism with it. “The Sankhya and Vedanta systems are no more religions than the systems of Spinoza, Schelling, or Hegel. They are mere philosophies. Buddhism has laid hold of the hearts of men to a wonderful extent; not, however, in virtue of the Pantheism, scarcely distinguishable from Atheism, which underlies it, but because of the attractiveness of the character and teaching of the Buddha Sakyamuni himself, of the man-god who came to save men.”

With a glance at the three great theistic religions—Judaism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism—the first a preparation for, and the last a corruption of Christianity, the author enters upon an elaborate setting forth of the nature, conditions and limits of theistic proof. Though the proofs of God’s existence are countless, to be sought for in all the forces, laws, and arrangements of nature; in every material object, every organism, every intellect and heart; still all these evidences coalesce into a single, all-comprehensive argument, which is the sum of the indications of God given by the physical universe, the minds of men, and human history. While every part, every point, the eye of an insect, the seed of a fruit, may be looked at religiously, it must be in the light of the universe as a whole, in the light of eternity and infinity.

“Flower in the crannied wall,
I pluck you out of the crannies;
Hold you here, root and all, in my hand,
Little flower—but if I could understand
What you are, root and all, and all in all,
I should know what God and man is.”

But there is a sense in which the theistic argument is not so simple. The principle of causality is clearly involved. One of Prof. Flint’s strongest statements, and evidently a favorite prop-

osition with him, is the affirmation that nature is but the name for an effect whose cause is God. "But to think of God as a cause—to apprehend the universe as an effect—we must have some immediate and direct experience of causation. And such experience we have only in the consciousness of volition. * * If we did not know ourselves as causes, we could not know God as a cause; and we know ourselves as causes only in so far as we know ourselves as wills." Now, if to the Ultimate Cause we ascribe Supreme Intelligence, and invest this divine Being with moral perfections, adding still further the idea of the Absolute, we have all that is comprehended in the idea of God, so far as human terms can set Him forth.

At this point we are confronted with the confusion resulting from false conceptions with respect to God; the difficulty of reaching any common ground even in our definitions; the metaphysical inquiries as to the nature of Consciousness, Personality, Freedom, and such other attributes as, belonging to us, are commonly ascribed to God, by anthropomorphism. To see what an extended arc the thoughts of men may swing through on such subjects, we need only place beside the intense literalism of Jewish history—where God walks with man, and speaks to him face to face—the most recent speculations of Von Hartmann, in his *Philosophy of the Unconscious*. In a brief article we could not hope to enter upon the discussion of any of these questions. But we do well to remember that Theology is itself a science, and is entitled, on grounds of common fairness, to all the patience that we exercise towards the tentative methods pursued by Science, commonly so called. If we take any one of the simplest subjects of physical speculation, and trace its history, we shall find that its course has been more devious than that of any most abstruse theological doctrine. Scientific men are apt to forget this, and to assume that because they learned a religious doctrine in one way, which now seems to them antiquated or unreasonable, therefore religion is a thing to have done with. Suppose we should apply that method in the schools. Any one instructed twenty years ago on the very familiar subject of Heat must learn it all over again, if he wants accurate knowledge on the subject. We find no such antiquated

terminology in connection with the Divine attribute of benevolence, for example, as we find in connection with the discussion of the nature and properties of Heat. The old terms Caloric, Phlogiston, and other similar ones, seem now absurd in the extreme. Even to those who are disposed to bring all problems to the test of the Evolution hypothesis, we can only reply that if Evolution is to hold anywhere it must hold everywhere. It must hold in the domain of Theology, which is according to the best definition we can give of it, the result of an endeavor to come into some systematic knowledge of the Divine mind in its purposes with respect to man and all created beings. Theology being a science must, therefore, be allowed time to make its investigations, must be allowed full scope, that just conclusions may be reached.

But to return to the course of the argument: Our knowledge of God is obtained as simply and as naturally as our knowledge of our fellowmen. It is obtained, in fact, mainly in the same way. In both cases we refer certain manifestation of will, intelligence, and goodness—qualities which are known to us by consciousness—to these qualities as their causes. We have no direct or immediate knowledge—no intuitive or *a priori* knowledge—of the intelligence of our fellow-creatures, any more than we have of the intelligence of our Creator; but we have a direct personal consciousness of intelligence in ourselves, which enables us confidently to infer that the works both of God and man can have originated only in intelligences.” At this point our author has a word to say as to the oft-mooted question whether absolute Atheism is ever possible. “True, the existence and possibility of Atheism have often been denied, but the testimony of history to the reality of Atheism cannot be set aside. Although many have been called Atheists unjustly and calumniously, and although a few who have professed themselves to be Atheists may have really possessed a religious belief, which they overlooked or were averse to acknowledge, we cannot reasonably refuse to take at their own word the majority of those who have inculcated a naked and undisguised Atheism, and claimed and gloried in the name of Atheist.”

Prof. Flint is gathering strength for a further and decisive blow

against those who, in their advocacy of an immediate perception or consciousness of God, deny the validity of the arguments from nature or from created things. And we cannot escape the conclusion that men might be driven into Atheism by pressing upon them too closely this inner-testimony proof as the only evidence. For, see how it stands. We tell men that the positive and final proof of God's existence must be found in the immediate faith-consciousness. They answer: 'We do not find it there.' What other conclusion can they reach than that they are without God—Atheists? "Strange as it may seem, there are many Theists at the present day who * * * join with Atheists in denying that God's existence can be proved, and in affirming that all the arguments for His existence are inconclusive and sophistical. I confess I deem this a most erroneous and dangerous procedure. Such Theists seem to me not only the best allies of Atheists, but even more effective laborers in the cause of unbelief than Atheists themselves. * * * In place of a universe revealing God, and a soul made in His image, and a humanity overruled and guided by Him, they present to us a something stronger and surer—an intuition, or a feeling, or an exercise of mere faith. * * * Man, say some, knows God by immediate intuition; he needs no argument for His existence, because he perceives Him directly—face to face—without any medium. It is easy to assert this, but obviously the assertion is the merest dogmatism."

Thus at considerable length we are treated to a very careful dissection of a very common fallacy; the seeming intuition is not unfrequently an erroneous inference, or, it may be, the conceit of fancy, or the product of habit and association, or the reflection of strong feeling. "The so-called immediate perception of God must be shown to be a perception and to be immediate; it must be vindicated and verified; and how this is to be done, especially if there be no other reasons for believing in God than itself, it is difficult to conceive. The history of religion, which is what ought to yield the clearest confirmation of the alleged intuition, appears to be from beginning to end a conspicuous contradiction of it. If all men have the spiritual power of di-

rectly beholding their Creator—have an immediate vision of God—how happens it that whole nations believe in the most absurd and monstrous gods? * * The various phases of Polytheism and Pantheism are inexplicable, if an intuition of God be universally inherent in human nature. Theism is perfectly explicable without intuition, as the evidences for it are numerous, obvious, and strong. The opinion that man has an intuition, or immediate perception of God, is untenable: the opinion that he has an immediate feeling of God, is absurd. * * If Theism have no other basis than feeling, it is a house which foolish men have built upon the sand. The first storm will cast it down, and no wise man will regret its fall. Whatever is founded on mere emotion—on emotion which is not itself explained and justified by reason—stands but by sufferance; has no right to stand; ought to be cast down and swept from the earth. * * The strangest of all theories as to the foundation of our belief in God is, that it has no foundation at all—that it is a belief which rests upon itself, an act of faith which is its own warrant. * * Belief is inseparable from knowledge, and ought to be precisely co-extensive with knowledge. Those who deny this fundamental truth, will always be found employing the words knowledge and belief in a capricious and misleading way.”

From this point forward the argument of the book is closely linked and vigorous, the argument from causality coming first, followed by the argument from order, the moral argument, closing with the *a priori* proof. The fourth lecture has for its title: “Nature is but the name for an effect whose cause is God,” and under this proposition we should do the author injustice by quoting, for every sentence is necessary to the argument. In the argument for the existence of God, the principle of causality assumes that whatever has begun to be, must have had a cause which accounts for it. It is not assumed that every existence must have had a cause, but only such existences as are finite. The theistic argument assumes that whatever had an origin had a cause. This assumption is set down as self-evident. Hume did not deny this, he only denied that we could be certain of it. If every event must have a cause, to prove that the universe

must have a cause, it is only necessary to prove that the universe had a commencement. Can this be done? If it can, the theistic argument from causality is complete. The strength of the argument for the divine existence, so far as causation is concerned, is measured by the strength of the proof that can be adduced in favor of the universe having had a beginning. That proof we must get by an examination of the universe.

“What, then, is the result of such an examination? An absolute certainty that all the things which are seen are temporal—that every object in the universe which presents itself to the senses has had a beginning—that the most powerful, penetrating, and delicate instruments devised to assist our senses reach no cause which is not obviously an effect. The progress of science has not more convincingly and completely disproved the once prevalent notion that the universe was created about six thousand years ago, than it has convincingly and completely established that everything of which our senses inform us has had a commencement in time, and is of a compound, derivative, and dependent nature.” Incidentally the author accepts the Nebular Hypothesis, and says: “With bold flight science passes beyond the confines of discovered life—beyond the epochs of formation even of the oldest rocks—to a time when there was no distinction of earth, and sea, and atmosphere, as all were mingled together in nebulous matter, in some sort of fluid, or mist, or steam; yea, onwards to a time when our earth had no separate existence, and suns, moons and stars were not yet divided and arranged into systems. If we seek, then, after what is eternal, science tells us that it is not the earth, nor anything which it contains; not the sea, nor the living things within it; not the moving air, not the sun, nor the moon, nor the stars. These things, when interrogated, all tell us to look above and beyond them, for although they may have begun to be in times far remote, yet it was within times to which the thoughts of finite beings can reach back.” The conclusion from which is, that the results of science are but an extension of the proof that the universe is an effect; and the proposition that Nature is but the name for an effect whose cause is God, is in part substantiated. To complete this part of the argument, the hypothesis of an in-

finite regress of causes is shown to be impossible and absurd, the only resting place for mind being found in the idea of a self-existent cause—the one first cause—that has power, is free, is a Will, a Spirit, a Person.

The fifth lecture takes up the argument from Order. The mind infers intelligence where it finds order, and order is found everywhere in the universe. It is the work of the sciences to explain the order manifest in the universe. The Theist maintains that this order, the proof of which is the grand achievement of science, always implies mind; that all relations of order are evidences of an intelligent cause. Astronomy, Chemistry, Biology, Geology, Palæontology, all combine to unfold order, adaptation, proportion, and coördination. “The question is, Is this state of things intelligible on any other supposition than that of a designing mind? The Theist holds that it is not; that it directly and imperatively demands an intelligent cause; that to assign it either to no cause, or to any other than an intelligent cause, is, in the strictest and strongest sense of the term, absurd. If we deny that there is such order as I have indicated, we set aside the entire teaching of all the sciences—we pronounce science to be from beginning to end a delusion and a lie. Men in the present day dare not do this.”

The remainder of this lecture is occupied in correcting the very faulty form in which “the argument from design” is commonly put. “The argument is not *from* but *to* design. To assume design and then to affirm that ‘every design must have a designer,’ is manifestly not serious reasoning, but a play upon words.” We cannot in our limited space do more than indicate the course of this part of the argument, the conclusion of which is: “It is precisely because the universe is so above anything man has made or can make, and because vegetable and animal organisms are so different from watches and statues, that the argument in question leads us to a divine and not to a merely human intelligence. It implies that both the works of God and the works of man are products of intelligence; but it does not require that they should have anything else in common. It recognizes that the most elaborate and exquisite contrivances of man fall immeasurably below ‘nature’s most minute designs.’

So far from requiring, it forbids our carrying any of the limitations or peculiarities of human contrivance over to that which is divine. Besides, the belief in design is held in conjunction with the belief in creation out of nothing. The same persons who recognize that there is a divine wisdom displayed in the constitution and course of nature, believe the universe to have been called into being by the mere volition of the Almighty. But among all theories of the genesis of the heavens and the earth, that is the only one which does not represent the First Cause as working like a man. Man never creates—he can not create. To produce anything he must have something to work on—he must have materials to mould and modify.”

One of the most interesting phases of this discussion, is the manner in which the Evolution hypothesis is viewed. After showing that matter could not be the origin of order; that Chance could not be; that Necessity could not be; that Law could not be; we are led up to the most common mode of evading the problem which order presents to reason, which is through the discovery of the process by which the order has been realized. Plato, in a most charming way, pictures to us the disappointment he felt when he discovered that a promised solution of the universe, with its causes and consequences, gave him no help in his perplexity. As one reads it one might think it had been written yesterday :

“I heard some one who had a book of Aaxagoras, as he said, out of which he read that mind was the disposer and cause of all. * * And I rejoiced to think that I had found in Anaxagoras a teacher of the causes of existence such as I desired, and I imagined that he would tell me first whether the earth is flat or round; and then he would further explain the cause and the meaning of this, and would teach me the nature of the best, and show that this was best; and if he said that the earth was in the centre, he would explain that this position was the best, and I should be satisfied with the explanation given, and not want any other sort of cause. And I thought that I would then go on to ask him about the sun and moon and stars, and that he would explain to me their comparative swiftness, and their returnings and various states, active and passive, and how all of

them were for the best. For I could not imagine that when he spoke of Mind as the disposer of them, he would give any other account of their being as they are, except that this was best; and I thought, that when he had explained to me in detail the cause of each and the cause of all, he would go on to explain to me what was best for each and what was best for all. I had hopes which I would not have sold for much, and I seized the books and read them as fast as I could in my eagerness to know the better and the worse. What hopes I had formed, and how grievously was I disappointed! As I proceeded, I found my philosopher altogether forsaking mind, or any other principle of order, but having recourse to air, and ether, and water, and other eccentricities.”* If Plato had contributed that clever bit of sarcasm to the last number of the *Popular Science Monthly*, he would have had no occasion to change a word of it. Prof. Flint disposes of this whole school of atheistic evolutionists in a most logical and satisfactory way. It is doubtful whether any one who has not gone through the whole argument very carefully several times, can appreciate fully the vigor of the closely connected reasoning, of which the following is but a sample:

“The man who fancies that the nebular theory implies that the law of gravitation, or any other physical law, has of itself determined the course of cosmical evolution, so that there is no need for believing in the existence and operation of a Divine Mind, proves merely that he is not exempt from reasoning very illogically. The solar system could only have been evolved out of its nebulous state into that which it now presents if the nebula possessed a certain size, mass, form, and constitution—if it was neither too rare nor too dense, neither too fluid nor too tenacious; if its atoms were all numbered, its elements all weighed, its constituents all disposed in due relation to each other—that is to say, only if the nebula was in reality as much a system of order, which intelligence alone could account for, as the worlds which have been developed from it. The origin of the nebula thus presents itself to the reason as a problem which demands solution no less than the origin of the planets. All

*Phædo, I., 426; Jowett's translation.

the properties and laws of the nebula require to be accounted for." Thus Professor Flint shows us that the difficulty is not got rid of by resolving the universe into an original incandescent fire-mist, and through it back into untold cycles of the past. Here is the weak point in atheistic evolution. And we need only read Mr. Herbert Spencer's defence of this point to discover how weak it is.

"The affirmation of universal evolution is in itself the negation of an 'absolute commencement' of anything. Construed in terms of evolution, every kind of being is conceived as a product of modifications wrought by insensible gradations on a pre-existing kind of being; and this holds as fully of the supposed 'commencement of organic life' as of all subsequent developments of organic life. It is no more needful to suppose an 'absolute commencement of organic life,' or a 'first organism,' than it is needful to suppose an absolute commencement of social life, and a first social organism."* The answer to which is not far off. The answer, indeed, is in Mr. Spencer's own illustration. It is needful to suppose a beginning of social life. It is impossible to think otherwise than that there was "a first social organism." To say that there was no first, is only to tell us that there was no second, and no third. But we are acquainted with social organism. If this which we know as social organism, and of which we form a part, be not the only social organism, then it must be one in a finite series; and there was a first. But if this be the only social organism, still it is the first, and there was an absolute commencement. The carrying back of all the varied forms of life to protoplasm, does not help out of the difficulty. The evolution of all the multifarious forms of animal life from simpler forms, through the ramification of species, does not help us. We must have given us a seed, an atom, a germ, a cell, an infinitely rarified gas. We cannot refrain from quoting here the sentence or two in which Mr. Martineau very charmingly describes the atheistic evolutionist: "In not a few of the progressionists the weak illusion is unmistakeable, that, with time enough, you may get everything

*Principles of Biology, p. 482.

out of next to nothing. Grant us, they seem to say, any tiniest granule of power, so close upon zero that it is not worth begrudging—allow it some trifling tendency to infinitesimal increment—and we will show you how this little stock became the kosmos, without ever taking a step worth thinking of, much less constituting a case for design. The argument is a mere appeal to an incompetency in the human imagination, in virtue of which, magnitudes evading conception are treated as out of existence; and an aggregate of inappreciable increments is simultaneously equated—in its cause to *nothing*, in its effect to *the whole of things*. You manifestly want the same causality, whether concentrated on a moment or distributed through incalculable ages; only, in drawing upon it, a logical theft is more easily committed piecemeal than wholesale. Surely it is a mean device for a philosopher thus to crib causation by hair's-breadths, to put it out at compound interest through all time, and then disown the debt.”*

The conclusion of this sixth lecture ought to be read by every clergyman of our time; for it breathes the spirit in which the discussion of these questions should always be carried on: “I think enough has now been said to show that the researches and speculations of the Darwinians have left unshaken the design argument. I might have gone farther if time had permitted, and proved that they had greatly enriched the argument. The works of Mr. Darwin are invaluable to the theologian, owing to the multitude of beautiful contrivances and marvelous adjustments admirably described in them. The treatises on the fertilization of orchids and on insectivorous plants require only to have their legitimate conclusions deduced and applied in order to be transformed into treatises of natural theology. If Paley's famous work be now somewhat out of date, it is not because Mr. Darwin and his followers have refuted it, but because they have brought so much to light which confirms its argument.”

“I have challenged the theology of Mr. Darwin and those who

* Martineau, ‘Essays Philosophical and Theological,’ pp. 141, 142, as quoted by Prof. Flint in Appendix: Note XXII.

follow his guidance in theology. I have no wish to dispute his science. I pass no judgment on his theories so far as they are scientific theories. It may be safely left to the progress of scientific research to determine how far they are true and how far erroneous. We ought not to assail them needlessly, or to reject the truth which is in them, under the influence of a senseless dread that they can hurt religion. In so far as they are true, they must be merely expressions of the way in which Divine intelligence has operated in the universe. Instead of excluding, they must imply belief in an all-originating, all-foreseeing, all-foreordaining, all-regulative intelligence, to determine the rise and the course and the goal of life, as of all finite things."

The next step in the theistic argument is to consider the testimony furnished by the moral world. We have been led by force and order as seen in the physical world to the thought of God as the First Cause, the Supreme Intelligence. But force and order are not all. There is another world beside the outer, and in it we discover moral laws, moral actions, moral feelings. The moral argument, which some have considered the only valid argument for the existence of God, and for the immortality of the soul, is, in the judgment of Professor Flint, not to be relied on exclusively. "It is but a part of a whole from which it ought not to be severed." Many of the arguments based on conscience are deemed unsatisfactory, especially the view that conscience is "the religious organ of the soul," the sole faculty through which the human mind is in contact and communion with God. "There is no one specific power or organ of the mind in virtue of which exclusively man is a religious being. It is by the whole make and constitution of his nature, not by a particular faculty, that he is framed for religion. I more than question if we have a right even to ascribe to conscience an immediate intuition of God." By this statement he means to tell us that all that conscience can take cognizance of is the right and wrong of actions. The direct object of conscience is not God, but morality. "When, therefore, any man comes and assures us that through conscience we have an immediate apprehension of God, it is natural that we should answer at once,

You may as well assure us that through sight we immediately hear sounds or smell odors. What we immediately apprehend through conscience is the right or wrong of actions, and therefore not God." What form, then, does the argument from conscience take? It takes the same form that the argument from force and order takes in the material world. It is an inference from facts. It is independent of any particular theory as to the origin of conscience. We simply take the obvious facts of our moral consciousness, as for example the fact that man feels himself under a law of duty; that he is conscious of obligation and responsibility; that he has a conscience which does not counsel but which commands him to do what is right and to resist what is wrong; and we find these several facts inexplicable without the supposition of a holy God, a moral Governor. As we pass from the facts of force and order to the conception of a Supreme Power, with intelligence; so do we make the inference that the voice of conscience is a constant intimation of God. "If the inference from effect to cause, from manifestation of purpose to intelligence, is good anywhere, it is good here; and it warrants us to believe that the First Cause of conscience is a righteous Being." The form and force of this argument are unaffected by the fact that moral perceptions and emotions admit of variation and development, and are sometimes false and depraved. The argument holds whether conscience be primary or derivative. With a glance at the derangements of the moral world, brought about by sin, and a consideration of objections to the divine wisdom, benevolence, and justice, we pass to the *a priori* proof. All the arguments combined, which we have had thus far, fail to yield the full idea of God. "They show him to be the First Cause of the world—the Source of all the power, wisdom, and goodness displayed therein. They do not prove Him to be infinite, eternal, absolute in being and perfection." The question now to be answered is, Can we assign to God those attributes which we call absolute or incommunicable? The usual method is to begin with this question. Professor Flint chooses to close the theistic argument with the *a priori* proof, for the very good reason which he gives: "If we have not established that there is a God by reasoning from facts, we

must demonstrate His existence from ideas: but to get from the ideal to the actual may be impossible, and is certain to be difficult; whereas, if we have allowed facts to teach us all that they legitimately can about the existence, power, wisdom, and righteousness of God, it may be easy to show that our ideas of absolute being and perfection must apply to Him, and can only apply to Him." The author then proceeds to pass in review several of the most celebrated of the *a priori* or ontological proofs, putting Plato's first in the order of value as it is first in the order of time. Plato's theory of ideas, and the theism inseparable from that theory, "must abide with our race for ever as a priceless possession." We have not time to follow the analysis of Anselm, Descartes, and Clarke. Let us pass at once to the author's putting of the argument:—

"According to the view of the theistic argumentation which has been given in the present course of lectures, all that is now necessary to complete the theistic proof is very simple indeed. The universe has been shown to have an inconceivably powerful and intelligent cause, a Supreme Creator, who has given to men a moral law, and who has abundantly manifested in history that He loveth righteousness and hateth iniquity. We are further conscious of having ideas or intuitions of infinity, eternity, necessary existence, and perfection. We may dispute as to whence and how we have got them, but we cannot deny that we possess them. Were any person, for example, to affirm that he did not believe that there is a self-existent or necessary being—a being which derived its existence from no other and depends upon no other, but is what it is in and of itself alone—we should be entitled to tell him either that he did not know the meaning of what he said, or that he did not himself believe what he said. But if we undoubtedly possess these ideas, they must, unless they are wholly delusive—which is what we are unable to conceive—be predicable of some being. The sole question for us is, Of what being? And the whole of our previous argumentation has shut us up to one answer. It must be, of Him who has been proved to be the First Cause of all things—the Source of all the power, wisdom, and goodness displayed in the universe. It cannot be the universe itself, for that has been

shown to be but an effect—to have before and behind it a Mind, a Person. It cannot be ourselves or anything to which our senses can reach, seeing that we and they are finite, contingent, and imperfect. The author of the universe alone—the Father of our spirits, and the giver of every good and perfect gift—can be uncreated and unconditioned, infinite and perfect. This completes the idea of God as far as it can be reached or formed by natural reason.”

There is another chapter in which is shown the insufficiency of mere Theism. This, with about one hundred pages of valuable notes in the appendix, makes up one of the strongest books ever published on this question. Every clergyman should have a copy of “Theism,” if he would know the method of the enemy, and the best way of overcoming him. Of “Anti-theistic Theories” we may make some mention in a subsequent paper.



ARTICLE VI.

GOLDWIN SMITH ON THE DECAY OF FAITH.

By REV. J. A. CLUTZ, A. M., Baltimore, Md.

In the *Atlantic Monthly* for Nov., 1879, there appeared an article by Prof. Goldwin Smith, which is deserving of more than a passing notice. Its title is, “The Prospect of a Moral Interregnum,” and the object of the writer, as stated in the article, is “to call attention to the fact that, if we may judge by the experience of history, a crisis in the moral sphere, which will probably bring with it a political and social crisis, appears to have arrived.” The processes by which he reaches this rather gloomy conclusion are given at some length. They are, first, a review of the history of the past, and, secondly, a survey of the present status and tendencies of thought and belief in religious and scientific circles.

As the result of the latter, Prof. Smith is convinced that Christianity, which he seems to regard only as the greatest effort of the human mind in the way of religious invention, is about to follow in the wake of the now almost forgotten systems

which it at first supplanted. Already, he thinks, it is *in articulo mortis*, and soon, very soon, the places that know it now, will know it no more forever—or will know it only as an interesting fact of history to be studied and philosophized over like any other fact in the history of the past. And this near approach of the end of Christianity is what alarms Prof. Smith. Not that he has any sympathy with, or compassion for the dying faith. Evidently he has no affection for Christianity itself, and will shed no tears over its grave on his own account. But he is afraid of the effect upon men in general, upon the masses.

As a careful student of history he has observed that whenever among any people, there was, for any reason, a general decay of faith in the prevailing religion, it was always accompanied, or followed by a corresponding decay of morals, or what he very felicitously calls “a sort of moral interregnum.” In illustration of this he points us to the moral and political anarchy which prevailed in Greece when her people lost their faith in the gods of Olympus and forsook the oracle of Delphi; to that “cataclysm of selfish ambition, profligate corruption, and murderous faction,” which ensued at Rome when reverence for the gods was undermined and the practice of augury was given over in contempt to the meanest slaves; and to the social corruption, and political treachery and violence which deluged all Europe with crime and blood after the revival of learning, during the Renaissance, had destroyed men’s confidence in the superstitions and impostures which had gathered around Christianity as represented in the Papal Church, and before the Reformation had given to the world a purer faith and a renewed morality. In each of these cases, he maintains, the general decay of faith was followed by a “moral interregnum”—a time in which all the ordinary restraints of morality were laid aside and every man became a law unto himself.

And now, putting this fact of history alongside of the prospective early demise of Christianity, Prof. Smith concludes very naturally, and very logically also, that we are on the eve of another great “moral interregnum.” And while, for reasons which will appear hereafter, we do not share in all his alarm,

there is certainly no little food for reflection in the interesting and instructive fact of history which he brings out into such clear and strong relief—the fact that no sanction for morality has ever yet been found outside and independent of religion, that has been able to restrain the wickedness and selfishness of men, and make them amenable to either law or reason. I use the word religion here in its broadest sense, to denote simply a belief in the existence of a supreme being or beings to whom men are responsible for their conduct, and by whom they will be rewarded or punished according to their deserts either in this life or in a life to come. That without such a belief to restrain them from violence and wrong-doing and the selfish gratification of their worst appetites and passions, men will not restrain themselves, and cannot be restrained, or at least that this has always been the case in the past, Prof. Smith shows very conclusively. And in so far we are quite ready to agree with him. Indeed, we are prepared to go a little farther than this. Of all the religions that have ever prevailed among men, no other one has exhibited such power of restraining men, and not only of restraining them, but of making them better also, as Christianity. We are quite ready, therefore, to agree with the Professor when he argues that the collapse of the Christian religion would almost certainly be followed by another “moral interregnum.” More than this, we are prepared to remove the ‘almost,’ and say that this would certainly be the case. Prof. Smith is not quite sure. He seems to think that it is possible that either physical or social science may yet discover, or invent, something that may take the place of men’s faith in God and the life to come, as a foundation and sanction for morality. He does not at all know what it may be, and evidently his faith in these new conservators of morality is very weak. Still he does seem to have some faith. And just here we are compelled to part company with him, for we have no faith at all in the ability of either anti-theistic, or anti-Christian science or philosophy to devise anything to take the place of Christianity as the great teacher and conservator of morality. If the collapse of Christianity which Prof. Smith so confidently predicts in the near future, should actually come, it would undoubtedly be followed by

a "moral interregnum" that would be darker and more dreadful than any of those to which he points us in the history of the past. It is possible that the impulse which Christian thought and belief have given to the morals of the age, might continue to be felt for a few years, or even for a generation or two. But eventually this would entirely cease to operate, and then the deterioration would soon be complete. The condition of society would soon again be like that of the old world, of which Paul has given such a terrible picture in the first chapter of the epistle to the Romans, only that every dark line would be a hundred fold darker by reason of the increased power to be and to do evil, which the wonderful progress of the last century or two, in discovery and invention, has put into men's hands.

True, all this is flatly denied by the Darwinian and Spencerian schools of scientists and philosophers. There may be a little disturbance, they tell us, if the moral atmosphere by the substitution of the gospel of science for the gospel of faith, as the basis of morality, but eventually, we are assured, the air will be as pure and sweet, and the sky as bright and clear, under the reign of the former, as under that of the latter. As one of the latest and most vigorous exponents of Positivism puts it: "A change is coming, but we firmly believe that after some possible tacking, moral opinion will eventually set sail in a direction so nearly parallel with Christianity, that the divergence toward a more social standard will, for generations to come, be scarcely perceptible." (Miss Bevington. See Article on Mr. Mallock and Atheism, in *Contemporary Review* for October, 1879.)

But when we come to examine the grounds of this confidence—when we ask what it is that is to keep men moral under this new regime, or what is to make them moral when they have once become immoral, we are not surprised that Prof. Smith should be despondent about the future. Education and culture and a better understanding of the laws of life and health, we are told, are to take the place of the Bible and teach men how to live in peace and die happy. The fear of Mrs. Grundy, and the desire for the praise of men, are the new substitutes for the fear of the Lord, and the desire to please Him. The love of friends is to take the place of the constraining love of Christ.

The hope of contributing something to the "general amount and general chances of human well-being," and the prospect of helping to usher in at last, at some time in the dim and shadowy ages of the remote future, the boasted millennium of science and philosophy, in which the operation of the law of "the survival of the fittest" will have left nothing but strong, and healthy, and upright, and pure men "in whom the moving equilibrium is perfect"—this hope and prospect are to do the work of the Christian hope of immortality, and the associated doctrine of rewards and punishments. Surely those who can hang their hopes for the future morality and happiness, and the final perfection of the race, upon such ropes of sand as these, ought never to say anything about the simplicity or credulity of Christian believers. It is no wonder that Prof. Smith, as a student of history, has but little faith in them. All these things have been tried again and again in the past, and have always been found wanting. And what are the facts at the present time? How many men are being regenerated—how many are being lifted up and made purer and better and nobler—how many are being saved from the evil that is in the world, and from the worse evil that is in themselves, by the study of science or by the most liberal culture, without any aid from religion? What power have these things ever shown to make the liar truthful, or the thief honest, or the drunkard sober, or the libertine pure? No doubt the fear of public opinion does exert a very powerful restraint upon the external life of men, upon their words and their actions, but its power to make men pure in heart is comparatively small. And yet it is the condition of the heart rather than the conduct of the life, which decides the real character of men. Whether Christianity be true or false, or survive or perish, it certainly is, and always will be true, that as a man "thinketh in his heart so is he." And when a man has once broken through this restraint upon his outward life, and has come under the ban of public opinion because of his evil courses, its effect is to depress and harden him and drive him to still greater lengths of iniquity, rather than to restore him to purity and righteousness. True, doubtless, our new teachers of a scientific morality would say that this is perfectly right and just, since it serves to hasten the

elimination from the race of such unworthy members, according to the law of the survival of the fittest. But however satisfactory this solution of the difficulty may be to scientists and philosophers, it is certainly rather hard upon the man who is down, and must have a very discouraging effect upon all philanthropic and reformatory efforts. Moreover these new apostles of morality seem to forget that public opinion, at least in Christendom, is largely moulded by Christian belief and Christian teaching, and is likely to lose very much of its tone and restrictive power, if these should be withdrawn. As for the hope of contributing something towards the general sum of happiness in the world and the final perfection of the race, of which Mr. Spencer and the whole Positivist school make so much, and the power of this hope to act as a substitute for the hope of immortality, I do not know that the folly of expecting much from such a substitution could be better exposed than it is done by Prof. Smith himself in a subsequent article on Pessimism, in the *Atlantic Monthly* for February. After reminding his readers that morality necessarily involves self-sacrifice, he continues: "Self-sacrifice can hardly be reconciled with reason, unless it brings with it an ultimate reward. A man may submit to martyrdom for the truth's sake, if he is to pass through the gate of death to the Father of truth; he will hardly do so if he is to go down into the pit. * * A subjective existence to be enjoyed in the lives of prosperity when you have utterly ceased to be, and the last trace of your memory has vanished, is a fantasy which may be fondled by a refined imagination, but will heal no wounds, and countervail no hardships in the case of ordinary men. * * Pile on the language of sentiment as you will, a man's conduct will be governed by his real interest, and his real interest must terminate with his existence. Then after all comes the general dissolution; the last generation of mankind, heir of all the preceding effort, perishes in some awful catastrophe, and the moral paradise is an atomic chaos." And who is there, it may well be asked, outside of a few choice spirits like J. Stuart Mill, and Herbert Spencer, and Mr. Huxley, and Miss Bevington, that will be greatly influenced either against the

evil they may desire to do, or in favor of the good they may shrink from doing, by any consideration of having contributed a mite or two towards the final perfection of that last generation whose end must eventually be an inglorious extinction, with no hope of a resurrection? This is altogether too sublimated a motive to exert much influence upon the minds of ordinary men, or meet the practical wants of a life that is full of toil and struggle, and temptations to wrong-doing.

But it was not my purpose to enter upon any discussion of the foundation of morals according to either the Christian or the Positivist school of philosophy. This I leave to those who are better able to deal with so difficult a problem. I only wish to call attention to the real service which Prof. Smith has rendered to Christianity by his appeal to the facts of history. It would be well if those who are so ready to lay Christianity aside as an effete system, and so confident that the standard of morality will not be appreciably lowered by its surrender, would give a little more attention to the startling lessons which these facts are calculated to teach. But of this there is little hope. As Prof. Smith himself complains, there is a disposition on the part of most materialistic scientists and philosophers to utterly ignore the teachings of history, and "set it aside as mere 'gossip,' which would be a very convenient arrangement for physicists determined to settle all questions without the help of any knowledge but their own."*

But whether these "advanced thinkers," and "free inquirers," as they love to call themselves, pay any attention to these lessons of history or not, they should not be lost upon Christians themselves, and especially upon Christian teachers. We do not believe that Christianity is in any danger of perishing from the earth, but we should remember that any general decay of faith in its divine origin and its heavenly precepts, would be disastrous not only to the individuals affected by it, but also to society at large, and even to the state, bringing in, as it almost certainly would, another "moral interregnum" to curse the world for years, and perhaps for centuries.

**Atlantic Monthly* for February, 1880, p. 205.

Such a general decay of faith Prof. Smith regards as imminent. He says: "A collapse of religious belief of the most complete and tremendous kind, is apparently now at hand." From his discussion of this point of his essay it is plain that the "apparently" here thrown in is purely rhetorical. Evidently he has no doubt about the immediate promixity of this "collapse." In his judgment Christianity has already been mortally wounded, and science and criticism are the twin champions of human progress who have inflicted the fatal blows.

"No one," he says, "who has watched the progress of discussion and the indications of opinion in literature and in social intercourse can doubt that, in the minds of those whose views are likely to become—and in an age when all thought is popularized, soon to become—the views of society at large, belief in Christianity as a revealed and supernatural religion, has given way. Science and criticism combined have destroyed the faith of free inquirers in the Mosaic cosmogony, in the inspiration of the Bible, and the genuineness of many books of it, in large portions of the history of the Old Testament, and in the history of the New Testament in so far as it is miraculous, or inseparably connected with miracles. The mortal blow has been given by criticism in disproving or rendering uncertain the authenticity of the historical books of the New Testament."

In these three sentences we have the pith of that part of Prof. Smith's article which refers to the failure of Christianity, and they are little more than a string of assumptions from beginning to end. Indeed they would hardly be worthy of an answer were it not that the opponents of Christianity deal so much in assumption and assertion, and that so many weak-kneed believers are really frightened by their cool dogmatism, thinking that because they are so confident in their tone, they must be right. The first assumption we find in these sentences is, that Christianity and Science are irreconcilably at war, and that one of them must go down. And as Prof. Smith considers Christianity the weaker of the two, he of course concludes that it must succumb to science according to the law of "the survival of the fittest." A little farther on in the article, we discover that the particular point at which he thinks this mortal antag-

onism manifests itself, is the theory of evolution. This he speaks of as an established fact, "to all appearances destined soon to be the creed of the world," and destined also, he seems to intimate, to do away with the necessity for, and belief in the existence of God. But surely our critic is too fast here. He is entirely too credulous for a "free inquirer." It can hardly be said that anything has been *established* yet in regard to evolution unless it be the simple fact that it has played an important part in the history of the earth. How large, or how important, that part has been, is by no means settled as yet. Some, like Haeckel and Huxly and their followers, being thorough-going materialists, say that evolution has been the all in all, the real creator of our present world, with all that is in it, and upon it, including man—that all has been evolved from the primitive forms of matter without any interference from any powers outside of, or above matter and its forces. But surely this cannot be regarded by any "free inquirer" as an established fact of science so long as men like Professor Virchow of Germany, and Professor Allman and Dr. Carpenter of England, and Professors Dana and Gray of this country, refuse to accept it. The first of these, Professor Virchow, the great German physiologist is reported to have publicly rebuked Professors Haeckel and Buckner, in his lectures, for "dogmatizing about evolution as though it were a demonstrated truth instead of an unproved theory." In his address last Summer as President of the British Association, Dr. Allman, as is well known, emphatically repudiated the idea that evolution was sufficient to account for everything, and declared that physical scientists, after all their efforts "have utterly failed to evolve life, animal or vegetable, out of inorganic matter ; or to span the chasm between organic matter and conscious thought." Dr. Wm. B. Carpenter has also said, in a recent article : "I deem it just as absurd and illogical to affirm that there is no place for a God in nature, originating, directing and controlling its forces by his will, as it would be to assert that there is no place in man's body for his conscious mind."* Professor Dana, of New Haven, has lately said ; "The theories

*The Force behind Nature, *Littell's Liv. Age*, Feb. 7th, 1880.

of evolution which make progress mere *transformism*, as it has been designated, or a direct result of the pulling, shaping, or transforming action of environments, I regard as based on a superficial view of Nature. I hold that in evolution there was truly an evolving ; that beneath are molecular and physiological laws, whose action, external condition or the environments, were able to modify, but not to control. And I may say, further, that it is my confiding belief that all law is law by divine appointment, for a divine purpose, and that all force is the ever active divine will.”* And Professor Asa Gray whose authority will not be questioned, says in the second of his two Lectures recently delivered before the Yale Divinity School, and just published : “In saying that the doctrine of the evolution of species has taken its place among scientific beliefs, I do not mean that it is accepted by all living naturalists ; for there are some who totally reject it, nor that it is held with equal conviction and in the same way by all who receive it ; for some teach it dogmatically, along with assumption, both scientific and philosophical, which are to us both unwarranted and unwelcome ; more accept it, with various confidence, and in a tentative way, for its purely scientific uses, and without any obvious reference to its ultimate outcome ; and some, looking to its probable prevalence, are adjusting their conditional belief in it to cherished beliefs of another order. One thing is clear, that the current is all running one way, and seems unlikely to run dry ; and that evolutionary doctrines are profoundly affecting all natural science.”† He says also, in the same Lecture, referring to the views presented in the first Lecture ; “I claim, moreover, not merely allowance, but the right to hold these opinions along with the doctrines of natural religion and the verities of the Christian faith, and refers, with evident approval, to the remark attributed to the late Professor James Clerk-Maxwell, of England, that “he had scrutinized all the agnostic hypotheses he knew of, and found that they one and all needed a God to make them workable.”‡ Professor Tyndal also, in his latest

*Views of Evolution, *N. Y. Independent*, Jan. 8th, 1880, p. 2.

†Natural Science and Religion ; Two Lectures &c., by Asa Gray, p. 67.

‡Ibid, pp. 64 and 91.

utterances, has manifested some weakening of his faith in the ability of evolution to do all that has been ascribed to it, and even Mr. Darwin himself confesses, in his "Descent of Man," that it is a "hopeless" task for science to try to explain how either the mental powers, or life itself, were first developed or originated. "These," he says, "are problems for the distant future, if they are ever to be solved by man."*

From all this it must be plain that comparatively little has been "certainly established" in regard to evolution, even in the scientific world. And it is equally plain that it is a purely gratuitous assumption on the part of Prof. Smith, that evolution, and the Bible and Christianity cannot both live. Doubtless some particular theories of evolution, as those of Haeckel, and Huxley and Spencer, cannot live alongside of the Bible; but it is by no means sure that the atheistic theories of these extreme materialists will live at all, whether with or without the Bible. The indications now are that they will not live. Evidently there is already something of a reaction against them even in the highest scientific circles. At all events, there is no occasion as yet for us to throw away either our Bibles or our religion, because of any seeming or real conflict between them and the views held and taught by these men. That some theory of evolution will eventually become an established fact of science is altogether probable. As Prof. Gray says, "the current is all running one way." But that this finally accepted theory will be atheistic, or will be in irreconcilable conflict with the Bible and Christianity, is not probable. Possibly it may compel some modification of some of the current interpretations of Scripture, but this is a very different thing from the overthrow of Scripture itself as a divine revelation. Such modifications have often been made before without at all weakening our faith in the Bible as the word of God. Even if it should some day become necessary for us to give up the exact historical character of the Mosaic account of the creation, which Prof. Smith thinks science has completely demolished; this would by no means compel the surrender of the supernatural character, or the Divine authority.

*P. 66 of American edition. Appleton & Co., 1876.

of the Bible as a whole, nor of a single one of the essential doctrines of Christianity. But such a necessity is not likely ever to arise. Certainly it has not arisen yet, Prof. Smith to the contrary notwithstanding. There is plenty of room in the first chapter of Genesis, reasonably interpreted, for the operation of any theory of evolution that has yet, or is ever likely to be, proven true, without at all discrediting its general historical accuracy. To quote again from Prof. Dana, who is universally recognized as one of the greatest living Geologists, he says, in the same article before referred to: "I have long held that the two records—the earlier revelation and the later, Nature and the Bible—are one in their enunciation of the history of creation; that they both contain conceptions infinitely beyond the reach of the human intellect and bear alike evidence of their divine origin. The modification which has taken place in my views as to evolution [he was formerly a vigorous opponent of evolution] has not been attended by any weakening of my faith in the Christian religion or change of opinion as to its doctrines."* I would commend this utterance to the attention of Prof. Smith, and ask him to remember besides that quite a number of the most enthusiastic students of science, and teachers of evolution, are not only devout Christians, like Prof. Dana, but even Christian ministers, who find no difficulty in holding fast their faith in the Bible, including the Mosaic cosmogony, as a divinely inspired revelation, on the one hand, and at the same time accepting fully and heartily the accredited teachings of science, on the other. As to his assertion that "the faith of free inquirers * * in large portions of the Old Testament history," has been entirely destroyed, more might be said, if he had said more. It is simply an assertion, to sustain which not a single fact is given. We are not even told what large portions of the Old Testament history have been given up, and I think the Professor would have a good deal of difficulty to make good his assertion, unless, indeed, he would make the number of "free inquirers" a very limited one. The whole tendency of all the modern discoveries and historical research in the lands

**N. Y. Independent*, Jan. 8th, p. 3.

in which the Bible was written, and where the events which it records were enacted, has been to confirm, rather than destroy, our faith in its historical accuracy.

But I pass on to notice the second great assumption of Prof. Smith: that the destructive criticism of the Tübingen school of theology has proven the untrustworthiness of the gospel narrative of the New Testament by throwing doubt upon their authenticity. He says:

“The mortal blow has been given [to Christianity] by criticism in disproving or rendering uncertain the authenticity of the historical books of the New Testament.”

I think, however, that if his life is spared a little longer, Prof. Smith will find that Christianity will recover from this blow, as it has recovered from so many others, that were supposed by its enemies, and perhaps by some of the more timid of its friends, to be mortal also. No doubt Bauer, and Strauss, and Renan, have proven that the authenticity of the gospel narratives cannot be absolutely demonstrated like a problem in mathematics, or a theorem in geometry, so as to leave no possible room for doubt or question. But this is very far from proving them not authentic. Prof. Smith seems to take it for granted that unless the authenticity of these writings can be thus demonstrated, we must give up our faith in the Christian miracles, and with this give up also our faith in Christianity as a supernatural religion.

“It is simply a question of evidence,” he says. “To prove a miracle, everybody but a mystic would say that we require the testimony of eye-witnesses, and those numerous and good. But unless the authenticity of the historical books of the New Testament can be certainly established, we have no eye-witnesses of the Christian miracles at all; and in the absence of such testimony the adverse arguments * * rush in with overwhelming force. In fact, in almost any book written by a learned man who feels himself at liberty to say what he really thinks, you will now find the miracles abandoned, though it may be with evident reluctance, and with faltering lips.”

In this last sentence his assumption becomes presumption, and a presumption that is so aggravated that it would really be

amusing if the matter involved were not so important. Does Prof. Smith mean to say that men like Christlieb and Tholuck of Germany, and Lightfoot and Mozley of England, and Hodge of America, not to mention a whole host of others, who have defended, and do still defend, the historical verity and the supernatural character of the Christian miracles, did not feel themselves at liberty to say what they thought, and made a deliberate effort to hoodwink their readers and bolster up an exploded superstition? Or is Prof. Smith such an Admirable Crichton that he does not consider these "learned" men? Such arrogance and impertinence are inexcusable, and render the man who indulges in them unworthy of the confidence of his readers as a man of fair and candid spirit, and a well-balanced judgment.

The fact is, as Prof. Smith ought to know, that the Tübingen school of criticism is losing ground rather than gaining it, and that the confidence of the best scholars in the authenticity of the gospel narratives is increasing instead of diminishing. It may, indeed, not be possible to demonstrate their authenticity, but neither is this necessary. The burden of proof lies with the objector, not with the believer. If the critics cannot show such reason for doubting the authenticity of these books, as to make it more reasonable to reject than to accept them, they must certainly stand as authentic and reliable histories. Any other principle of criticism than this would throw out nearly all the history of the race prior to the last century or two. There is almost none of it that is "certainly established," so as to leave no room for doubt. And on this principle no inquirer who is really free and unprejudiced will feel called upon, with the information at present available, to reject or even seriously doubt the authenticity of any of the historical books of the New Testament, especially since the most searching criticism has wholly failed to disprove it.

But we have a third assumption in the sentences quoted from Professor Smith: that the views of those who reject Christianity "are likely soon to become the views of society at large."

In support of this opinion he appeals to the skepticism and infidelity of English literature; to the tendency to secularism

among the working classes ; and to the fact that though there may be an increase of church-building and church-going, "the crust of outward piety is hollow, and is growing hollower every day."

Now, there is no doubt some basis of truth for these appeals, but it is greatly exaggerated. Indeed the Professor reminds us of children who, in the twilight, magnify every brush, and stump, and shadow along their path into a ghost, or a robber, or some savage wild-beast, and then become very much frightened at these creations of their excited imaginations. True, very much of the current literature of England, and of America as well, does give evidence of the presence and working of the evil leaven of Agnosticism, and Positivism, and Secularism, and numerous other unorthodox isms. But there is also another large part of the literature of both countries that is as thoroughly leavened with Christianity, and it is very doubtful whether the proportion of the former to the latter is at all increasing. We must not forget, in such a comparison, the unparalleled activity of the press and the immense number of publications of all kinds that are issued every year. We must not lose sight, as Professor Smith seems to do, of the fact that while many of these publications are skeptical and atheistic in their teachings, there are also issued, and widely read in both England and America, millions of copies of papers and periodicals, and thousands, and even tens of thousands of books and pamphlets, in which there is not only no taint of these errors, but which are resolutely set for their overthrow, and the defense of the faith assailed by them and supposed to be dying under their blows. And in point of intellectual ability and vigor, these orthodox books and periodicals are quite equal, if not superior to anything that comes from the opposite camp.

No doubt there is also more or less of a tendency towards secularism and its attendant evils, among many of the working classes. But this tendency is not to be ascribed wholly, nor even chiefly to a general decay of faith among those who manifest it. It comes rather from their dissatisfaction with their present social and political status, and from the real or imagined oppression of labor by capital. Very likely the leaders in this

movement are, almost without exception, anti-Christian, if not anti-theistic. But their influence with the working classes does not come from their atheism or their skepticism, but from the hope and promise which they hold out to these classes, of financial and political emancipation, and a great improvement of their condition. Indeed they generally keep their infidelity and their atheism very much in the background, and when the better class of mechanics and laborers who, especially in America, are generally firm believers in Christianity, come to understand more fully the source and drift of the teachings of their leaders, they may be confidently expected to repudiate both them and their doctrines.

As to the present, and increasing hollowness of the piety of the Church of our day, to which Professor Smith appeals as another evidence of the general decay of faith, I think it may be safely asserted that this is a false charge, and a gratuitous slander upon the most earnest and faithful body of men and women in the world. No doubt there are still to be found in the Church, as there always have been except perhaps in times of very severe persecution, a great many whited sepulchres, and a great many empty formalists, but that the Church is generally composed of such, is not true; neither is it true that the proportion of them to the whole number of professing Christians is any larger than it has been in many former ages through which Christianity has triumphantly lived. "By their fruits ye shall know them;" and judged in this way, I think it would be easy to show that never since the days of the Apostles has the Church of Christ been stronger, or the general standard of piety higher, than they are to-day. Evidently Professor Smith has been particularly unfortunate in his experience with Christian professors, or else he has gotten his information through prejudiced and untrustworthy sources. Possibly his connection with the liberal party in English politics, and his consequent hatred of such political hypocrites as the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and the *Saturday Review* has had something to do with forming his unfavorable opinion of the piety of the age.

At all events, we are by no means ready to grant that the views of those who reject Christianity are soon to become

“the views of society at large” by which we understand Professor Smith to mean that they are soon to become practically universal. No doubt many do hold anti-Christian views, and it is altogether possible that many more will accept them in the future. The number of these may even become so large as to very seriously threaten the peace of society and the good order of the state. There may, perhaps, be good ground for Professor Smith’s warning of the danger “of a desperate conflict between different classes of society for the good things of that which people are coming to believe (and, he might have added, many always have believed, at least practically) is the only world.” And it is certainly not “likely that the passions of such a conflict will be controlled by any motive derived from scientific definitions of evolution; by any consideration connected with the rhythm of motion, the instability of the homogeneous, or the multiplication of effects.”* If we believed therefore, with Professor Smith, that we were on the eve of a general decay of faith by which “society at large” would be wholly emancipated from the restraints imposed by Christian teaching and Christian morality, and turned over to the sole guidance and control of such motives for righteousness as materialistic science and philosophy can present, we might be as despondent about the future as he is. But we do not anticipate any such “complete and tremendous” “collapse of religious belief.” On the contrary, we believe that there will still remain, as “the salt of the earth” and “the light of the world,” a great multitude of faithful ones, who will never bow their knees to this modern Baal, and that the presence and influence of these will preserve society from wholesale corruption, and save the state from moral and political anarchy and ruin. We believe, moreover, that the Church of Christ will live on in spite of the assaults of its enemies and the defection of its friends. The promise of its Divine Founder still stands, that “the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.” Indeed there are not wanting indications, that instead of being about to drop into its grave, Christianity is on the eve of the most remarkable victories that it has ever won.

**Atlantic Monthly*, Nov. 1879, p. 641.

If we read the statistical reports of the various Christian denominations, and see how rapidly nearly all of them are increasing in numbers and efficiency ; if we watch the reports of Sunday School work, and see what a vast army of children, numbering over seven millions in this country alone, are being trained up through this agency in the knowledge and love of the truths of the Bible and of Christianity ; if we study the paper on Foreign Missions read by Professor Christlieb before the last meeting of the World's Evangelical Alliance at Basle, and the encouraging reports of the last year's work which are coming up from the Foreign Mission fields in all parts of the world ; if we watch the progress of events in the political world, and see how, in every quarter of the globe, wars, and revolutions, and great social and political changes are continually working together to open the way for the Church of Christ to obey the command of its Head to go "into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature"—where is the evidence that Christianity has received its mortal wound, and is about to perish from the earth ? Does it not rather seem as if it was just coming to its full stature and vigor, and was destined to go on conquering and to conquer more rapidly and surely than ever, until it has taught all nations those two great truths which lie at the foundation of its pure morality, the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man ?

ARTICLE VII.

CONCERNING CERTAIN MISCONCEPTIONS IN INQUIRIES INTO
THE RELATION BETWEEN SCIENCE AND RÊLIGION.

By PROF. E. S. BREIDENBAUGH, M. A., Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg.

We are very liable to misconceive the opinions and conclusions of others. This is specially true concerning those lines of thought and work which are different from our own. In the same way we very often find ourselves blundering when we try to understand the methods, by which conclusions in the various departments of thought have been reached. To such misapprehensions is due much, if not the greater part, of the controversies which have arisen between the different schools of philosophy. This difficulty is specially serious when it is necessary, as is often the case, to have more or less intimate acquaintance with the data on which conclusions are founded and the methods by which data are investigated and studied. While the principles of analytical and synthetical procedure, are in general the same, yet the details are varied with every class of facts—to such an extent as to render the differences more conspicuous than the resemblances.

The reason for such misconceptions is apparent. One word expresses all—ignorance—ignorance of instruments and their uses. A blacksmith cannot direct a worker in gold, nor can a lumberman instruct the tiller of the soil. Yet these are all methods of manual labor. No less is there natural and necessary incapacity for the entomologist to direct the unraveling of the relations in the records on the Assyrian tablets; the psychologist is not trained to analyze the detailed working of the zöologist; the chemist cannot apply his schemes of analysis to the decision of a vexed question in Greek text.

One set of mental tools, as well as of manual, is usually adapted to one kind of work and to it only. True, we discern no difference in the several sets of hands, nor in the several sets

of mental apparatus, but the peculiar skill and intricacies of manipulation required for a special work, are results of careful training and persistent application directed to a definite end. However closely several kinds of work may resemble each other, few men, and they are giants, can successfully turn their attention to different labors.

I do not mean to say that a man of acumen and experience in one sort of study cannot understand the expressed conclusions of those who have labored in other directions; indeed sometimes such a man can apply conclusions to general subjects or other series of facts better than their originators, because untrammelled by the prejudice engendered by previously formed opinions. Yet very frequently this very condition prevents a reliable judgment, because of the unfamiliarity of the subjects under consideration.

When we explore an unfamiliar science we are like a traveler in a new land. Guide books, and yet more, personal directions, are necessary, else pitfalls and serious errors will cause mortification and distress, and possibly fatal mistakes. True, the skilled traveler sooner adapts himself to changed circumstances than the man who has stayed at home in the narrow district of his birth. So the man whose intellectual discernments have been sharpened by contact with the intricate problems of one study is better fitted to grapple with new studies and quickly to master them than the man whose mind has run to waste in intellectual indolence.

The illustration, however, by no means expresses the full difficulties which arise when the mind must examine new details and build anew with unfamiliar material. While man and his work are, in all their diversity, everywhere the same, the data of different sciences of the natural and the mental world at best run parallel; they more frequently diverge. This, in a somewhat less degree, is also true of the generalizations constructed from observations. The difficulty of achieving a right understanding of them is hardly lessened by the aphorism that truth is one, however many sided it may appear; for we can never see more than three sides of the cube, nor more than one side of the shield, at the same time.

Such difficulties in the pursuit of truth, and the neglect of the caution which such difficulties should teach, have led to the storm which some affectedly, and others in all honesty, term the conflict between Science and Religion. Men forget they are but human creatures subject to the Divine, as if the great God could bring into existence two irreconcilable truths.

Such errors as arise from forgetfulness of these difficulties are by no means confined to one class of disputants. The man who claims to speak for science, and he who would defend theology, both forget that to know all truth is to claim equality with God. They forget that in the brief compass of a lifetime more is learned that must be unlearned, than can safely be treasured as surely true. But happily such contests are initiated usually by the dillitanti, and are engaged in by real thinkers not for warfare, but for the healing of the contests, for the pointing out of the happy medium where truth sits enthroned.

When the athletes of science or giants of theology have endeavored each from their own premises to prove fundamental error in the opinions of the others, few laurels have been won. There have been cases where the skilled manipulator in the physical world has tried to prove that God's works disown Him, and that God's hand in revelation has written in ignorance of what the self-same power has wrought in the natural world. If it were not of serious moment for a man thus to deny his God, we would say Cervantes' knight made a safer tilt at his windmill than is this assault on God's word. To thus attempt to solve the mysteries of God's word by the gross instruments to whose use nature yields her secrets, is losing sight of the very character of the soul and its workings.

On the other hand, when the man of scientific learning suggests that his studies have led him to certain conclusions, which he embodies in a theory as to the methods through which results in nature have been reached, he does not hereby necessarily deny the existence of a Creator. The object of his inquiry is rather to show how God has effected results, not the power, but the manner in which the power has been exerted. He does not hereby desire to lessen the veneration in which such a Being must be held. He would detract nothing from the estimate

we would place on his power and wisdom. Yet many have interpreted such theories as exalting proposed means or methods into the dignity of first or originating causes.

It is not many decades since whoever held that a fossil, embedded in the rock of the mountain summit, represented the life of a former sea bottom, was interpreted as denying the Creator Himself. Yet to-day very few fail to see that through such changes in the relative position of land and sea, as are involved in this opinion, God has brought our earth into the condition which makes it so suitable a home for his creatures.

Men of all classes are liable to the weakness we have in mind, and with reference to all sides of the special question at issue. Some see in statements of science the wished-for arguments against the truths of divine revelation. Such wrest theories from their sphere of inquiry and investigation, clothe them with the positivism of facts and make them do an unfitting service in contending with truth. Some, again, are so fully persuaded that Scripture is designed to teach all truth and that they have the correct interpretation of the Scripture that they cannot admit they may have misunderstood the references to natural laws and see in every inquiry into the methods of nature a covert attack on Christianity. This zeal without knowledge is not profitable for godliness or for instruction. I select a few of the characteristic traits manifested in this spirit and the more apparent dangers that result from it.

With many men the less knowledge they have, the greater their confidence in the superior wisdom with which they have grasped the bearing of the provisional theories and conclusions used by men of science to express their knowledge of a series of facts. These wise men allow no modification to be suggested, can make no exception to their fiat knowledge. This is the spirit of direst ignorance or most superficial smattering. No one knows so well as the true investigator and learned summarizer of facts the limits by which his conclusions are circumscribed, the modifications which surround them and the many exceptions which must be made. For example, the theory of the former nebular condition of matter, while held

tentatively by really strong men in cosmical science, in the hands of puny pseudo-scientists demolishes the creative agency of God, or becomes to the ill-equipped defender of the faith a stumbling block of enormous dimensions.

The value of the Scotch verdict "Not Proven" is felt in scientific research, while no where else in human inquiry are facts so truly facts, yet the conclusions which would summarize and express our knowledge of a series of facts, are often very frail, from the many gaps which separate the different groups of phenomena. This is specially true in the sphere of biological study. This liability to error in judgment often gives to a proposed explanation of facts an appearance of antagonism when it is really a strong ally of a true theology. This mistake is made both by the friend and foe of religion. Voltaire and Cowper, both condemned the geological study of their day because of its bearing on Christian Theism, the infidel saw how fully the knowledge that was being wrested from the earth would support the Christian's idea of the Creator's wisdom and power, and he would have the investigation stopped, while the poet was horror-stricken when he sung of those who from the strata of the earth

"Extract a register, by which we learn,
That He who made it, and revealed its date
To Moses, was mistaken in its age."

In the same way many men have a firm conviction that the so-called theory of derivation of species from other different and preëxisting species furnishes a capital teleological argument, while others are just as sure that this would be using the devil's schemes by which to serve God; and others can only see that in admitting this theory to be true we deny the possible existence of a creator. This divergence of view grows, no doubt, out of the formerly universally received interpretation of divine scriptures, that all life-forms came into existence by distinct creative acts. The question of to-day is, Does the Bible teach this? If so we cannot reconcile the views held by many Christian men of the manner in which God's Spirit has moved in His universe. But if, as many good men think is the case, there may be a possible mistake in the interpretation given in the light of older science, would it not be well to call a halt on the part of those

who denounce the evolutionists as in league with evil and untruth? This leads to a reference to another characteristic of the error of misconception, namely, the tendency to attribute to a class the views of only a few individuals. The same theory of evolution just referred to serves as an example: because certain men—and these mostly of inferior position in or more largely outside of the class of scientific students—consider the theory as conclusive evidence against the truth of divine creation, therefore the whole class of believers in the theory are destroyers of faith and promulgate error. If we admit this method of argument, what would become of literature, of art, of music, of psychology? They are debased to ignoble uses and made to serve the same evil ends. We must be careful to distinguish between men, and to distinctly state that which we oppose. There is one phrase often used in connection with the mistake just adverted to—when error is condemned as “science, falsely so called.” Who falsely gives to it the designation of knowledge—the speaker or those he condemns? Is it not much more frequently the speaker, who astonishes the man of science by the wonderfully wild and to him undreamed of interpretations which are given to his theories? The falseness is twofold, first, in misunderstanding the theories condemned and in the second place, in foisting on to them tendencies and applications, not recognized by students of science.

Over and over again I have heard it argued: the scientific man goes out of his sphere to attack theology and religion; we must meet him; we must defend religion; we must acquaint our people with the fallacies and untruths which are thus brought to them. All true and justifiable, but how often the very point at issue is misunderstood. The man of science goes out of his sphere of investigation and the theologian out of his, both are in unfamiliar surroundings, and they rarely meet. It is more like a contest between two men on a dark night, when they stand back to back and manfully thrust the empty air. If a contest is called for, he who takes his familiar weapons, has the victory already assured. Souls are saved, men are persuaded to embrace the truth by the preaching of Christ, not by diluted science, or by attacks on supposed errors with which an audi-

ence is unacquainted, and about which but very few concern themselves. This leads to another characteristic of misconception, the lack of definitive statement. In many cases argument would be found unnecessary were care taken in the first place to have a correct definition of terms used. Owing to this neglect men entirely misconceive the department to which a line of inquiry belongs. They have a dim conception of the truth expressed in the theory of the correlation of forces, and seem to think that the discoveries in one science must necessarily and directly permeate and in a manner at once apparent affect the whole realm of knowledge. There is no doubt of this interdependence and relation, but it is not found on superficial inquiry, and is often very elusive to search. If such mistakes were not made it would not have happened that opposer and defender of religion would alike see in protoplasm (one of the greatest discoveries in recent physiological inquiry) the destroyer of belief in creative intelligence, that the beginnings of life were to be determined by the chemist's balance and the matter of life by the analysis of the potash bulbs. Out of this same error grows the tendency some men have of attributing improper motives; one class claiming that there is shown by others a desire to destroy religious teachings; while a retort is made by a hue and cry against those who would stifle free science. Both are equally right, but both are to a far greater extent wrong. While the desire for repression of science and for the overthrow of religious belief animates some men, the far larger class desire the welfare of both, and if charged with harboring any other opinion, there is an evident misunderstanding. I can illustrate the necessity of this precaution to use definition by no better case than a reference to the term *evolution*, used to include the idea of a creator or to deny it; to include the idea of origination in the beginning by a creation with no after oversight by the creator or to signify the manner in which new forms of life originate under the control of a creator after natural methods; to include no special creations or to admit their necessity under special occasions; to affirm or deny the fact of spontaneous generation; to consider such origination of matter to have been confined to the beginning of life, or to consider it

still operative. Such are a few of the views of the general significance of the term, while as to the influence operative in producing new life forms, the diversity of opinion is manifold. Each of the many principal schools while agreeing as to the main fact of the origination of new species by derivation from others, differ as to the manner in which natural causes have been potential, some laying stress on environment, others on constitutional tendency to change, others on the principle of natural selection, others on stability of form, and others on variability of forms. We might illustrate the point by many other subjects of frequent dispute, in both pure science and theology or in the border land between, where they are liable to natural or enforced contact. This one case is sufficient to show the necessity of first knowing of what we propose speaking. A clear definition is half an argument. Just here, however, another error seems most attractive to some men. Because there is a contest, possibly warmly waged, as to the manner in which a certain principle is operative, therefore the principle is false, as biologists may not dispute the derivation of species from species, but the manner in which the derivation may have been operative. If such an objection be allowed the weight claimed for it, it would not only cause the utmost confusion in every human science,—but would compel disbelief in the Trinity—in the presence of Christ Jesus in the Eucharist, in the resurrection. We must keep well in mind the distinction between the occurrence of phenomena and the manner of the occurrence as subject matters of dispute.

This class of misconceptions depends on and grows out of a much more serious and comprehensive error. It is grounded on a misapprehension of the real nature of theories and hypotheses, which are opinions, prejudices, thoughts, fancies, suppositions as to the relations existing between observed phenomena. Some are very transparently fallacious; like that of the fisherman who traced the occurrence of the great storms which swept the coast for several years to the erection during the previous year of the lighthouse on the rocky promontory, at the mouth of the harbor. Theories are glimpses into relations, which subsequent study of old or the discovery of new phenomena may

show to be mistakes. Theories are trial expressions of formulæ for the study of facts to be tested by experiment. They are tentative expressions of our knowledge for working purposes. They are more or less assumptions for convenience, and liable to constant changes. But this does not lessen their value. That most exact science, mathematics, has only become such from sifting by untiring perseverance and skill during many centuries, by careful workers of the applicability of proposed formulæ and theories to the facts in the realm of numerical relation—and the work is not done. Every year formulæ relied on as true have been proven fallacious. The sciences of psychology, philology, astronomy, chemistry, and all other directions of human inquiry furnish abundant illustrations. The science of chemistry and in a less degree that of physics depend on the atomic theory, which, from present knowledge, cannot be proven to be incorrect, nor any more can it be demonstrated, yet it has served a noble purpose in the development of material resources.

The real teaching of this view of theories and diversity of view as to the manner in which causes are operative, is not to induce skepticism and indifference and general denial, but caution as to the interpretation given to and the bearing placed on theories.

The value of authority is also a cause of misconception. While there is nothing new under the sun, there are, in the shifting of affairs, new combinations turning up and new relations rendered apparent, which increase the sum total of human knowledge. While the utmost deference should be paid to those men who have impressed their thought, through the past; on the present, we must remember that the world has advanced. Honesty and acumen and sobriety of mind and vigor of judgment have not lessened, and narrowness of vision may have led to mistaken opinions. Hence while an opinion must not be rejected because it is old, neither must it be held simply because it is old, but because it is more reasonable and fuller light has not rendered it a less complete interpreter of facts. Hence also the authority borne by any opinion depends not only on the honesty and mental acumen of its originator and promulgators,

but also on the breadth of knowledge on which it is based. While novelty should by no means be a passport to credence, it should engage careful inquiry or suspense of judgment till competent inquirers have expressed judgment, and a difference in judgment should increase caution—keeping in mind that we consider honesty and absence of unsuspected prejudice as of paramount importance. Leading from this error is that of prejudice due to preconceived opinions, often rendering one unwilling to seriously consider a subject from new points of view; the counterpart of which is the desire of certain ones to be considered in the front rank of advanced thought. Both classes forget that it is neither belief nor denial that marks the thoughtful, but the reasons rendered, the evidences of comprehensive study. As no one man can grasp the lines of thought and methods of work sufficiently well to decide as to the value of the conclusions presented from time to time in different fields of inquiry, we find that a careful conservatism is the only safeguard against being led into the error of spending strength in fighting against the inevitable, or contending against a foe of our own imagining. This is not indifferentism nor lethargy, for it is a trait of a mind in the fullest sense alert to all advance in thought and progress in knowledge. With a mind open to conviction, there is a readiness to change views, but an unwillingness to do so unless fairly convinced.

In the consideration of the relations which exist between science and religion, there is no guidance so safe as that which results from conservative Christian orthodoxy. This spirit holds firmly to conclusions which have been obtained after careful consideration. It does not, however, endeavor to trammel with excessive restrictions the inquiries which may arise in reference to the character of its opinions. It antagonizes the spirit which often is so prevalent, of straining for striking effects—the tension and straining, and running to the very limit of extremes, so noticeable in the Carlylean and Emersonian lines of thought. This very tendency is a feature of many pulpits. It leads men unconsciously to give such statements of the views of others, whom they are pleased to call antagonists, as the intelligent observer knows to be incorrect. Possessed of this spirit of conser-

vatism, a man will be cautious before he attempts to characterize the teachings of others—he will guard against mistaking or perverting the meaning intended by others. Such a spirit does not correspond with the use of denunciatory epithets nor with that careless classification which places believers in religion with those who deny its personal obligation, merely because both classes hold the same opinions in reference to some series of facts, which some pervert to an unholy use. Neither does it comport with such a spirit to assert that, because certain classes of opinions have in part a coincidence, the similarity holds throughout, and that as one teaches disbelief, so must the other. If possessed by this spirit of Christian conservatism a man will discriminate between the scientific opinions of men and the use made of these opinions. This worthy spirit never loses confidence in the stability and certainty of that which engages its strongest affection, and will resist an attack made on its faith, but will not in defence or attack, confound with opponents the men whose opinions have been *wrested* from the scope of natural science and made to do service for those who would undermine a faith in religion. For we must remember it is as wrong to debase the pulpit, or the cause there proclaimed, by an attack on science in general or on certain theories of some department of science, as it is for men to attempt to use conclusions of science against the revelation made by the God of science.

It is apparent that while God is everywhere and is the creative and preservative cause of all, He has not revealed His methods of work in the material universe in any written word, but has given man such powers of mental perception as enable him to understand, as far as needful, the operation of the laws imposed on matter. On the other hand, he has nowhere written His spiritual teachings on plant or rock, or protoplasm or chemical reaction, but only in the Holy Scriptures.

I have no sympathy with those who claim that Christianity has served as the enemy of progress and the prosecution of investigation into the physical universe. Nowhere else has there been found so kind a parent to the arts and sciences, as orthodox Christianity. To think otherwise is as if we would declare

the harmful character of the pure air through whose influences blood and muscle and nerve are vitalized. As, however, air may be polluted, so some few, under the guise of defending Christianity, have attempted to check free inquiry into the methods found in nature. Such instances are rare. While Christianity has thus fostered natural science, she has not proven ungrateful; her votaries number no smaller proportion of earnest, pure-hearted Christian men than do the students of history, mental science, literature, language. Her treasures have been willingly rendered up to the service of Him to whose wisdom all her wonders are due. As here and there is found an ungrateful child, so some whose eyes have been blinded to the real character of the great facts they have unfolded, can see no great truths in Christianity and have prostituted their talents in attempts to destroy faith and to belittle the Father who has so wisely ordered the universe.

I would state that I have drawn my illustrations so frequently from the controverted subject of the evolutionary hypothesis, because it is most frequently in mind when we think of the relation of science to religion, yet greater differences in position are found in materialistic views and in certain phases of psychological study and mental physiology. In the consideration of which the above remarks are also applicable.

ARTICLE VIII.

SPENER AND HIS TIMES.

By R. WEISER, D. D., Georgetown, Colorado.

Life Pictures of Spener and His Times. PHILIP JACOB SPENER: A Historical Picture. Translated from the German of Dr. A. Wildenhahn, by Rev. G. A. Wenzel, A. M. Edited by J. K. Shryock, A. M., Editor of the "Fatherland Series." With an Introduction to the Works of Dr. Wildenhahn, by C. P. Krauth, D. D., LL. D. Philadelphia: J. Fred. Smith, Publisher, 914 Filbert St. 1879.

The publication of this work in an English dress, may be looked upon as a new departure from the ordinary routine of our theological literature. The only thing at all resembling it is the "Schönberg Cotta Family," which a few years ago attracted so much attention among religious readers. But the popularity of those finely written books was of short duration with the English public. This "Life Picture of Spener" has all the fascinating charm of a novel, and yet it professes to give us the thoughts, actions and feelings of one of the most distinguished preachers of the Lutheran Church of the seventeenth century. It is true Spener was an extensive writer, and Wildenhahn could easily get his (Spener's) views from the many pamphlets, sermons and books he had published before his death in 1705. Dr. Wildenhahn has no doubt done full justice to the memory of this good man, for he seems to be in full sympathy with his theological views. But we are not as much in love with Wildenhahn's method of exhibiting the piety and firmness of Spener as Dr. Krauth seems to be. Dr. Krauth says: "No path in our best religious literature could be more completely unbeaten, and more delightful and profitable to traverse, than that which a translation of Wildenhahn's works will open to the English reader. Few books can give so much sure profit, both intellectual and religious, with so much elevated enjoyment." This method of presenting the facts of history, by mixing truth with fiction, may suit the German mind and heart,

but it may be considered doubtful whether it will ever captivate the English readers in this country. Although everything in the book which relates directly to Spener we may approve, yet there are many things in it, the utility and point of which we cannot fully appreciate. There is too much fiction, and much of it is too far-fetched and irrelevant. The scene of this historical romance is laid in the city of Dresden about 1685 or 1687, about two hundred years ago. The *dramatis personæ* are John George III., Elector of Saxony, Dr. Spener, Rev. Mr. Gerber, a pious preacher, Baron von Seckendorf, Candidate Nullenbrecher, Herr von Longendorf, Peterman, an old schoolmaster, Guldenmyer, the goldsmith, H. A. Francke, Elizabeth, the daughter of Guldenmyer, and his adopted son George; these, with a few others, who are occasionally brought on the stage, compose the chief actors in this historical drama.

The most amusing character is the Candidate Nullenbrecher; he is a pedant of the first water, and might figure conspicuously on the pages of Washington Irving or Charles Dickens. He quotes Latin, and Greek, and even Hebrew, on all occasions, in season and out of season. He even makes love in Greek to Elizabeth Guldenmyer, who was an uneducated simple girl. The object of Wildenhahn in giving this pedant so prominent a place on these pages was no doubt to show us the true character of a young Lutheran preacher of that day as he came fresh from the University of Leipsic, where Carpzov the great enemy of Spener, was the principal theological teacher at that time. It is a good hit. Love, courtship and marriage occupy a considerable portion of the book. We do not admire Dr. Wildenhahn's plots; they are too German, too wild and extravagant for our taste. They are too unnatural for English readers. Still the confirmed novel readers may enjoy such a tissue of unnatural incidents. But what such wild and improbable stories have to do with the life of a pious and learned minister of Christ we cannot understand. But we will pass by these fictitious episodes and attend to Spener and his labors, and trials and triumphs, as presented in this work and elsewhere. Every Lutheran, and especially every General Synod Lutheran, ought to be acquainted with the man who, under God, laid the founda-

tion of that system of religion which is recognized and cherished by that branch of the Church known as the General Synod Lutherans. This great and good man, Philip Jacob Spener, was born at Rappolsweiler, in Upper Alsace, January 25, 1635. After studying Latin and Greek at Colmar, he went to Strasburg, in 1651, to study at the University; and it was most fortunate that Dannhauer, and Sebastian Schmidt were then the principal theological professors of that famous institution. These pious divines had escaped the contagion of rigid Lutheranism; and, as they did not live in Saxony, they also escaped the persecutions that fell upon many pious Saxon preachers. Spener imbibed the spirit of these holy men; they shaped and moulded his character. After he left the University of Strasburg in 1659, he spent the next four years in visiting the most famous Universities in Europe. He spent some time at Basel, then went to Tübingen, then to Freiburg, then to Geneva, and lastly to Lyons in France. No man of his age had a better opportunity to become acquainted with men and scholars than he. His object, in visiting so many institutions, was to become fully acquainted with the different modes of teaching. His earliest intentions seem to have been to become a professor. Hence as soon as he felt himself able to contend for the doctorate he did so, and received it from the University of Leipsic. But God had another work for him to do. His forte was in the pulpit, and there he must remain. He was first called to a church in Strasburg, where he labored with marked success. In 1665 he was called to Frankfurt, and this city was the scene of his most successful labors. Here the people became powerfully awakened under his preaching. It was in this city that Spener preached that famous sermon on the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees which threw the whole community into a terrible excitement. Perhaps no sermon from the mouth of a mortal man ever produced such an effect. Dr. Tholuck says the whole city was moved; forty thousand souls were awakened; men and women ran through the streets wringing their hands, and smiting their hearts and crying out, "What must we do to be saved?" Mr. Wildenhahn has given Spener's account of this wonderful sermon on page 219. "Do you know

that I owe to the interpretation of this passage one of the most blessed reminiscences of my life? You are aware that this verse (the righteousness of the Pharisees) is part of the Gospel for the sixth Sunday after Trinity. So it happened that in 1669, the third year of my ministry in Frankfurt, I preached on this text, taking for my theme 'the false righteousness of the Pharisees, and the true righteousness of the children of God.' The power of God was upon me, as I described the false righteousness of the Pharisees; and, whilst I was speaking on the works of righteousness, my own inner man became so enlightened, that I perceived with horror that my own righteousness was but little better than that of the Pharisees. And I felt constrained to cast down my eyes; I thought every one was reading in my countenance what was passing in my mind. Never have I felt more deeply how unworthy I am to be a servant of Jesus Christ." It was in such a frame of mind that this great sermon was preached. But Spener was too modest even to intimate how great was the effect of that sermon!

The interest awakened by his preaching among the people of Frankfurt demanded measures different from those commonly in use in the Lutheran Church; hence, as a pastor who felt a deep interest in the salvation of his people, he instituted experience meetings which were called "*Collegia Pietatis*," *i. e.* Conferences of Piety. Francke afterwards called them, "*Colloquia Philobiblica*," Bible conferences, because the most of his hearers were students. Wildenhahn calls the experience meetings which Spener held at Dresden, "*Examina*," because in those meetings the people were examined as to their interest in Christ. These meetings seem to have been something like our well conducted inquiry meetings. These measures gave great offense to most of the preachers of that day. But Spener was not the man to be diverted from his work. Books and pamphlets without number were written against him. One learned Professor (Deutschmann) found no less than 264 heresies in one of Spener's books, perhaps his "*Pia Desideria*." In 1679 he wrote an introduction to Arndt's Works, which gave great offense to the cold and lifeless leaders of the Church and made him many bitter enemies. In order to understand the position

of Dr. Spener, it will be necessary to look at the condition of the Lutheran Church when he entered upon the stage of action. About half a century before he was born, (1580), the Form of Concord had been adopted by a large part of the Church. After the death of Luther, (1546) the leadership of the Church very naturally devolved on Melanchthon. But his leadership was not satisfactory to a large part of the clergy ; he was too mild and conciliatory to suit those sturdy old Lutherans. They accused him of vacillating and being too lenient and tender towards all who differed from the Lutherans. Still, as long as he lived he retained his high position, but soon after his death (1560) his enemies succeeded in destroying his influence. He was accused of being the originator of the "Crypto-Calvinistic Heresy." The friends of Melanchthon stood by their great master as long as they could. But in 1580 the civil rulers of Saxony, Brandenburg and Brunswick succeeded in foisting the Form of Concord upon the Church. It is indeed true that some 8,000 Lutheran preachers endorsed this document, but it must be borne in mind that their bread and butter depended upon it. It was the wish of their rulers that they should endorse it. But it was not endorsed by the Church in Denmark, nor Sweden, nor Holstein, nor in Livonia, nor in Hungary, nor in Pomerania, nor in Hesse-Darmstadt ; and many Free Cities also rejected it. It was intended to produce harmony in the Church, but it seems to have had a contrary effect. In 1579, there were only a few Reformed Churches in Germany. The Form of Concord was adopted in 1580. As one result of this measure, in 1584 there were over 2,000 German Reformed Churches in Germany.

But, to pass on to the state of the Church from 1580 to 1650. This was the age of controversy in the Church. In the whirlpool of angry polemics the Church seems to have lost sight of the object of her mission. There were pious and faithful men all along, but they had no leader. Arndt was a holy man, but too timorous to be a Reformer. Many saw the deplorable state into which symbolism and controversy had plunged the Church, but no one had the courage to attack this great evil. The Bible was thrust aside to make room for the Symbolical Books.

Exegetical lectures were not given in a single University of Germany. Experimental piety was ignored, and irreligious men stood the best chances for good positions in the pastoral work. Spener states, (and no man in Germany knew more about the state of things there), that it was usual for students to spend five or six years in the Universities without hearing or caring to hear a word about the Bible. Carpzov and Olearius attempted to read lectures on some parts of the Bible, but they met with such poor encouragement that they soon gave it up. In place of God's Word the Symbols of the Church were studied with great diligence and care, and the least deviation from them was branded as heresy, as if they were given by inspiration from God. Spener's motto was, "*In scripturis theologus nascitur.*" He contended that the Lutheran Church had fallen away from the true faith since the days of Luther and Melancthon, not so much in theory as in practice. With the Confessions of the Church he seems to have been satisfied, he carried on no war against them. He considered the men who had made these Symbols good and holy men, and used to say that these Confessions were made when the Church was yet in her original purity. But it appears that in that finical and hair-splitting age, there were two ways of receiving the Symbols of the Church. The one was called the *quia* way, the other *quatenus*. The first was used thus: I believe in the Symbolical Books (*quia*) because they teach what is in the Bible. The second: I believe in the Symbolical Books (*quatenus*) in as far as they agree with the teaching of the Bible.

On page 138-9 Dr. Wildenhahn gives us Spener's views on the Symbolical Books of the Church. On a certain occasion the Elector John George III. sent for Spener to talk with him about his orthodoxy, as the enemies of Spener had reported to his Electoral Highness that his court-preacher was not sound in the faith. The Elector said, "I am most concerned to know in what estimation you hold the Symbolical Books of our Church." Spener replied: "Most frankly will I answer your question. To me the Bible is the only Book which contains direct divine Revelations given through the agency of the Holy Spirit. Such a *theopneustic* (as theologians call it) I can however not allow to

be ascribed to the Symbolical Books, nor can I regard them as of such indispensable necessity that the Church could not have existed without them. Just as little can I regard the Symbolical Books as universally binding, only in so far (*quatenus*) as they are in agreement with the Holy Scriptures." With astonishment the Elector exclaimed: "Then you belong to those who are more in favor of the *quatenus* than the *quia*." To this Spener replied, among other things: He who would not violate his conscience cannot possibly consent to an unconditional and absolute subscription of the Symbolical Books. And in this sense your Highness may regard my opinion. I myself, "says Spener," do not hesitate to subscribe to the Symbolical Books with the *quia*, because I have convinced myself that the teachers of our Church who composed these writings were far from intending to lay the conscience under constraint. Besides, our Reformers have complained against the Papists for attempting to bind the conscience to the decisions of men. Furthermore, our Church nowhere declares that she considers the Symbolical Books fully equal to the Holy Scriptures, or that she looks upon them as infallible. From this it follows that I have no right to regard as errorists, and exclude from the Communion of our Church, all such as hold to our doctrines, but who yet scruple to bind themselves to all things in the Symbolical Books." These were very nice distinctions, and show that Spener had correct views on this subject.

It cannot but be a matter of astonishment that Spener who lived two hundred years ago should have had such clear views of the great ethical questions that are still in an unsettled state in our own age. The Elector was a man of war, and seems to have had more pleasure on the battle-field than in his cabinet. One day he asked Spener this question: "Well, Doctor, what are your views on the subject of war." To this Spener replied: "I am a servant of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, which proclaims peace to all men. I, therefore, cannot be a panegyrist of war. War is often unavoidable. As long as the kingdoms in this world do not constitute the one true kingdom of God on earth, the sword of justice will have to govern instead of the word of love. The Prince becomes great through the wisdom and

courage with which he wards off and overcomes the dangers that threaten him. With the Christian it is not so, for the Christian becomes great through his weakness" This was bold talk with a Prince who delighted in war. This boldness, or rather independence of Spener was no doubt one of the reasons why the Elector did not like him. Next the Elector asked him what his views were about dancing and the theatre. Spener knew that there was to be a ball that very night at the Electoral Palace. He dare not offend the Elector, and yet he must maintain his character as a faithful minister of Christ. He therefore replied: "It would be wrong if Christians were to regard all innocent amusement as sinful. But the mistake lies in the fact, that there is scarcely an innocent amusement which does not at the same time awaken impure thoughts and feelings. Dancing and theatrical performances are in themselves harmless things. Yet, when we reflect how the preparation for such things enslaves the heart and mind, days and even months before; so that during all this time, the pleasure in the word of God must utterly give way to the lust of the world; when we reflect how even the enjoyment of these pleasures almost always transcends the limits of a pure, innocent cheerfulness of heart, and how at such times only sensual and impure thoughts take possession of the human breast: when we reflect, further, how afterwards the remembrance of these pleasures occupies heart, mind and sense so exclusively that godliness can find no entrance, and that thus weeks, and months pass by during which men do not think about their heavenly calling, nor about repentance and amendment; and, in addition to all this, call to mind the declaration of Scripture, 'that we shall give an account for every unprofitable word;' we might well hesitate in regarding such amusements as harmless and indifferent." This had such an effect upon the Elector's mind that he ordered one of his courtiers to inform the court that there should be no dancing that night, as had been announced. Thus Spener had carried his point. As stated before, the difference between Spener and the men who opposed him, was not so great in theory as in practice. So far as the mere theory was concerned

the Symbolical Books were sound. The great doctrine of justification by faith in Christ, without any merits of our own, was clearly taught. On the Holy Sacraments, too, Spener looked upon the Symbolical Books as sound and Biblical. Nor was there any controversy between him and his enemies as to the true meaning of the Confessions of the Church. But, whilst the leading doctors of the Church spent all their energies in defending the mere orthodoxy of the Church, Spener insisted upon it that the great object of the Church was not only to maintain the true doctrines of the Bible, but to promote holiness of heart and life, among the preachers and the people. With the great majority of the preachers of that day, practical religious experience was altogether ignored. The man who professed conversion, or acknowledged anything like the operations of the Holy Spirit upon his mind and heart, was looked upon as a fanatic or an ignoramus, or at best a hypocrite! Spener taught that no man could understand the true import of the Scriptures without the enlightening and sanctifying influence of the Holy Spirit on his heart. In other words, that the doctrines of the Bible must be felt in order to be fully understood. He believed in emotional religion, and that no one could be a true Christian without knowing and feeling it. This is the point aimed at by Dr. S. Sprecher in his "Ground Work of Theology," and he is right, and is in full harmony with Spener and Francke. His theology is one of the legitimate fruits of the Pietism of Halle. The revival system of England and America has grown directly out of this system. Richard Baxter and John Wesley preached in their day a living Christianity in England, Spener and Francke in their day did the same thing in Germany. They preached the same Gospel and with the same results. Sinners under their faithful preaching everywhere became awakened, and in the anguish of their souls inquired, "what must we do to be saved." They had but one answer to give, and that was, "believe on the Lord Jesus, and ye shall be saved." True religion is one and the same, the world over. The "Reformed Pastor" of Baxter, and the "Pia Dèsideria" of Spener are very much alike. The sermons of John Wesley on experimental religion, are similar in scope and unc-

tion to those of Francke. They have the same spirit, and the same zeal for Christ's Spiritual Kingdom. They were all holy servants of Christ, and although they were all branded by their contemporaries as visionary and unbalanced fanatics. Yet they were sound and solid theologians, and the influence of their labors is felt to-day throughout the world in all our Protestant Churches, and will be felt to the end of time. The Church has great reason to thank the Lord that He raised up and sent forth such efficient and faithful laborers into His vineyard. For, whatever men may think or say about this Spenerian and Wesleyan system of Religion, it is in full harmony with the teachings of Jesus Christ and his Apostles, and is destined ultimately to prevail over all other systems. John Wesley was called "The Bell Wether of a Deluded Flock," and was often abused and insulted at his meetings. Spener was dismissed from Dresden by a wicked Elector, who refused to attend his preaching. Baxter was cast into prison, and was heavily fined under the Conventicle Act. Francke was prosecuted at Leipsic for importing heretical books, which on being examined turned out to be New Testaments. These men were all Reformers in their day. And there were no other men in the seventeenth century who exerted a more powerful and lasting influence upon the spiritual interests of Christ's Kingdom than they. The conversion of these godly men was remarkable and very similar. Spener was overshadowed with the "power of God," as he tells us in 1669 while preaching his great sermon in Frankfurt on the righteousness of the Pharisees. John Wesley was converted one night in Aldersgate street in London, whilst one of the German Brethren (Moravians) was reading Luther's Preface to the Romans. He says: "He felt a strange warming about his heart." This was all—he saw no vision, was not transported with any special ecstasy—it was only a strange, (unusual) warming about his heart. Richard Baxter was converted on a sick bed, and had no beatific visions. Francke was converted while preaching a sermon on faith, and was more fully resigned to God's will one evening in the garden of the Orphan House at Halle. Forty years afterwards he said: "The Lord opened a fountain in my heart on that evening that

has flowed on from that hour." And, as these holy men lived, so they died in the Lord; they all left a bright testimony of the faithfulness of their Lord and Master to his servants.

One word more about Spener. Wildenhahn represents him as very amiable and mild, and even timorous, but when duty and truth required it he was firm and unshaken. Nothing could deter him from doing what he considered his duty. Thus, when the Elector found himself hampered and annoyed by the presence (in Dresden) of his faithful confessor, he sent one of his courtiers to him to inform him that it was the wish of the Elector that he (Spener) should go to Berlin. It is well known that the wish of a Prince with reference to a subject, is looked upon as a command. One of the counselors of the Elector came to Spener and said to him: "Reverend Doctor, I have been commissioned by his Electoral Highness to induce you voluntarily to resign your office." Spener then replied: "This I cannot do. *This is the Lord's business, I must and will remain here until God Himself calls me away, or until I am driven away.*" This was almost equal to the more than Spartan heroism of Luther's celebrated "Hier stehe Ich; Ich kann nicht anders, Gott helfe mir." Christ has always raised up men in His Church to meet the demands of the times. In 1689 Herman A. Francke, who was then a lecturer at Leipsic, paid Spener a visit. The conversation between these holy men is exceedingly interesting and instructive, especially to ministers of the Gospel. Francke, it would seem, was then on his way to Leipsic. He opened his future plans to Spener. I am glad, says Spener, you are going to Leipsic; for there a man like you is greatly needed. Go boldly; the Lord will be with you. Where Carpzov keeps watch upon Zion you will not remain unmolested; and, like myself, you will find by sad experience that the successful labors of the faithful minister of the Gospel are most violently opposed by his own brethren. This was poor encouragement for a young preacher. Their conversation was all about the lamentable state of the Church, and what could be done to reform the errors and abuses that prevailed among the preachers and the people. Soon after, Spener received a call from the Elector of Brandenburg to become court preacher at

Berlin, which he accepted, and in the Spring of 1691, in the 57th year of his age he removed with his family to the capital of Brandenburg. Although Spener was one of the most eloquent and effective preachers in the Lutheran, or any other Church, and although he was humble and modest almost to a fault, and very conciliatory and mild, yet when truth required it he was as firm as a rock. Nothing could divert him from the path of duty. He became a reformer in the Church in spite of himself. For rebuking the personal vices of the Elector of Saxony he was dismissed as court preacher. For preaching against the errors he found in the Church he was abused, maligned and persecuted by the leading professors and preachers of the Church, and at last was driven by his enemies to the very place where he accomplished more for the reformation or rather regeneration of the Church than he could have done anywhere else. The Elector of Brandenburg was a different man from John George III. of Saxony; he feared God, and co-operated in promoting the cause of true piety with his pious chaplain. Through the influence of Spener, Frederick III. in 1694 founded the University of Halle. Spener had the appointing of the first professors of this new institution. He appointed H. A. Francke, Dr. Breithaupt and Rev. M. Anton. And through the influence of this University the Lutheran Church received a new impulse. Biblical theology is now taught in all Lutheran Theological Seminaries in the world. At the death of Francke, (1727), the University of Halle was one of the largest in Germany. (it had 2,200 students), and its preachers were scattered all over Germany, and were more in demand (on account of their piety) than those of any other school. Mighty influences have gone out from that institution; their effect is felt through the whole world. The very first missionaries of modern times were educated there. The first Bible Society in the world was formed there. The Cannstein Bible Society has published millions of Bibles. The first Church Publication House was instituted at Halle, and may be looked upon as the parent of the English and American Tract Societies, and of all the Boards of Publication in Europe and America. The first Lutheran preachers in this country were students of this University.

All this was the result of the prayers and labors of Dr. Spener. He started a work that will never die, and his name and memory will be honored and revered amid the splendors of the millennial glory. We of the Lutheran Church in this country are the followers of Spener and Francke, and have reason to thank God that these holy men ever lived. Our General Synod is the legitimate offspring of the Pietistic or Spenerian branch of the Lutheran Church.

The works of Spener are voluminous and consist of the following, viz.: 1, *Pia Desideria*—or Pious Desires of the Church for a Purer and more Holy Ministry—something like Baxter's Reformed Pastor, published some 20 years before; 2, *The Spiritual Priesthood*; 3, *Spiritual Funeral Sermons*, in 13 vols.; 4, *The Necessity of Practical Christianity*; 5, *Lamentations over a fallen Christianity*; 6, *System of Evangelical Doctrine*; 7, *Theological Reflections* (*Bedenken*); 8, *Sermons on Luther's Catechism*; and a large number of pamphlets and separate sermons.

We have only yet to add that this book is gotten up in good shape and style. The translation however is too literal and the German construction is too often visible in the English. This work, we understand, is to be followed by Wildenhahn's "Life Pictures" of A. H. Francke and Paul Gerhardt. Whether this way of presenting the lives of our great Lutheran preachers will be acceptable to our English readers will soon manifest itself in the demand for this kind of literature. The only way for the members of our Church to learn the character of this book fully is to procure it and read it. We have as a Church a rich treasure in the labors and lives of our learned and pious Fathers, and it is to be regretted that the English reading Lutherans of this country cannot have more of them translated into the language they can read. There is no Protestant Church in the world that has so many biographies of good and pious men in German as ours. Let us have more of them in English, they will do our people good. Get the book and judge for yourselves how you will like such a mixture of truth and fiction.

ARTICLE IX.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL.—*Bible Principles*, illustrated by Bible Characters, by Rev. W. Patton, D. D.; *The Acta Pilati*, important Testimony of Pontius Pilate, recently discovered, being his official report to the Emperor Tiberius concerning the crucifixion of Christ, ed. by Rev. G. Sluter; *The Logic of the Christian Evidences*, by G. Frederick Wright; *The Bible Commentary* (Speaker's), by Bishops and other Clergy of the Anglican Church, edited by F. C. Cook, M. A., Canon of Exeter, New Testament, Vol. II., St. John and the Acts of the Apostles; *Life Thoughts for Young Men*, by M. Rhodes, D. D.; *Natural Science and Religion*, two Lectures delivered before the Theological School of Yale College, by Asa Gray; *Faith and Character*, by Marvin R. Vincent, D. D., Pastor of the "Church of the Covenant," New York.

SCIENTIFIC AND PHILOSOPHICAL.—*The Chemistry of Common Life*, by the late Prof. Jas. F. W. Johnston, new edition, revised and enlarged and brought down to the present time, by A. H. Church, M. A.; *The Emotions*, by Jas. McCosh, D. D.; *Mind in the Lower Animals* in Health and Disease, by W. Lauder Lindsay, M. D.; *The Crayfish*, Introduction to the Study of Zoölogy, (International Science Series), by T. H. Huxley; *Ceremonial Institutions*, Part IV. of "The Principles of Sociology," by Herbert Spencer.

HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL.—*Hawthorne*, by H. James (English Men of Letters, ed. by I. Morley); *Memoirs, 1773-1815*, edited by Prince R. Metternich, the papers classified and arranged by M. A. de Klinkowström, translated by Mrs. Alex. Napier, 2 vols.; *Origin of the Homeric Poems*, by Dr. Herman Boritz, a Lecture from the 4th German edition, by Lewis R. Packard; *The Nineteenth Century*, a history, by Rob. Mackenzie; *Memoirs of Madame De Rémusat, 1802-1808*, with Preface and Notes by her grandson, Paul de Remat, Senator, from the French by Mrs. Cashel, Hoey and J. Lillie, Vols. II. and III.; *Life of Alexander Duff, D. D.*, by G. Smith, with Introduction by W. M. Taylor, D. D.; *William Lloyd Garrison and His Times*, or Sketches of the Anti-Slavery Movement in America, and of the man who was its founder, with Introduction by J. G. Whittier.

MISCELLANEOUS.—*Communism and Socialism*, in their History and Theory, a Sketch, by Theo. D. Woolsey.

GERMAN.

BIBLICAL.—In a volume of 336 pp., Rev. A. Caspars discusses exegetically the New Testament view of *Baptism*. The author writes from the Lutheran standpoint.

H. W. J. Thiersch is the author of a volume on *The Sermon on the Mount and its Significance for the Present*. 108 pp. The exegesis is of a popular rather than learned character.

The First Epistle of John, by Richard Rothe. 220 pp. This is a posthumous work of the celebrated Heidelberg Professor, who is best known through his work on Ethics. This volume consists of lectures delivered in the Seminary at Wittenberg, and is edited by Dr. Mülhäuser.

Rev. E. Kratzenstein is the author of a popular exposition of the *Book of Revelation*. 340 pp.

Prof. J. C. K. von Hofmann, of Erlangen University, had been engaged for many years in preparing a Commentary on the New Testament, when death interrupted his work. A posthumous volume on Luke has just appeared. This completes the entire series, except the other Gospels. Like the other volumes of the series, that on Luke is profound and learned. 552 pp.

The following are of a popular character: *Exposition of Romans*, by Rev. H. Conard, 192 pp. *Exposition of the Parables of Christ*, by W. Mangold, 304 pp. *The Gospel of Mark*, by Rev. R. Wenger, 295 pp.

HISTORICAL.—One of the most valuable of recent historical works is by Dr. H. Heppe, on *The History of Pietism and Mysticism in the Reformed Church*. 503 pp. The subject has been but little investigated heretofore. While not neglecting Germany and England, the author devotes special attention to Pietism and Mysticism in the Netherlands.

History of Israel, by J. Wellhausen, Vol. I., 442 pp. A very learned work. Another volume is to follow.

The Christianity of Justin Martyr, by Prof. Engelhardt, 490 pp., is a learned and thorough investigation of the beginnings of the Catholic dogmas. The work is divided into three parts. The first gives the Christianity of Justin as seen in his Apologies; the second, as seen in his Dialogue; the third gives the relation of Justin's views to those of the Apostles, the Apostolic Fathers and others.

Cyprian, His Life and His Doctrine, by B. Fechttruss, is in course of preparation. The first volume, 264 pp., has appeared, giving the Life.

BIOGRAPHICAL.—In biographical literature an important book has appeared on the *Life of Ernst W. Hengstenberg*, by Dr. J. Bachmann. It is the first half of the second volume, the first volume having appeared three years ago. It treats of the beginning of Hengstenberg's career as Professor in Berlin and as Editor of the *Kirchenzeitung*, including the period 1826-1829.

SYSTEMATIC.—A second edition of *Evangelical Protestant Dogmatics*, by Prof. Dr. R. A. Lipsius, has appeared. 863 pp. The author has also issued a volume of *Dogmatic Contributions*, 215 pp., in which he defends his work against the attacks made by reviewers of the first edition.

The Redemption in Jesus Christ, by Prof. Dr. J. H. Oswald. 2 vols. 334 and 259 pp. The author is a Roman Catholic, and gives the view of re-

demption as held in that Church. His aim is specially to commend to scholars the Roman Catholic dogma. The first volume treats of Christology; the second, Soteriology.

The Problem of Evil, by A. L. Kym, 78 pp. This is a metaphysical, rather than theological discussion of the subject. The author opposes the pantheism of Spinoza, views evil as positive, but as not from God, and regards the will of man as free to choose between the good and the evil.

The Christian Doctrine of Salvation, by Rev. D. Zahn, 232 pp. This volume is intended for the instruction of the young in the plan of salvation. The book is a union of historical and doctrinal, of biblical and catechetical elements.

Compend of Christian Ethics, by Prof. Dr. J. P. Lange, 248 pp. Lange is best known in America through his series of Commentaries. Independent of these, however, he is quite a voluminous writer. Within little more than a year he published a Theological Encyclopædia, a work on Hermeneutics, and this work on Ethics. In this book he antagonizes many of the positions of Schleiermacher and Rothe. He treats of the duties to God, to self, to other men, and also to nature.

The Ethics of David Hume, by Dr. G. von Gizycki, 357 pp. The author's aim is to give both a view and a critique of Hume's ethical views, taking as a basis especially Hume's work, "An Inquiry concerning the Principles of Morality." The writer is an admirer and advocate of Hume's principle, that the aim of Ethics is to secure the greatest good of the greatest number.

PRACTICAL.—In this department very important contributions have been made. The second volume of Dr. T. Harnack's *Practical Theology* has appeared. 543 pp. It treats of the history and theory of sermonizing, and of the history and theory of the care of souls. The work is spoken of as the result of much research and as very inspiring. The author is a Lutheran, and advocates the Lutheran method of pastoral work as superior to that of the sects and of the Catholic Church.

Another important work is by Dr. F. L. Steinmeyer, long Professor and University Preacher in Berlin. It is the 4th part of his *Contributions to Practical Theology*, 170 pp. This book is devoted to the discussion of pastoral work.

Numerous other practical works have appeared, such as sermons, and books discussing the relation of science and philosophy and modern culture to religion, and those treating of other questions of the day.

LUTHER-LITERATURE.—Evidently much effort is made in Germany to bring the treasures of the Reformation within reach of the present generation. Luther especially is a favorite theme, and it is remarkable how many books on his character, life, and views appear. Among the more recent we name the following:

Rietschel compares *Luther and Loyola*, 62 pp. He regards each as

embodying the principles of his religion and as representing that religion in the most striking manner.

Martin Luther, by Rev. A. Baur. pp. 394 This new biography of Luther is intended specially for the more educated classes. The author has made a thorough study of the Reformation, and has learned to love its leader. The volume is divided into three parts. The first (24-83) treats of Luther from his birth to the conflict concerning indulgences; the second (83-270) from that period till Luther's stay in the Wartburg; the third (271-390) from that time till his death.

Luther's Mysticism, in its connection with his Theology and in its relation to the older Mysticism, by Prof. H. Hering. 294 pp. It is well known that Luther was a diligent student of the Mystics, who were forerunners of the Reformation, and that he was strongly influenced by them, especially in the early part of his reformatory work. The author's aim is to trace the influence of these Mystics on Luther, and to give the traces of mysticism in his works.

Luther's *Commentary on Romans*, 408 pp., and that on *Ephesians*, 152 pp., have lately appeared, edited by Rev. C. G. Eberle. J. H. W. S.

ARTICLE X.

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

WARREN F. DRAPER, ANDOVER, MASS.

The Logic of the Christian Evidences. By G. Frederick Wright. pp. 312. 1880.

This is a compact re-statement of the Christian Evidences, to adjust them to the needs of our times. Whilst the old proofs have not been destroyed by the now prevalent habits of scientific thought and skeptical objection, they need a careful re-shaping to exhibit them in their true and full sufficiency. "The aim of the present brief treatise is to bring into one view both the external and the internal evidences of Christianity as they now stand, and as they appear when compared with the evidences upon which the beliefs of Science are based." It is divided into three parts; the first laying down the principles of Induction as the method which is to establish alike both the beliefs of science and the proofs of Christianity; the second part giving the grounds of Theism and the grand aims and importance of Christianity, with the presumptions for its divine authority; the third presenting the specific and positive evidences, historically viewed, for its supernatural character and the authenticity of its records.

The author uses the analogical reasoning with great force and effectiveness against the new phases of skeptical difficulty. In his desire to make apparent the force of the evidences over against present objections, he

concedes, probably, more to the theory of evolution than science will sustain. He holds that evolution needs proof, but is harmless. Some criticism may be made on Mr. Wright's definition of miracle, p. 2, as, in the use of the word "interruption," throwing the conception of miracle into unnecessary antagonism to nature. His own statements on p. 100, more correctly exhibit the miracle as from a *special cause* "without disarranging" the forces of nature. The third part of the work, also, excellent as it is, has rather too severely condensed the historical evidences. Strength would be gained by making them somewhat fuller. The whole work, however, is one of great merit, deserving to be widely read, and forming an excellent text-book or manual for instruction. The conclusion to which it leads is well summed up at the close of the book: "The material discoveries of the nineteenth century—startling as they are—are not of a nature to interfere with the ordinary historical and moral evidences of Christianity. Nor does any reason yet appear why the system should grow feeble from age. So far, the lapse of time, instead of diminishing the strength of its historical evidences, has in many ways confirmed them. That hostile criticism has not succeeded in discrediting its records, and that worldliness and self-seeking and the misconceptions of illogical defenders have not defaced its beauty, perverted its character, and destroyed its influence, constitute the miracle of later ages."

An Introduction to the Greek of the Testament. By Geo. L. Carey, of the Meadville Theological School. pp. 66. 1879.

This small volume has been prepared for persons, either students of theology or others, who have not had the advantage of a knowledge of the Greek, and who nevertheless would be glad to read the New Testament in its original tongue. It gives the rudiments of the language so far as absolutely necessary for the understanding of New Testament Greek. It is well adapted to its purpose and will prove of great service to such as have not had the advantage of a classical education.

D. APPLETON & CO., NEW YORK.

For sale by J. B. Lippincott & Co., Phila.

Mind in the Lower Animals in Health and Disease. By W. Lauder Lindsay, M. D., F. R. S. E., F. L. S., Honorary Member of the New England Institute. Vol. I. Mind in Health. Vol. II. Mind in Disease. pp. 550 and 571. 1880.

The question, to the discussion of which these attractive volumes are devoted, though not new, is one of great scientific interest. The wide acceptance of the hypothesis of Evolution, in some form or other, has necessarily brought up the question whether mind in the lower animals is not the same in kind as mind in man. Were such identity shown to be probable, though it would not necessarily be decisive either for or against evolution, it would tend to the support of the hypothesis by an easy correlation

of the wide range of mental phenomena under it. The point is, therefore, attracting increasing attention, and seems likely to constitute, for some time, a prominent problem with both naturalists and psychologists. As the subject is one of such great interest and importance, we are glad to have, in the extended form here given, the discussions and views of Dr. Lindsay, whose scientific labors have already received honorable recognition, and who has given the subject long and earnest study.

Without doubt there are peculiar difficulties in the way of attaining satisfactory conclusions. The impossibility of reaching by human consciousness the springs of action in the inferior animals, puts direct and positive knowledge beyond our reach. Analogical reasoning and inference from indications alone are left us. There is constant danger, therefore, of being misled by loose inferences which assume that actions that are similar in men and animals must be due to the same mental powers and processes. Our author's tendencies in this direction is so strong, and his indulgence of inference from superficial resemblances are so free and wholesale, as seriously to impair the value of his work.

Dr. Lindsay introduces his discussion with a severe judgment on others who have endeavored to study this subject: "Theologians, metaphysicians, psychologists, physiologists, naturalists, physicians, veterinarians, philosophers so-called of the diverse views and feelings, naturally and necessarily approach such a subject actuated by the most conflicting motives and opinions, by prejudice the most unreasonable, by ignorance the most profound." Such a sweeping statement is not hopeful for the discussion. It indicates less of the modesty of true science than of the egotism of sciolism. It is common indeed to tell the "theologians" of their ignorance. If they have not yet come to recognize the fact, it is certainly not from having been informed of it. Of course, it was to be expected that Dr. Lindsay would repeat the information. But that he should include "psychologists, physiologists, naturalist and physicians," is a little startling. The learned men in these departments, who have preceded our author in the discovery of the ignorance of the clergy, will, of course, take note of this new turn of things. But as both "physicians" and "naturalists" come to the subject under "ignorance the most profound," it is difficult to see how the combination into a "*physician-naturalist*," as he announces himself, is going to guarantee the requisite scientific ability.

The first volume Dr. Lindsay devotes to Comparative Psychology and Mind in the Lower Animals. Under the former he considers the general relations involved in this study, prevailing errors, faults of Terminology, the true method of investigation by observation and experiment, followed by a statement of the dawn of mind in man, the evolution of Mind in the Invertebrate and Vertebrate animals in the ascending zoölogical scale. He takes exception to the common view of psychical differences between man and other animals, and the alleged intellectual and moral supremacy of man. "If the student will take the trouble of comparing, one by one, the

negative qualities—intellectual and moral—of savage man as hereinafter described, with the positive qualities of certain other animals—especially the well-bred dog—the conclusion arrived at will probably be what appears to me the inevitable one—that *psychical superiority* frequently pertains to the ‘lower’ animal and not to man.” “We may sum up by saying that in certain respects, as to moral and mental endowments, certain animals are the equals of certain men, while they are the superiors or inferiors of certain others.” The author thinks he finds even in the Protozoa, the lowest division of the Invertebrata, clear indications of will, purpose, choice, ingenuity, observation. In the advanced divisions of the invertebra, he discovers intelligence, memory, calculation, imagination, æsthetic taste, language and character, &c. Among the Vertabrata, he finds a “much greater variety and number of mental faculties.”

In the second part of the volume, Dr. Lindsay treats of the normal manifestations of mind in the lower animals. He find in them both the moral sense and the religious sense, with the moral and religious virtues in strong manifestation. He traces the ready effect of education both among and on animals, their capacity for language, and the proofs of general reasoning powers in the calculation and adaptation of plans and means to ends.

The second volume, devoted to abnormal manifestations, in disease, seeks for still further evidence in proof of the general positions of the work.

It is impossible, in any outline, to do justice to the author’s discussion, or to present an adequate idea of the mass of material he has brought under review. He has evidently been an earnest and laborious student of the subject, and has gathered together an immense mass of facts that call for explanation. He uses them in a thoroughly independent way, paying little respect to the generally accepted views of either metaphysicians or theologians. Psychologists find their conceptions of mind and its faculties rudely traversed by the definitions and inferences here put forward. Moral philosophers and theologians find their definitions and teachings strangely modified, to accommodate the proposed classification of the ‘lower’ animals as ethical and religious as well as rational animals. The work is fresh and interesting, both in the stores of material and anecdote it presents and in the suggestions it gives. But as to real scientific value, it is exceedingly disappointing. Its value is, to a great extent, destroyed by the loose and indiscriminate way in which the author constructs his generalizations. It is amazing to see the random and groundless inferences he is able to hang upon a slender and incompetent fact. Many of them are crude, fantastical, and absurd. The value of his labors will depend on use yet to be made of them by naturalists of more careful and scientific mind. The problem waits solution.

The volumes are neatly gotten out by the enterprising firm that gives us this American edition, and is concluded, as all such works should be, with a full Index.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, NEW YORK.

For sale by J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia.

The Emotions. By James McCosh, D. D., LL. D., President of Princeton College; author of "Method of Divine Government," "Intuitions of the Mind," etc. pp. 259. 1880.

Dr. Hodge, of the Princeton Theological Seminary, some time since declared: "The relation between the cognitive and emotional faculties, is one of the most difficult problems of philosophy." From Princeton College now comes a work meant to offer an explanation of this relation. Dr. McCosh has not been satisfied with the account which has been heretofore given of the feelings and emotions in our books of mental science. He has observed the frequent confusion resulting from a loose application of the term 'feelings' to both sensational and intellectual sensibilities, and recognizes the need of a clear discrimination of the emotions from all other mental states. His design is to do this by a fresh analysis, description and classification of them.

Dr. McCosh is justly recognized as an able and excellent writer in the department of psychology. Those who have read his "Intuitions," "Examination of J. S. Mill's Philosophy," and other works, do not need to be told of the force and clearness with which he conducts philosophical discussions. He thinks vigorously, if not always profoundly, and his style is generally marked by a terse directness that leaves little chance to mistake his meaning. While the work before us will hardly rank as equal with some of his other volumes, it is a valuable discussion of an interesting and important subject and in the direction of correct conclusions.

The author begins with an analysis of emotion, finding in it four well defined elements: 1. A motive principle, or *Appetence*; 2. An *Idea* of something as fitted to gratify or disappoint a motive principle or appetite; 3. *Conscious Feeling*, and 4. An Organic Affection, or nervous agitation. The first book discusses these four elements in order. The appetences, which are described as springs of action, as simple tendencies in human nature to crave any object whatever, are divided into primary and secondary appetences. The primary are such as love of pleasure or aversion to pain, inclination to promote the happiness of others, attachments to relatives, native taste and talents, the appetites, love of society, of esteem, of power, of property, and the æsthetic and moral sentiments. The secondary appetences imply the primary and grow upon them. They are derived from the action of the first. The appetences are viewed as the motives that stir up desire and lead to action. The second element, the *idea*, or phantasm, is that which, appealing to the appetency, calls forth emotion. "The mere existence of the appetite as a tendency or disposition is not sufficient to call forth feeling. There must always be an idea carrying out the appetite to call the emotion into actual exercise." This necessary presence of an idea expresses the relation of emotion to the in-

tellekt. True emotions are dependent on the action of the knowing faculty and spring from knowledge. The third element, the actual emotional excitement, with attachment or repugnance, is then discussed and characterized. Under the fourth element, the physical or bodily effects are grouped, and the various forms of expression which the feelings make for themselves in the human countenance and actions, are described.

The second book classifies and describes the various emotions. Rejecting the division into Grateful and Ungrateful, the author divides them according as the idea is directed to *animate* or *inanimate* objects, the former giving the feelings as determined by the contemplation of "the good," the latter the "æsthetic" emotions. He gives his own theory of the beautiful, and explains at some length how, under the dependence of the emotion upon the idea, the æsthetic feelings are called forth. The third book is devoted to the Complex or Continuous Emotions. Under this term the author classes all the Affections and Passions, Love, Love of the Sexes, Temper, Prepossessions, Prejudices, &c. The entire discussion is marked by independence of thought, and affords helpful suggestions to those who are studying this important subject.

The work calls, however, for some criticism. Dr. McCosh has allowed himself a style too rhetorical for philosophical discussion. Along with this are occasional very slipshod expressions. What does he mean by "Kant *and* the Germans," or by "food *and* viands at a table"? And as to the system of the sensibilities presented in the work, it cannot be accepted as an adequate or fully correct view. While, in conditioning the emotions on ideas, the design has been to correct an extreme tendency toward a physiological psychology, the author has failed to make and maintain the necessary distinction between the appetences that are purely psychical and intellectual and those that are fundamentally and almost wholly physiological, as the appetites, &c. This distinction, properly carried out, especially in connection with the purely moral emotions, or those that arise on the intuitions of right, is exceedingly important for the true psychology of the emotions. The author's "bifid cleavage" of the emotions into the two classes as directed to *animate* and *inanimate* objects, corresponds to and expresses no clear psychological difference. It can appear to do so only by shutting our eyes to the real action of the sensibilities. The account given of the affections and passions as complex or continued emotions, is exceedingly unsatisfactory and inadequate. What ground can Dr. McCosh have for classing *surprise* among the Prospective emotions? Or *admiration*? Are the moral emotions—of which comparatively little account is given—fully represented in the place and character given them as *retrospective* emotions? The intuition of right in a thing in contemplation, as an idea or perception of the reason, has its immediate emotion, or moral approbation. If it is to be effective as a motive force, it must be felt at once. But, in appearance, our author finds for the moral idea with its emotion no place or play but in retrospect, and thus vacates its function as a

motive power. An oversight that gives such an inadequate presentation of the moral emotions, is a great defect.

We are obliged to dissent from another point. Dr. McCosh asserts it to be "approximately and provisionally determined," "that the organ of the brain necessary to our having a perception of an object is also necessary to our reproducing it as a phantasm, in memory or imagination." "We need the auditory organ to recall a sound, and the organ of taste and smell to recall flavors." This would mean that science has shown not only brain centres for sensation and motion, as it has, but also mental centres. For, the ideas in memory and imagination are distinctly intellectual. No proof, even provisional, of their dependence on the local sensory centres has been furnished in the investigations of Dr. Ferrier, to whom he refers. The discussion of the point in the *Princeton Review*, to which attention is called, fails to meet the case. The experiences of Newton and others, mentioned in the *Review*, go to disprove the teaching they have been adduced to sustain. For Newton's sensory "spectrum of the sun" was not the condition of his recalling or remembering the sun, but the idea of the sun produced the sensation. "If he but thought of the sun, he presently saw his picture." It is plainly a case of the action of mind on the nerve centre, not of dependence of the mind upon it.

Communism and Socialism in their History and Theory. A Sketch by Theodore D. Woolsey. pp. 313. 1880.

It seems superfluous to say of anything from the pen of Dr. Woolsey, that it is good. His eminent ability, varied knowledge, accurate scholarship, discriminating judgment, and clear thinking in clear style, shed light on every subject upon which he writes. He never writes without giving his readers fellowship in worthy thinking and enriching knowledge. There is the charm of an attractive modesty, too, about his works, that adds to the pleasure of reading them. He never offends by any airs of self-consciousness. His affluent intellectual treasures are dispensed with the unassuming grace that draws the reader while instructing him. Dr. Woolsey's name has come to be sufficient endorsement for any book that comes from his pen.

The greater part of this work appeared lately as weekly articles in the New York *Independent*. Additional matter is added in the way of Appendixes. The object of the book is to give, in popular form, a brief but comprehensive view of Communism, both historically and in its characterizing principles and tendencies. The author begins with definitions of Communism and Socialism, pointing out in what respects these agree and how they differ. He marks off the different forms of communities—those that at an early period developed out of the family, and consisted of blood-relatives, those that have arisen within the state, and that communism that seeks to construct and constitute states. He traces historically the various communistic societies, as the Buddhist Monks, the Essenes, Therapeutæ, the Christian Monastic System, the Anabaptists of Münster,

the Shakers, and smaller communities. The various communistic Theories and Utopias are reviewed, as those of Plato, Sir Thos. More, Campanella, and different theories in France. An account is given of the International Workingmen's Association, with a discussion of its principles and influences. Next the leading features of German Socialism are traced, with a view of the Theory of Marx, the German Workingmen's Union, with an Appendix on Mr. Mill's chapters on Socialism. The sixth chapter examines and criticises Schaeffle's "Quintessence of Socialism," and the seventh reviews Recent Socialism, in its various relations, to Society, to Religion. The last chapter—in which the author comes to close quarters with the most practical aspects of the social problem—deals in a peculiarly clear and assuring way with the question of future danger to order from communistic tendencies.

This small book is a volume for the times. Amid the constant collisions which misguided associations and bad men are bringing about between labor and capital in various parts of our country, and the reports of plotting and the sounds of distress that come to us from over the seas, this discussion comes as an opportune presentation of sound views, and deserves to be read by intelligent men everywhere throughout the land.

History of the Rise of the Huguenots of France. By Henry M. Baird, Professor in the University of the City of New York. In two vols. pp. 588, 681. 1880.

In these two attractive and substantial octavo volumes we have a work of great merit and value. We are beginning to find the best histories of European affairs produced by our own authors. The appearance of such a work as this, giving probably the best account yet published of a most interesting and difficult section of French history, is a fresh and gratifying testimony to the enterprise and excellence of American scholarship. The struggles and revolutions of the old world are being set forth in fullest light under the pens of the earnest scholars of the new. The Dutch Republic and the United Netherlands have found their most brilliant historian in the American Motley. French Protestantism seems likely to find the most complete record of its rise and early experiences in these volumes of the New York professor.

The recent history of France, with the singular fortunes that have marked the struggles of spiritual and political freedom there, needs to be studied in the light of the facts recounted in these volumes. The attitude taken by the nation, thwarting within it that great religious movement of the sixteenth century which carried with it the principles of liberty wherever rightly received, is the proper explanation of much that has been calamitous in its later history, and of much that forms a drawback on its present life and prospects. Had the Reformation been accepted and Protestantism allowed to produce there the true fruits of Christianity in the

intellectual and moral life of the people, that country would have had a different history. Its present freedom would rest in securer conditions.

We cannot better present the scope of this work than by quoting the author's own statement, from the Preface: "The period of about half a century with which these volumes are concerned, may properly be regarded as the formative age of the Huguenots of France. It included the first planting of the reformed doctrines, and the steady growth of the Reformation in spite of obloquy and persecution, whether exercised under the form of law or vented in lawless violence. It saw the gathering and the regular organization of the reformed communities, as well as their consolidation into one of the most orderly and zealous churches of the Protestant family. It witnessed the failure of the bloody legislation of three successive monarchs, and the equally abortive effort of a fourth monarch to destroy the Huguenots, first with the sword and afterward with the dagger. At the close of this period the faith and resolution of the Huguenots had survived four sanguinary wars into which they had been driven by their implacable enemies. They were just entering upon a fifth war, under favorable auspices, for they had made it manifest to all men that their success depended less upon the lives of leaders, of whom they might be robbed by the hand of the assassin, than upon a conviction of the righteousness of their cause, which no sophistry of their opponents could dissipate. The Huguenots, at the death of Charles the Ninth, stood before the world a well-defined body, that had outgrown the feebleness of infancy and had proved itself entitled to consideration and respect."

This indicates the period through which Prof. Baird has brought down the Huguenot history. The subsequent fortunes of French Protestantism, the rights granted in the Edict of Nantes, the loss of them in the later revocation of that edict, and all the various repressive measures of the tyranny which ultimately defeated the proper success of the Reformation—these are not reached in this account. It is to be hoped that the author may hereafter carry the history over this later period, as he intimates some inclination to do.

These volumes take us through a field crowded with earnest and exciting events. The History of the Huguenots becomes the history of France during those stormy days. The author has evidently brought to his task the advantage of a deep interest in the subject and the fruits of long, careful and scholarly investigation. He has availed himself freely of the latest and best sources of information. These have recently opened very abundantly. The search made in the archives of European capitals, the publication of before unpublished documents, the disclosures of private research, have greatly enriched the available materials. A flood of light has been shed on many movements and questions of those eventful times; and Prof. Baird has shown the skill that knows how to use the fresh illumination. One of the author's evident qualifications is seen in the ability with which he combines the abundant and varied material into a compact

and harmonious history. His style is clear, direct and fitting. There is no straining after phraseology, but the facts stand forth in the distinctness of natural and transparent statement. An illustration of the effectiveness of this style may be seen in his portrayal of the massacre of St. Bartholomew's day, in the second volume. The account is given in the form of simple, clear narration, but it presents a surpassing impression of the frightful horrors of that day.

The value of the work is greatly enhanced by the abundant and discriminating references and quotations in the foot-notes. Several maps are given—one of the Vaudois Villages in Provence, another of France at the accession of Francis the First—and a full Index for both the volumes. The entire work forms so interesting and valuable an addition to our high-grade histories, that it must necessarily soon find a place in all our well-selected libraries.

Natural Science and Religion. Two Lectures delivered to the Theological School of Yale College. By Asa Gray. pp. 111. 1880.

It is to no ordinary occurrence that we owe this small volume—the calling of a layman to lecture to a theological school. Students of divinity have frequent lectures on the relations between religion and science. Usually these relations have been taught by the theologians, but here the theologians call the man of science to declare them. The oft-alleged hostility of Theology to Science is hardly visible in this.

Prof. Gray is among the most pronounced of American scientific scholars, in acceptance of the hypothesis of evolution. This fact adds interest to what he has to say on this subject. The first lecture is on scientific beliefs, and traces the changes that in late years have marked the progress of inquiry, more particularly in the views as to the connection between the vegetable and animal kingdoms and the derivation of species. The second lecture treats of the relations of scientific to religious belief. His design is to show, not whether the new theories are well-founded or not, but whether, if they are accepted, they necessarily impair the foundations of religion. He accepts the doctrine of the evolution of species, including man, and adds: "I claim, moreover, not merely allowance, but the right to hold these opinions along with the doctrines of natural religion and the verities of the Christian faith." The lecture is devoted to showing that this system of evolution is not necessarily in conflict with either Theism or Christianity.

The volume is marked by Prof. Gray's scholarly ability and easy style. It should be read by all our ministers; not to accept the author's view of nature and man, which will need far more evidence to sustain it, but to understand, from a leader in science, the proposed harmonization of it with the teaching of revelation and theology.

The Holy Bible according to the Authorized Version (A. D. 1611), with an Explanatory and Critical Commentary and a Revision of the Transla-

tion, by Bishops and other Clergy of the Anglican Church. Edited by F. C. Cook, M. A., Canon of Exeter, Preacher at Lincoln's Inn, Chaplain in ordinary to the Queen. New Testament. Vol. II. St. John—The Acts of the Apostles. pp. 631. 1880.

The preceding volumes of this important work, commonly known as the *Speaker's Commentary*, have been commended to the readers of the REVIEW, as they appeared. The first favorable estimate of its value has been confirmed as the work has gone on. Its preparation is engaging much of the best ability and ripest scholarship in the Anglican Church, and they are carrying out the chosen plan with great care and discriminating judgment.

Unusual interest attaches to the present volume, as it covers the fourth Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles. It is gratifying to see that the work on St. John has been done by so eminent and sound a scholar as Canon Westcott. The fact that this Gospel has been, in recent criticism, made the special object of skeptical assault, and no effort has been spared to discredit its genuineness, has made it necessary that, in sending forth a Church Commentary, such as this, adequate and effective notice should be taken of the questions thus raised. This has been done in an Introduction of sufficient length to recall the chief points of objection and give a clear and satisfactory reply. In this inquiry into the authorship of the fourth Gospel, Canon Westcott first traces the internal evidence, and finds it decisive that the author was a Jew, a Jew of Palestine, an Eye-Witness, an Apostle, and that apostle St. John. This is sustained by the external evidence, as found especially in the testimony of Polycarp and Papias, supported by that of Justin Martyr, the Muratorian Fragment, and other authorities. Modern criticism has offered nothing to disprove the genuineness and authenticity of this Gospel. "All the evidence points in one direction. There is not, with one questionable exception, any positive indication that any doubt was anywhere thrown upon the authenticity of the book." The rest of the introduction discusses its Composition, its Characteristics, its Relations to the other apostolic writings.

The book of the Acts has been prepared by the editor. A good Introduction is prefixed here also, in which the book is vindicated fully against the rash assault upon its authenticity by the extreme section of the Tübingen school. The conclusion is sustained by the clearest and most satisfactory proofs that St. Luke was the author, and that the Acts is entitled to its accredited place in the number of our canonical books.

The comments, critical and explanatory, are brief, judicious, and to the point. The text is not overlaid with miscellaneous discussion, but the necessary elucidation is given tersely and suggestively. Of course, the interpretation, in some disputed passages, takes its color in harmony with the Articles of the Church of England. This, however, is but a very small drawback from the aggregate value of this carefully prepared and scholarly commentary.

A Commentary on the Holy Scriptures : Critical, Doctrinal and Homiletical, with Special Reference to Ministers and Students. By John Peter Lange, D. D. Vol. III. of the Old Testament. Numbers ; or the Fourth Book of Moses, by John Peter Lange, D. D. Translated and Enlarged by Rev. Samuel Lowrie, D. D., and Rev. A. Gosman, D. D. Deuteronomy ; or the Fifth Book of Moses, by Fr. Wilhelm Julius Schroeder, B. D. Translated and Enlarged by Rev. A. Gosman, D. D.

This is the final volume of a series of commentaries of very unequal merits. The commentary on Numbers is so exceedingly meager, mechanical and lifeless, that its translation is not much of an addition to English literature. Pastor Schroeder's work on Deuteronomy is much more thorough and satisfactory, and enters, so far as we have read, very heartily into the spirit of the text. The introduction to Deuteronomy, by the author of the commentary, covers 45 pp. and presents a very full discussion of the points at issue in the current controversies concerning this book of the Bible. Pastor Schroeder maintains the Mosaic authorship of Deuteronomy, with the hypothesis of later redactions. As the original of the commentary appeared in 1866, Dr. Gosman has added an appendix of 30 pp., vindicating the Mosaic authorship with reference to the latest critical discussions, and especially to the controversy occasioned by Prof. W. Robertson's Smith's article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* on "Bible," which was followed by his trial for heresy in the Free Church of Scotland in 1878-9. A singular mistake is found in the list of contributors to the entire series of Lange's commentaries, with which the volume opens. Dr. Mombert and all the American translators whose names follow in alphabetical order, are styled contributors to the German edition, while to give them this honor the names of all the German editors after L. are suppressed. The American public is promised a supplemental volume, prepared in this country, and now passing through the press, upon the Apocrypha.

H. E. J.

A Critical and Doctrinal Commentary upon the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans. By William G. T. Shedd, D. D., Roosevelt Professor of Systematic Theology in Union Theological Seminary, New York.

The present work is for the most part a verbal commentary. It gives the Greek text at the head of the page, and very briefly defines the force of the words beneath. It is not intended for continuous reading, but for close, deep study ; not to be resorted to in haste as a magazine of homiletical ideas, but for the culture of the heart and mind of the theologian by bringing him into most intimate contact with the great thoughts of God committed to writing by his inspired Apostle. The devout student of this commentary cannot be otherwise than stimulated intellectually and edified spiritually.

There is not much of an array of learning, and yet Dr. Shedd is not

only generally happy in his application of abundant critical apparatus, but is also full of citations, according to the necessities of the subject, from the most approved commentators, among them such Lutheran authorities as Luther, Melanchthon, Philippi. Even the Formula of Concord is several times cited with apparent gratification on the part of Dr. Shedd, that on the subjects in question, it agrees with his position (although unfortunately in the cases we have noticed, he has misunderstood it).

In the very opening chapter, Dr. Shedd plants himself firmly on the doctrine of traducianism, with respect to the origin of the soul. Here he antagonizes the prevailing opinion of Calvinistic theologians (creationism) and accepts the theory upon which the Lutheran Church, by the almost unanimous voice of her approved teachers has insisted. If the body alone, and not also the soul, were transmitted from parent to child, how would the inheritance of natural depravity be explained? It seems inevitable that either the unscriptural doctrine of a sinless birth must be resorted to, traducianism must be accepted, or God must be regarded as creating sin with every birth of a sinful soul into the world. Hence Dr. Shedd feels himself compelled to dissent from the general opinion of the theologians of his school, not only by the text, Rom. 1 : 3, but also on account of dogmatic reasons, as becomes apparent when in his discussion of chapter v. he reaches the subject of Original Sin. Here he distinguishes between an earlier and later Calvinistic doctrine; the former he claims as in harmony with the Lutheran doctrine, and endorses it with his approval while "the modification of the earlier view burdens the problem of Original Sin with grave difficulties of an ethical nature, because it implies that sin and guilt, precisely like righteousness and innocence, may be imputed gratuitously by an act of sovereignty." It is a question of some doubt whether the two views which Dr. Shedd mentions have the historical sequence which he claims. Although in his Institutes, Calvin seems to teach the *personal* guilt in which all men were involved by the Sin of Adam, yet in other places he distinctly teaches that the corruption of the human race in Adam is not transmitted so much by generation, as "by God's ordination," (cf. Oehler's Symbolik, p. 392.)

On chap. 3 : 28, faith is viewed entirely as an act of man. There is not even the least suggestion of the fact that it is the gift of God, and later, in the discussion on predestination, p. 264, 265, the doctrine of election with respect to foreseen faith, is treated upon the assumption that faith would be a spiritual excellence in man determined altogether by his own powers. Then, too, the Formula of Concord is quoted as sanctioning the doctrine of unconditional predestination!! Verily this venerable document must be a sign which is predestined to be spoken against, when after one of its longest and clearest chapters is devoted to a thorough exposition of the subject of predestination, it is quoted in support of the doctrine which it attacks. It is no justification of Dr. Shedd to plead that he simply quotes a sentence from Julius Müller, and that, too, with respect to the chapter on

original sin, viz. its statements concerning the nature and depths of human depravity. The citation was made by Dr. Shedd, in order to set the Formula of Concord over against Calovius and the other old dogmaticians who are referred to as teaching election with respect to foreseen faith or the acceptance of the call. And yet the work of his distinguished colleague on the *Creeds of Christendom*, charges the Formula of Concord, as having antagonized Luther in its severe condemnation of an unconditional predestination!

In the doctrine of baptism, the author is in accord with his school of theology, as was to have been expected; but presents a good illustration of the inconsistencies to which the system is forced, by a comment on Romans 6 : 3: "Believers are not baptized, in order to bring about a union with Christ, but because such a union has been brought about. The rite has reference to this fact of union, and is the sign, and not the cause [means?] of it. Baptism *presupposes* regeneration." Now compare what follows on the same page: "In the case of infants, faith is involved and latent in regeneration; and infant baptism like infant circumcision, is the sign and seal of regenerating grace already bestowed, or *to be bestowed*." The author starts back from his own theory, and apparently contradicts it. May not, however, the inconsistency be only seeming? For the system upon which it rests practically annihilates all distinctions of time, and to it the regenerating grace which is "*to be bestowed*," is a fact already existent, because of its eternal presence in God's election.

In connection with the succeeding verse, Rom. 6 : 4, in comparing different views of baptism, the statement is made: "Baptism is not the efficient cause of that union with Christ, whereby the believer dies with him in his atoning death and is buried with him. The efficient cause is the Holy Spirit in regeneration. It is here that the spiritual and the sacramentarian theories of baptism find their points of divergence." What theory is it that makes baptism the efficient cause in the sense intended by Dr. Shedd? Does not even the *ex opere operato* misconception of the sacraments, nevertheless ascribe their efficacy to the Holy Spirit? Sometimes indeed the term "less principal," or "secondary efficient cause," has been ascribed to baptism even by our Lutheran divines, but only thereby to designate that it is a means employed in this work by God, who is recognized as "the principal efficient cause." Thus Baier enumerates the less principal efficient causes of regeneration, as the "Word and Baptism, and in their own way, the ministers of the Church;" and defines a less principal efficient cause, as that "*through which*" (the *διὰ* of the text) "God works conversion in man," (Theol. Pos., Part III., chap. iv., §9). Dr. Shedd's argument, if applied to another sphere, would run: Men cannot be saved by the preaching of the Gospel; for the Triune God is the efficient cause of salvation.

On chap. 3 : 13, we are somewhat surprised to hear a scholar of the wide range of reading of the author, when referring to the vileness of

much of ancient literature, confessing: "Little is known of Jewish literature, other than the Old Testament Scriptures." If the libraries of New York are deficient in this particular, those of Gettysburg are able to furnish abundant illustrations of Rabbinical extravagances to support the position which he is maintaining.

Nevertheless with the book as a whole, we have been both delighted and instructed. A great service has been rendered to Great Britain and America by the recent translation of Philippi on Romans. It would be a source of great profit, if the masterly expository lectures of Besser were also furnished our churches.

H. E. J.

Faith and Character. By Marvin R. Vincent, D. D., Pastor of "the Church of the Covenant," New York. pp. 376. 1880.

This is a volume of sermons preached at different times to the author's own congregation. They are meant to set forth the great principle of Christian faith, and its proper action in the formation of true, holy, manly character. They are most excellent—fresh, vigorous, and stimulating. They cut sharply across the tendency to make either simple emotional or ritual observances a substitute for solid goodness and holy character. They are well suited to fulfill the author's aim and help men to a larger and clearer view of the divine Saviour, and enable them to discover a new meaning in manhood, and a new dignity and sweetness in duty.

The Serpent-Charmer. By Louis Rousselet, Translated from the French by Mary De Hauteville. With 63 engravings on wood, by A. Marie. pp. 294.

There is an additional title to this book. viz.: "A Tale of the Indian Mutiny," but whilst there is good ground for this as well as for "The Serpent-Charmer," either one is rather misleading. What you learn about Serpent-charming is only incidental and there is very little of it; and the same may be said of the circumstances and scenes of the Indian mutiny. At the beginning of the mutiny, the leader, who pretends to have submitted to English rule, treacherously stabs M. Bourquien, the head of a wealthy and influential French family, and leads his followers in a general massacre of the foreign population, killing, as he supposed, André, the son of M. Bourquien, but carrying off Bertha, the daughter, who, having royal Indian blood in her veins, was spared and reserved as the wife of the young prince. But André was only rendered unconscious by the blows he received and is found among the dead by the old serpent-charmer, Mali, who had been previously befriended by the family, and now assists him in finding his sister and father. Their adventures through the jungles and forests of India in their search, occupy nearly two-thirds of the book. Their efforts, however, are finally successful, and the book closes, as such stories generally do, with a marriage—that of Bertha to a young English officer who had been instrumental in rescuing her and her companions from death.

Parts of the story are intensely interesting and somewhat thrilling, and the reader learns much about India and the character of its people as portrayed from a French standpoint. It is not, however, a mere boy's book as you would suppose from its title and appearance. It is gotten up in a very attractive style and is well illustrated.

P. M. B.

LUTHERAN PUBLICATION SOCIETY, PHILADELPHIA.

Life Thoughts for Young Men. By M. Rhodes, D. D., Pastor of St. Mark's English Evangelical Lutheran Church, St. Louis, Mo. pp. 340. 1880.

This book consists of lectures delivered last Summer to the young men of Dr. Rhodes' pastorate. He began without any purpose of publishing them, but at the earnest solicitation of clergymen and others who heard them, he gave his consent to their appearing in their present form. We rejoice that these lectures have been published and wish they could find their way into the hands of every young man in the land. The author's heart glows with an affectionate interest in young men, and these lectures manifest its warmth on every page. They appear as they were delivered, and, in their figures, illustrations, general style, etc., give evidence of the impassioned oratory with which they were spoken. Dr. Rhodes appreciates the dangers, trials and susceptibilities of the class he addresses, but that is not all. He realizes, also, the possibilities in them, and with remarkable tact applies himself to drawing them out. The following table of contents will give an idea of the ground covered : I. "Our Young Men ;" II. "Evils to be Shunned ;" III. "Evil and its Resistance ;" IV. "The Peril of Making Haste to be Rich ;" V. "Causes of Failure in Life ;" VI. "Elements of Success in Life ;" VII. "Character ;" VIII. "Duty ;" IX. "The Model Young Man ;" X. "The Young Man and the Bible ;" XI. "Infidelity or Christianity—Which ?" XII. "Memories of Home." The style in which the book is published and its general appearance reflect great credit on the Lutheran Publication House, and we hope to see more of such work done by it.

P. M. B.

HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & CO., BOSTON.

For sale by J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia.

The Manliness of Christ. By Thomas Hughes, Q. C., author of "Tom Brown's School Days." etc. pp. 160. 1880.

This is an interesting and suggestive little volume. The author holds that courage is the essential, central element in true manliness. But courage must not mean self-assertion or wilfulness, but heroic loyalty to truth and duty in the spirit of love and self-sacrifice. He traces, with glowing pen, how this is found in Christ in absolute and divine perfection. He shows us how "His figure rises before us as the true Head of humanity, the perfect Ideal, not only of wisdom and tenderness and love, but of courage also, because He was and is the simple Truth of God." The faults

of the work are mainly negative. The author seems not to recognize the true explanation of that Perfect Life, in the true divinity of the Son of God. He appears not to understand human dependence on supernatural grace for real conformity to that heavenly example. But he has made the example itself stand out before us with quickening and inspiring power.

History of Materialism and Criticism of its Present Importance. By Frederick Albert Lange, Late Professor of Philosophy in the Universities of Zürich and Marburg. Authorized Translation by Ernest Chester Thomas, late Scholar of Trinity College, Oxford. In three vols. Vol. II. pp. 397. 1880.

A general account of this work was given in this REVIEW on the appearance of the first volume in 1877. The author, who died in 1875, was a son of the well-known Bible commentator, Dr. J. P. Lange. It is "the fruit of the labor of many years." The translation of it was undertaken as "a service to philosophy in England." The present volume—to be followed by a third—covers The Eighteenth Century, Modern Philosophy, and the Natural Sciences. Under the first of these divisions, the author traces the influence of English materialism in France and Germany, the course of discussion in France, and the reaction against materialism in Germany. The second division treats of Kant and materialism, and the history of thought since his time. Under the Natural Sciences, the relation of exact research to materialism, and the questions of force and matter are discussed. Prof. Lange has written as a partisan in the interest of materialism. The chief value of the work is that it enables us too see the dreary wastes of outlook which the system presents, under the showing of an able advocate and defender.

Boston Monday-Lectures—Labor, with Preludes on Current Events. By Joseph Cook. pp. 295. 1880.

The subject of this volume of lectures is of a very high importance. The relations between capital and labor, and the questions which communistic agitators are thrusting to the front, claim the earnest consideration of all men who desire our country's peace and welfare. Mr. Cook's able discussion is worthy of a wide reading, and will help the public mind to just views and sound principles.

NOTE.—Some book notices have been crowded out of this number.

THE
QUARTERLY REVIEW
OF
THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH.
JULY, 1880.

ARTICLE I.

HUMAN ORDINANCES IN THE CHURCH.*

By REV. S. A. HOLMAN, A. M., Philadelphia, Pa.

The Fifteenth Article of the Augsburg Confession relates to rites and ordinances of human authority in the Church. The Latin, German and English texts of this article are as follows:

XV. DE RITIBUS ECCLESIASTICIS.

De ritibus ecclesiasticis docent, quod ritus illi servandi sint, qui sine peccato servari possunt, et prosunt ad tranquillitatem et bonum ordinem in ecclesia, sicut certae feriae, festa et similia. De talibus rebus tamen admonentur homines, ne conscientiae onerentur, tanquam talis cultus ad salutem neccessarius sit. Admonentur etiam, quod traditiones humanae institutae ad placandum Deum, ad promerendam gratiam, et satisfaciendum pro peccatis adversentur evangelio et doctrinae fidei. Quare vota et traditiones de cibis et diebus etc., institutae ad promerendam gratiam et satisfaciendum pro peccatis inutiles sint et contra evangelium.†

*Fifteenth Lecture on the Augsburg Confession, on the Holman Foundation, delivered in the Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pa., May 12, 1880.

†Müller, Symbolischen Bücher.

XV. VON KIRCHENORDNUNGEN.

Von Kirchenordnung, von Menschen gemacht, lehret man diejenigen halten, so ohne Sünde mögen gehalten werden, und zu Frieden, und zu guter Ordnung in der Kirchen dienen, als gewisse Feier, Festa, und dergleichen. Doch geschieht Unterricht dabei, dasz man die Gewissen nicht damit beschweren soll, als sei solch Ding nöthig zur Seeligkeit. Darüber wird gelehret, dasz alle Satzungen und Tradition, von Menschen dazu gemacht, dasz man dadurch Gott versühne, und Gnad verdiene, dem Evangelio und der Lehre vom Glauben an Christum entgegen seind; derhalben sein Klostersgelübde und andere Tradition von Unterschied der Speise, Tag, &c., dadurch man vermeint Gnade zu verdienen, und für Sünde gnug zu thun, untüchtig und wider das Evangelium.*

XV. OF ECCLESIASTICAL RITES.

Concerning Ecclesiastical Rites, they teach, that those rites are to be observed which may be observed without sin, and are profitable for tranquillity and good order in the Church; such as are set holidays, feasts and such like. Yet concerning such things, men are to be admonished, that consciences are not to be burdened as if such service were necessary to salvation. They are also to be admonished that human traditions, instituted to propitiate God, to merit grace and make satisfaction for sins, are opposed to the Gospel and the doctrine of faith. Wherefore vows and traditions concerning foods and days and such like, instituted to merit grace and make satisfaction for sins, are useless and contrary to the Gospel.†

The term "ecclesiastical rites," is employed in a more restricted sense than is the phrase "Church Ordinances instituted by men," which is derived from the German text. A "rite" conveys the idea of a ceremonial act, an "ordinance," that of an established law relating to any usage or opinion. Hence the topic and the scope of the present lecture may be indicated by the title: *Human Ordinances in the Church.*

*Müller, Symbolischen Bücher.

†C. P. Krauth's "Augsburg Confession, literally translated from the original Latin." 1868.

THE DIVINE AND HUMAN FACTORS IN THE CONSTITUTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHURCH.

In the seventh Article of the Augsburg Confession, it is taught that the Christian Church exists and develops through the administration of ordinances which are of *divine* origin and obligation. "The Church is the congregation of saints, in which the gospel is rightly taught, and the sacraments rightly administered." Those who appropriate the salvation imparted through these external means of grace properly constitute the Church, although "in this life, hypocrites and evil persons are mingled with it." Therefore the primary essential factor in the constitution and development of the Church, is the grace of God, operating through his divinely appointed means. When man becomes the recipient of divine grace he is called to labor together with God in the development of the Church. Human agency, though not coördinate with the divine, is nevertheless an essential factor. As in the sphere of providence, the human must coöperate with the divine, so in the sphere of divine grace there must be a human agency to work together with God. As the divine word was revealed to our race, not immediately to each individual soul, but "holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost," so now it is necessary that man should administer the means of grace which God provides, in order that the Church may exist and develop on earth. The service of man in mediating salvation through the Church, includes not only the administration of the objective means of grace; it likewise requires the manifestation of his own subjective views and the exercise of his own finite powers. Man, originally created in the image of God, that he might reflect the character and the work of his Creator, lost, in his fall, the ability to realize the great end of his existence; but under the Gospel he is enabled to "put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of Him that created him," and thus regenerated he finds the highest and noblest exercise of his intellect, sensibilities and will, in the development of the visible Church. God has thus put man into a garden of greater glory and value than Eden, "to dress it and to keep it."

NECESSITY OF HUMAN ORDINANCES.

The necessity and the sphere of human ordinances in the Church, especially appear in the consideration that the end of the ceremonial usages of the Old Testament, respecting persons, things, places and times, having been fulfilled by the advent and atonement of Christ, those ordinances are no longer necessary nor binding upon the Church. The dispersion of the Jews, and the destruction of their temple, where it was necessary to administer many of their ceremonial laws, indicate this fact; but it is expressly taught in scripture that "the first covenant had ordinances of divine service and a worldly sanctuary, but Christ being come, an High Priest of good things to come, by a greater and more perfect tabernacle, obtained eternal redemption," Heb. 9 : 1, 11, 12. To the Christians at Colosse, who were perplexed by the opinion of some that the Church was yet bound by the ceremonial laws of Moses, the apostle writes: "Let no man judge you in meat or drink," cf. Lev. 7 : 10-27; 10 : 9; Num. 6 : 3; "or in respect of a holy day, or of the new moon, or of sabbaths, which are a shadow of things to come, but the body is of Christ," Col. 2 : 16. The restrictions upon the freedom of human agency, under the Old Testament, were required by the typical character of the covenant and the low attainments of the chosen people in their apprehension of the divine plan of salvation. The ceremonial ordinances of the Old Testament, like its moral laws, were designed as a schoolmaster to lead to Christ. If numerous specific usages and ceremonial laws had been divinely ordained in the New Testament, as they, were in the Old, the fundamental doctrine of the sufficiency of the atonement of Christ would be greatly obscured. But the abrogation of the ceremonial usages of the Old Testament, and the absence of divinely ordained rites and usages for the regulation of worship, government or discipline, in the New Testament, necessarily require the exercise of the subjective powers of man. All organizations must have modes of existence and forms of development. Hence those who constitute the visible Church, are not only at liberty but under obligation to ordain such rites and usages, as are necessary to formulate its worship, to constitute and administer its government, and to establish

its doctrines. A preliminary principle in the Formula of Government and Discipline of the General Synod is that "as Jesus Christ has left no entire specific form of government and discipline for his Church, it is the duty of every individual church to adopt such regulations as appear to it most consistent with the spirit and precepts of the New Testament and best calculated to subserve the interests of the Church of Christ," Ch. 1, Sec. 5. This principle illustrates the doctrine which is expressed in the first clause of the Fifteenth Article of the Confession, viz. : that "ecclesiastical rites are to be observed." The liberty and obligation of the Church are indeed subject to the higher law of the divine word, which restricts the sphere of the human agency to the institution of such ordinances as "may be observed without sin, and are profitable for tranquillity and good order in the Church." The Apology of the Confession, (VIII.) says, "our adversaries agree to the first part of the Fifteenth Article, in which we say that the ceremonies and ordinances which can be kept conscientiously without sin, and which promote order and tranquillity should be observed in the Church."

DIVERSITY IN THE INTERPRETATION AND APPLICATION OF THE PRINCIPLES WHICH REGULATE HUMAN ORDINANCES IN THE CHURCH.

Whilst, however, there is this unanimity of opinion respecting the divine authority of these principles which regulate human ordinances in the Church, we shall presently see, in the consideration of particular human ordinances, how various and discordant are the views of men with regard to their meaning and application. In reference to the principle that human ordinances must be observed without sin, it is indeed manifest and universally admitted in the Church, that in any conflict of authority between divine law and human ordinances, we ought to obey God rather than men; yet there is much diversity of opinion whether human ordinances and usages, which are now established in many portions of the Church, are transgressions of positive precepts or just inferences from the divine word—actual transgression, being "every action, whether external or internal, which conflicts with the law of God."

In like manner we find diversity of views respecting the in-

terpretation and application of the divinely ordained principles of "tranquillity and good order," which also regulate human ordinances in the Church. Concord in the visible Church is enjoined by the divine word: "Be at peace among yourselves," 1 Thess. 5 : 14. "Follow peace with all," Heb. 12 : 14. But what is peace in the Church? When Christ says: "I came not to send peace, but a sword," Matt. 10 : 34, He not only proclaims the irrepressible conflict between truth and error, but He discriminates between a true and a fictitious peace in the Church. Good order is likewise a positive purpose of human ordinances in the Church, according to the divine precept: "Let all things be done decently and in order," 1 Cor. 14 : 40. The divine will conforms to this principle which binds the human agency in the development of the Church. "God is not the author of confusion," 1 Cor. 14 : 33. Indeed order, as a manifestation of law, pervades the entire government of God. "Order is Heaven's first law." As God has bound the operation of His own power, so has He that of man, to laws, by which all things in heaven and earth are created and controlled. The well known words of Richard Hooker, in the closing paragraph (8) of his first book on "Ecclesiastical Polity," may appropriately be recalled. "Of law there can be no less acknowledged than that her seat is the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world. All things in heaven and earth do her homage; the very least as feeling her care and the greatest as not exempted from her power. Both angels and men and creatures of what condition soever, though each in different sort and manner, yet all with uniform consent admiring her as the mother of their peace and joy." But whilst the principle of good order is generally recognized as a divine precept, the protracted and oftentimes violent controversy with respect to various rites and usages of the Church, attests that there is no uniformity of judgment as to the right application of that principle in the cultus of the Church. As the various creeds of Christendom arise, not from any diversity of view respecting the authority of the objective word, but from the diversity of subjective apprehension of the word; so human ordinances in the Church, respecting modes of worship and forms of government,

differ, not because there is no general acceptance of the principles of the supreme authority of the word and its divine precepts enjoining tranquillity and good order in the Church, but because the judgments of men differ in regard to their meaning and application. Our Article, therefore, in the *second place*, exhibits this truth, viz.: that whilst there is an agreement between the confessors and their adversaries, respecting the designation of principles which must regulate human ordinances, yet there is no agreement with the Roman Church, on the one hand, nor with the Reformed Churches, on the other, respecting the interpretation and application of these principles to specific human ordinances in the Church. There is indeed no antithesis, or condemnatory clause to the Fifteenth Article, such as is found in eight of the fourteen preceding articles of the Confession. There is no designation of adversaries, as Romanists or Anabaptists; and Burger in his "Evangelischer Glaube" commenting on this Article, says that "a special antithesis is omitted out of forbearance in the Augustana, because it would only have been pointed against the Papists."* But whilst we can perceive throughout the Confession a studied forbearance to irritate the Romanists, there is no hesitation, in the Fifteenth Article, to condemn the error of any adversary.

ERROR OF THE REFORMED CHURCHES.

The Fifteenth Article of the Confession, in its truly conservative and scriptural interpretation and application of the principles of the supremacy of the divine word, and of its precepts enjoining tranquillity and good order, in the regulation of human ordinances in the Church, points, not only against the Papists, but anticipates the error of most of the Reformed Churches, which subsequently separated from the Evangelical Confession. In the first place, our Article maintains that "set holidays, feasts, and such like, are to be observed." And in this specific application of the principles which regulate human ordi-

*Eine besondere Antithese ist aber dennoch aus Schonung in der Augustana weggelassen, weil sie nur gegen die Papisten wünder gerichtet gewesen sein. Vol. 2, p. 196.

nances, it cannot be said that it "points against the Papists;" for they observe "set holidays, feasts and such like," but, in this respect, it does point against the Anabaptists of the time of the Reformation, and against most of the Reformed Churches which subsequently arose, and which discarded "set holidays, feasts, and such like," on the ground that a right interpretation and application of the principles regulating human ordinances in the Church, did not sanction their observance. This reference to those who, in abandoning the errors of the Romanists in their false interpretation and application of these principles, nevertheless swung to an opposite extreme and discarded also the truly conservative interpretation of the Evangelical Lutheran Confession relative to Church ordinances, "is thus represented by Prof. Zöckler, in his work *"Die Augsburgische Confession,"* p. 256: "The attitude of our Confession, so far as it holds fast to these elements of ritual-tradition—always only in a form determined and purified according to the Scriptures—is opposed to all subjectivism and unchurchly radicalism. It takes a decided position against that iconoclastic zeal and that rude breaking with Christian history which characterizes most Reformed Churches and sects."* He then specifies "the Scottish Presbyterians, as having removed all ecclesiastical festivals except Sunday," and the Zwinglians in Switzerland, as having stricken "churchly anniversaries, except the chief yearly festivals from the calendar, and therewith have banished from the Church, bells, organs, altars, pictures and crucifixes, the customary order of pericopes, and liturgical forms or prayer; all these in supposed following of apostolic example and precept, but in truth moved by a spirit of abstract, unhistorical radicalism, and of an ever-strained zeal, even to an iconoclastic extreme, against real or only imaginary idolatry in the Church."

In the Directory for the public worship of God, which was drawn up by the Westminster Assembly, and accepted by the Church of Scotland in 1645, there is an appendix which declares

*Sie kert sich mit Entschiedenheit gegen jenen bilderstürmerischen Eifer und jenes schroffe Brechen mit der christlichen Geschichte, welches die meisten reformirten Kirchen und Secten characterisirt.

that festival days, vulgarly called holidays, having no warrant in the word of God, are not to be continued ; nevertheless it is lawful and necessary upon special emergent occasions, to separate a day or days for public fasting or thanksgiving, as the several eminent and extraordinary dispensations of God's providence shall administer cause and opportunity to his people. Cf. Art. "Festivals," by Rev. J. S. Black, *Ency. Brit.*, 9th ed.

ERROR OF THE ROMAN CHURCH.

But if the Fifteenth Article of the Confession declares against the false interpretation and application of the principles which regulate human ordinances, as represented in the most Reformed Churches, equally decided is its protest against the false interpretation and application of these principles by the Roman Church. Indeed this article illustrates the chief controversy between the Roman and the Evangelical Lutheran Churches. For the Roman Church at the time of the Reformation attached a justifying merit to the observance of human ordinances and traditions, as it does to this day. Therefore according the Evangelical Church, the Roman Church violated the principle, that only such human ordinances should be observed "which may be observed without sin." It is clearly in opposition to the ordinances and usages of the Roman Church that the concluding and greater portion of the Fifteenth Article of the Confession teaches this doctrine, viz. : "men are to be admonished that human traditions instituted to propitiate God, to merit grace and make satisfaction for sins, are opposed to the Gospel and the doctrine of faith. Wherefore vows and traditions concerning foods and days, and such like, instituted to merit grace and make satisfaction for sins, are useless and contrary to the Gospel." That the Roman Church teaches justification by works enjoined by human ordinances, as well as by faith in Christ, is manifest from the following canons of the Council of Trent: "If any one saith that justifying faith is nothing else but confidence in the divine mercy, which remits sins for Christ's sake ; or, that this confidence, alone, is that whereby we are justified ; let him be anathema." Sess. 14, Can. 12.

“If any one saith that satisfaction for sins, as to their temporal punishment is nowise made to God, through the merits of Jesus Christ, by the punishments inflicted by Him, and patiently borne, or by those enjoined by the priest, nor even by those voluntarily undertaken, by fastings, prayers, alms-deeds, or by other works also of piety; and that therefore the best penance is merely a new life; let him be anathema.” Sess. 14, Can. 13.

“If any one saith that the satisfactions by which penitents redeem their sins through Jesus Christ, are not a worship of God, but traditions of men which obscure the doctrines of grace, and the true worship of God, and the benefit itself of the death of Christ; let him be anathema.” Sess. 14, Can. 14.

Corresponding to this doctrine of good works, the Roman Church institutes ordinances and usages, such as monastic vows, fastings, difference of meats, observance of days, pilgrimages, penances, indulgences, rosaries, auricular confession, celibacy, extreme unction, worship of saints, etc. That Church maintains that one by such means appeases God and merits grace, and that the observance of these ordinances, from such motives and with such an object, does not in the least contradict the Gospel and the doctrine of faith in Christ. But with such a view of the value of human ordinances, they cannot be observed without sin. The evangelical doctrine as declared in our article, teaches that human “traditions * * * instituted to merit grace and make satisfaction for sin, are useless and contrary to the Gospel.” The Apology of the Confession, (VIII.) characterizes such a view of human ordinances, as “evidently a Jewish principle, in fact a suppression of the Gospel by the doctrine of the devil.” Paul condemns it in speaking of those who “being ignorant of God’s righteousness, and going about to establish their own righteousness, have not submitted themselves unto the righteousness of God,” Rom. 10 : 3. Christ rebukes it when he says, “in vain they do worship Me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men,” Matt. 15 : 9. The doctrine of justification by faith alone, is the subject of the fourth article of the Augsburg Confession. The doctrine of good works as the will of God and the fruit of faith, is the subject of the sixth article of the Confession. The doctrine of the relation between

faith and good works, is the subject of the twentieth article. Hence, as the nature and value of good works are thus completely considered in other articles of the Confession, it is not designed in the consideration of our Article to discuss particularly the doctrine of the merit of good works. This doctrine is introduced into the fifteenth article, in order to define the negative aspect of human ordinances in the Church, viz.: that they are not designed to propitiate God, to merit His favor, or to make satisfaction for sins.

POSITIVE DOCTRINE OF THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH.

Therefore it is the positive doctrine taught in this article which especially claims our attention, viz.: that human ordinances "are to be observed which may be observed without sin, and are profitable for tranquillity and good order in the Church." The right interpretation and application of these principles to specific human ordinances in the Church have their source, (1), in the science of hermeneutics, with respect to the correct apprehension of the divine word, by which it is determined whether they are observed without sin; (2) to the science of ethics, with respect to the determination of that which is right as the condition of true tranquillity; and (3) to the science of æsthetics with respect to the determination of that which is beautiful, harmonious, and appropriate, as essential elements in the law of good order. Through these sciences the intuitive conceptions or ideas of the human mind, respecting the true, the good and the beautiful, are educated into a correct knowledge of that which is right and wrong in human ordinances. Conceding the right of private judgment to all, and disavowing an absolute infallibility in her own conclusions, the Evangelical Lutheran Church nevertheless holds that she has been educated into a correct understanding and application of the principles which rightly regulate human ordinances in the Church. Her position amid the various subjective views of men, may, on the one hand, be called radical, in opposing the fundamental error of the Roman Church, which attaches a justifying merit to their observance; and, on the other hand, it may be called conservative, in contrast with the unchurchly views and prac-

tices of those Reformed denominations which ascribe to their observance idolatry, superstition, or insignificance.

SPECIFIC HUMAN ORDINANCES.

If we now consider specific human ordinances in the Church, we observe in the Fifteenth Article that mention is made only of "set holidays, feasts, and such like." The Variata, 1540 (42), in place of "feasts and such like," supplies, "certain devotional hymns and other similar rites," (*certae cantiones piae et alii similes ritus*). The Apology of the Augsburg Confession (VIII.) says: "the three chief festivals, Sunday, and the like, which were established for the sake of order, union and peace, we cheerfully observe." It also mentions a local customary "every Sunday observance of the Lord's Supper;" it regards with special favor the custom of catechisation; it condemns the adversaries for neglecting the preaching of the word in many countries during the whole year, except only in Lent. In the twenty-sixth article of the Augsburg Confession it is said, "many ceremonies and traditions are observed by us, such as Mass [not however in the sense of the Roman Church, but in the sense of necessary ceremonies attending the evangelical administration of the Lord's Supper], singing of hymns, festivals, etc., which are calculated to promote order in the Church." Thus we observe that "holidays and festivals," are prominent in the Confession and its Apology, as human ordinances rightly instituted in the Church. They are prominent because the administration of the means of grace, the public worship of God, and the commemoration of sacred events in the planting of the Christian Church, necessarily require stated times for their observance; and because different opinions existed respecting the nature and necessity of the festivals of the Church.

All specific human ordinances in the Church may, however, be included in the following classification, viz. :

I. TIMES OF DIVINE SERVICE.

II. MODES OF DIVINE SERVICE.

III. THE CONSTITUTION AND ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNMENT.

IV. THE CONSERVATION OF THE FAITH.

The limits assigned to this lecture compel a brief and, on

that account, somewhat unsatisfactory consideration and discussion, even of the prominent specific human ordinances under each of the foregoing classes.

I. TIMES OF DIVINE SERVICE.

The principles regulating human ordinances in the Church are to be applied to the times of divine service.

a. The Lord's Day: Ground of Obligation for its Observance.
Of most frequent occurrence, and of chief importance among the holidays and festivals, is the weekly observance of the Lord's day. Here, however, at the threshold of our view of special ordinances in the Church, we meet a somewhat perplexing question, viz.: what is the ground of the obligation to observe the Lord's day? If that day is to be observed because of a divine command, that at least one day in Seven shall be devoted to holy use, as distinct from secular use, then this divine appointment involves essentially the ceremonial element of the Jewish Sabbath, and hence it does not pertain to human ordinances to designate the proportion of time which shall be devoted to holy use. Yet the Confessions of our Church seem clearly to teach that the designation of the first day of the week, as a time to be employed in holy use, is not to be referred to a divine obligation that the specified proportion of one day in seven is to be kept as a holy day, but that the observance of the Lord's day is to be referred to the necessity for such suitable time as the Church, in the exercises of her liberty, shall apportion, in order statedly to administer the means of grace, and to worship God publicly in the sanctuary. The Augsburg Confession, Art. xxviii., says: "what then, should be held concerning Sunday and other similar Church ordinances and ceremonies? To this we reply: That the bishops or pastors may make such regulations, so that things may be carried on orderly in the Church. * * * Those, then, who are of opinion, that such institution of Sunday instead of the Sabbath, was established as a thing necessary, err very much. For the Holy Scripture has abolished the Sabbath, and it teaches that all ceremonies of the old law, since the revelation of the gospel, may be discontinued. And yet as it was necessary to appoint

a certain day, so that the people might know when they should assemble, the Christian Church ordained Sunday for that purpose, and possessed rather more inclination and willingness for this alteration, in order that the people might have an example of Christian liberty, that they might know that neither the observance of the Sabbath, nor of any other day, is indispensable."* Luther, in his Larger Catechism, commenting on the Third Commandment, says: "it is necessary to observe that we keep the Sabbath-day, [Lord's day] * * * mostly for the purpose of enabling us to embrace time and opportunity on these Sabbath-days, since we cannot otherwise embrace them, to attend to divine service, so that we may assemble ourselves to hear and treat of the word of God, and to praise him, by singing and prayer. But this, I say, is not so confined to time, as it was among the Jews, that it must be precisely this or that day, for one day is not better in itself than another, but it should be daily attended to; but since the common class of people cannot attend to it, we should reserve one day in the week at least, for this purpose. Inasmuch, however, as Sunday has been set apart from old for this purpose, we should therefore let it remain so, that the Sabbath may be observed with uniformity, and that no one create disorder through unnecessary innovation."† Without entering upon an extended exegesis of the passages of Scripture which relate to this question, it may be observed that the foregoing language of the Confessions indicates that the moral obligation of the Third Commandment does not pertain to the designation of one seventh of time for holy use as distinct from secular use, but to the holy use of whatsoever time human ordinances, in conformity to the law of good order, may designate for the administration of the word and sacraments, and for the worship of God. In other words, under the gospel, there is no day nor time, in itself by divine command, more holy than another, but there is a moral obligation resting upon the Church to administer the means of grace and to worship God publicly in the sanctuary, cf. Mt. 28 : 19,

*Book of Concord, Henkel's Eng. Edit., p. 137.

†Book of Concord, Henkel's Eng. Edit., p. 449.

20; Heb. 10 : 25 ; and consequently to set apart such times for these purposes, as the law of good order may designate. This doctrine of the Confession seems to be sanctioned by the divine word. The seventh day which God blessed and sanctified at creation, Gen. 2 : 2, 3, may be understood, consistently with the various durations of time, which Gesenius assigns to the word **יוֹם**, day,* as the last of those vast geological periods which science requires for the creation and existence of the pre-Adamite world. "They who contend," says Tayler Lewis, "that the divine Sabbath is simply the first twenty-four hours after creation, make it unmeaning as predicted of God and his works." Lange Com. Gen. p. 196. This interpretation of the Sabbath, instituted in Paradise, as the beginning of the rest of God from all creative work, and which rest is to end at "the regeneration" when the new heavens and the new earth shall appear. Rev. 21 : 1, is in harmony with the New Testament idea, that under the gospel dispensation there is no divinely ordained distinction of days, but that every day is to be sanctified. Hence the reference in the Third Commandment to the seventh day of rest which began at the end of the six creative days, may be understood analogically ; for as Gerhard says in his "Loci Theologici:" "Neither is there in Genesis any trace of the sanctification of the seventh day before the giving of the Law."† The observance of the Sabbath, Ex. 16 : 24, previous to the announcement of the Third Commandment at Sinai, Ex. 10 : 8, and which Dr. Paley considers its first institution, Moral Philos, Bk. V. ch. 7, may be understood proleptically, as is the Saviour's announcement to Nicodemus of the doctrine of bap-

*"Spoken of the natural day, from the rising to the setting sun, also of the civil day or 24 hours, which includes the night." Also, "time," Gesen. Heb. Lex. Sub. **יוֹם**. Such also is the varied signification of day in English. 1. "The space of time between the rising and setting of the sun. 2. The whole time or period of one revolution of the earth on its axis, or twenty-four hours. 3. Age ; time with reference to the existence of a person or thing."—*Webster's Dict.*

†XIII. § 139. Note. * * nec ullum exstat vestigium sanctificationis diei septimi in Genesi ante promulgationem legis.

tismal regeneration, which was not formally announced to the Church, until the great commission was given, after the resurrection, Matt. 28 : 19, 20. The New Testament indicates the abrogation not only of a specific but of a generic Sabbath. "One man esteemeth one day above another, another esteemeth every day. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind. He that regardeth the day, regardeth it unto the Lord," Rom. 14 : 5, 6. The meaning of the apostle seems evidently to be, that if a man regardeth a day at all as the Sabbath it should be because of the holy use of the day as distinct from secular use, and not because one day in itself is to be esteemed above another. "He struck not at a day but at a principle. If * * he only meant to establish a new set of days in the place of the old, there is no intelligent principle for which he is contending, and that earnest apostle is only a champion for one day instead of another, an assertor of the eternal sanctities of Sunday, instead of the eternal sanctities of Saturday" Rev. F. W. Robertson, Serm., vol. 2, p. 202. "The obvious influence from his (Paul's) arguing, is that he * * believed all times and days alike," Alford, Com. Rom. 14 : 6. "Let no man, therefore, judge you in respect of a holy day, or of the new moon, or of the Sabbaths; which are a shadow of things to come; but the body is of Christ," Col. 2 : 16, 17. "The holiday is yearly; the new moon, monthly; the Sabbaths weekly. * * Paul intimates here the removal of all distinctions of days; Christ clearly taught the liberty of the Sabbath. * * The Lord's day is mentioned, not enjoined. A stated day is useful and necessary to those who are engrossed in worldly concerns. They who keep a continual Sabbath, enjoy greater liberty. The Sabbath is a type even of eternal things, Heb. 4 : 3, 4, yet its obligation does not therefore continue in the New Testament, otherwise the new moons should be retained," Bengel, Gnomon, Col. 2 : 16. The doctrine of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in regard to the ground of obligation for the observance of the Lord's Day is thus stated by Rev. H. E. Jacobs, D. D. "She utterly repudiates the Sabbath as a day, call it by what name you please. She regards every day as the Sabbath of the believer, and no day as the Sabbath of the unbeliever,

* * whilst rejecting the Sabbath as a part of the ceremonial law she clings with affection to the day on which her Lord rose, as a day to rejoice and be glad in, as a day on which the great congregation can assemble, and join heart and voice, with the Church triumphant in ascriptions of honor and glory to Him that loved us and gave Himself for us. * * She will allow no one to judge her with respect to the Sabbath day ; but at the same time, she will allow no one to deprive her of the Lord's day," *Ev. Rev.*, vol. 20, p. 152.

b. The Ecclesiastical Year.—From the consideration of weekly festivals, we turn to that of yearly festivals. As the moral element in the observance of the Lord's day consists in the holy use of time as distinct from its secular use, and the ceremonial element appears in the designation of times and modes of observance according to the law of good order ; so we find a moral and a ceremonial element in the ground of obligation for the observance of yearly festivals. The moral element is the recognition of remarkable manifestations of divine providence and grace ; the ceremonial element is the designation of such events in conformity to the law of good order. Under the Old Testament, the divine ordinances required the yearly commemoration of important events in the constitution and development of the Jewish Church. These stated festivals afforded opportunity to instruct the people in the essential truths relative to the events ; they did much to confirm the faith of the Jews in their religion, and were of great advantage in promoting acquaintance and friendship among the several Jewish tribes. The most conspicuous of these Jewish festivals was typical of the atonement for sin by the sacrifice of the Lamb of God ; another was typical of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit in the planting of the Christian Church. The moral element in both these Jewish festivals is perpetuated under the gospel, by the special recognition of divine grace in the fulfillment of the type by the observance of Good-Friday and Whit-Sunday as holy days. The ceremonial element in the Jewish festivals is modified by the Christian Church, so as to designate only such festivals as the ethical and aesthetic principles of the law

of good order determine, viz. : that yearly festivals of the Christian Church, should not be excessive in number, and should not include any festal days to commemorate the saints, but should be restricted to a recognition of the chief events in the life of Christ, and of those doctrines which are essential to salvation. Wicklif, the forerunner of the reformation, is represented by Neander, in his Church History,* as contending that in his day many thought that all saint-day festivals should be abolished, and the festival of Christ alone remain ; for thus Christ would be kept in more lively remembrance and the devotion of the faithful would not be so improperly distributed between Christ *and His members*. As reasons for the observance of yearly festivals or holidays by the Christian Church, it may be said, that if those events of the Jewish Church which typified the advent of Christ, were worthy of commemoration, much more worthy are those which have so wonderfully fulfilled the type. If there are any events worthy of a special commemoration, they are those which characterize the earthly life of our Saviour, and if there are truths worthy of special recognition, they are those which He uttered. The same reason which justifies the celebration of our National anniversary and Thanksgiving day, sanctions the usage of the Christian Church, in the exercise of her liberty with respect to the observance of days, to set apart certain days to commemorate exclusively the great events and fundamental truths of Christianity. "The pillars on which Christianity rests, are matters of fact, such as the birth, miracles, crucifixion, resurrection and ascension of the Saviour. Hence any rational method tending to extend and perpetuate the knowledge of these facts must exert a salutary influence on Christianity itself."† A systematic arrangement of the festivals and holidays of the Church into a calendar exhibits the ecclesiastical year ; the design of which is thus set forth in a sermon by Dr. Ahlfeld, translated by Rev. L. W. Heydenreich, in *Ev. Rev.*, vol. 5, p. 280 : "The Church has become almost totally

*Eng. Ed., Vol. 5, p. 167.

†S. S. Schmucker, D. D., *Lutheran Manual*, p. 175. .

unconscious of the significance of her ecclesiastical year. * * Some may perhaps even ask the question, what has the year to do with the Church, or what has the Church to do with the year? The sun rules the common year. One rotation of the earth around it constitutes the annual circle, which successively develops the lovely spring, the ardent summer, the rich autumn and the severe and silent winter. Each of these parts has its peculiar character. In the firmanent of the Church, there also stands a sun whose name is Jesus Christ; it shines by day and by night, forever and ever. And as the earth moves around the visible sun, so the Church moves around the sun of divine grace, so she travels through the sacred history of the Saviour. Her spring is the lovely season of Christmas and Epiphany, when Christ is born a man, when in his glory He declares himself to be the Son of God with power. Her summer is the season of Lent, and the Passion-time of Jesus Christ, in which the anticipation of His death rests upon her like heavy, sultry days, until at last the storm of death, so long approaching, breaks forth, and the flash of lightning descends out of the black sin-cloud and slays the righteous. Her harvest time and autumn are the days when the Holy Spirit is poured out upon the disciples, and when in the lovely, long Trinity Sundays, one kind of fruit after another of the gifts of the Triune God is borne into the granary of the heart. The greatest diversity of events in the life of the Lord are crowded into this rich period. And wherever He stands and whatever He does or asks presents a field from which the believer may reap and gather. At last comes the severe and silent winter. From the twentieth Sunday after Trinity begin the gospels, which treat of the final things. * * On the last Sunday, the twenty-seventh after Trinity, all the different gospels which are used, treat of the entrance into the kingdom of glory. Thus on the first day of the ecclesiastical year, the Lord is announced in whom we may have life abundantly; on the last day believers have reached the goal of all their labors. The ecclesiastical year is a correct one; it is better regulated than the common year. It begins with its spring-messengers and spring, and ends not only with winter, with death and judgment, but also with victory over

death and judgment. The common year begins with winter, and at its close it is again winter. There is no natural progress in it. The Christian's life should be nothing but a journey around this heavenly orb, in order that he may experience its warming and enlightening influences." These extracts show that the design of the ecclesiastical year is to exhibit, within the cycle of the siderial year, and in "good order," the truths pertaining to the persons and the work of the Triune God; and, likewise, the duties and experience which pertain immediately to the Church. This idea is in harmony with the divine word, that "all Scripture is profitable for doctrine, and instruction in righteousness," and this idea is best realized through the systematic arrangement of the ecclesiastical year. The two services on the Lord's day and one in the midst of the week afford opportunity, not only for the commemoration of events and truths designated by the ecclesiastical year, but for the consideration and improvement of any providential events or necessities in the experience of the local congregations. With respect to the arrangement of the ecclesiastical year, the following ideas are submitted, and which are derived from an article by Prof. Plitt, of Bonn, on "The relation of the Sermon to the Church year," translated by Rev. J. D. Severinghaus in the *Ev. Rev.*, vol. 18, p. 169. There are two chief divisions of equal length, including twenty-six weeks each. The first division relates chiefly to the person of Christ, beginning with the first Sunday in Advent, or the fourth Sunday before Christmas, ending with the Sunday which commemorates the Trinity of the Godhead. The second division relates especially to the Church, and extends from the first Sunday after Trinity Sunday to the first Sunday in Advent. The first division of the Church year, or the half year of the Lord, is "the season of commencing, of carrying through, and of finishing the great work," or, Christmas season, a Lent season, and a season of glorification. The birth of Christ belongs to the first; his sufferings and death to the second; his resurrection and ascension to the third. With regard to the second division, *i. e.* the half year of the Church, "we have also a time of beginning, which is the season of the apostles and their doctrine; a time of carrying

through, which is the time of the martyrs and of sufferings; a time of finishing, which is the season of the angels and of the end, or of the last things." With respect to this outline of the ecclesiastical year and its observance, it may be said that the Evangelical Lutheran Church, consistently with the doctrinal position of the fifteenth article of the Augsburg Confession, holds a conservative position between that of the Roman Church with its excessive multiplication of festal and saints' days; and that of most Reformed Churches, which radically proscribes the observance of any special days to commemorate the great facts and truths of Christianity. It is to be said, however, that in other portions of the Reformed Churches, apart from the Protestant Episcopal Church, there are indications of a growing appreciation of a proper observance of the ecclesiastical year.

c. "*Protracted Meetings.*"—There is a usage prevalent in some portions of the Church, which relates to the observance of special days or times for the administration of the word, in order to effect the immediate conversion of the impenitent, and to arouse professing Christians who have fallen into a state of spiritual indifference. Such special occasions are sometimes called "protracted meetings." One theory upon which these extra meetings are held, implies that the stated administration of the word on the Lord's day and once in the midst of the week, as is customary in most churches, is not an adequate arrangement; but that if the attention of men is held continuously and closely for a season to the subject of religion they are more apt to be moved to a holy life, than if there are constant intervals of several days between the preaching of the word. In reply to such an inference, it is to be said that, as "the Holy Spirit works faith, when and where it pleases God, in those who hear the gospel," Augs. Con., Art. V., that is, "with respect to the presence, the operations, and the gifts of the Holy Ghost, no one ought to, or can always, judge *ex sensu*, that is, as to manner and time in which these things are perceived in the heart, but they frequently occur, and are concealed under our great imperfections," Form Concord, Dec. (II), therefore we cannot determine the inadequacy of the stated administration of the word, if we do not perceive immediately the fruit of the

Spirit's power in the word. To use an illustration of Chemnitz : "Just as the motion of the air is now violent, now gentle, now not perceived at all, so the regenerated must know that the presence and operating power of the Spirit is not measured by the perception of spiritual movements."* It seems to be a just inference, however, that the attempt to determine a time and place for the manifestation of divine grace through a special public administration of the word, tends to the disparagement of the efficiency of its stated public administration. Extra meetings for the public administration of the means of grace may be advocated consistently with objection to the revival system, when they are not based upon the same ground of necessity or usefulness as that upon which the revival system rests. Such extra meetings are held by the Evangelical Lutheran Church, in the observance of the ecclesiastical year ; in the custom of catechization ; in holding services preparatory to the observance of the Lord's Supper ; and in personal interviews with those who have been awakened through the stated public administration of the means of grace. If there is necessity for special public administration of the word to adults on the ground that its stated public administration is inadequate, the required opportunity is presented in catechization ; for catechization, whilst it is principally designed to be an official administration of the word to the children of the Church, who receive regenerating grace in Baptism, in order to prepare them for communicant membership by their voluntary confirmation of baptismal vows, yet it likewise affords an opportunity to administer the word to adults, not baptized, and for such as were baptized in infancy, but who, from neglect to nurture the spiritual life through childhood, have fallen from grace. "Tested by its fruits, the Lutheran doctrine of baptismal grace, when faithfully preached and consistently developed, will bear favorable comparison with the modern system of periodical efforts, or with any other system of doctrine and usage ever employed for the promotion of experimental religion and the development of true piety," F. W. Conrad, D. D., Lect. on Augs. Conf. 1874,

*Quoted in Besser's, "Christ the Light of the World," Huxtable's trs. p. 136.

p. 76. The objection to the revival system, therefore, does not arise on account of extra meetings in themselves considered, but because they involve the inference that a faithful use of the stated times and opportunities for administering the means of grace are not adequate to a proper development of the Church, and because it is assumed that through these extra meetings the development of the Church is best realized. Another theory upon which so-called protracted meetings are maintained is the alleged attractive power in the extra meetings which is available for bringing large numbers under the influence of the truth, and which does not pertain to the stated service of the sanctuary. Upon this theory we cannot, however, refer the attraction simply to the means of grace ; for they are, in themselves considered, as efficacious at one time as another ; hence any superior popularity of the extra meetings of the revival system, must be referred to influences which are incidental to or associated with the administration of the word ; such as the excitement awakened, or expected, from the mere assembling of large numbers of people on special occasions ; the curiosity of some to witness the manifestations of alleged spiritual awakening in individuals ; or sensationalism in singing or in preaching the word. The objection to the revival system as a human agency which designates a periodical season for the immediate manifestation of divine grace, does not involve a denial of the fact, that there have been genuine revivals of religion in the Church, wrought by the Holy Spirit through the truth ; but when we attempt to specify the human agency which developed them, or to indicate the way of the Spirit in producing them, it must often be said, as our Saviour has said of the kingdom of God, that it "cometh not with observation," Lk. 17 : 20. If extra meetings are necessary for immediate manifestations of divine grace, on the ground that the stated services of the Church are inadequate to its development, we might consistently apply the same principle to the curriculum of education in Theological Seminaries. Experience in such institutions, however, proves that a systematic course of study of divine truth statedly and faithfully administered, does not require a periodical continuity of intense application for several weeks, in order

to a healthful intellectual development of the students, but that this end is best attained when there is a regular and equitable distribution of recitations throughout the academic year. If the stated public administration of the word to adults, twice on the Lord's day, and once in the midst of the week, and the administration of baptism as a means of regeneration for infants, with their subsequent catechetical instruction as a preparation for communicant membership, together with the administration of the Lord's Supper to adults as a means of sanctification, have been designated by almost uniform and constant observance, in the Evangelical Lutheran Church, and have proven through experience, when faithfully observed, to be adequate for the development of the Church in harmony with the will of God, it would seem that the Church should apply her force and fidelity to these stated and established opportunities, rather than ignore their sufficiency by a reliance upon the periodical revival.

II. MODES OF SERVICE IN THE SANCTUARY.

It is the function of the human agency in the development of the Church not only to designate the times of ecclesiastical service, but likewise to regulate the mode of its administration. This aspect of human ordinances in the Church has much significance. The character of the Church is illustrated and its spirit is revealed by the manner of its service in the sanctuary. Divine service in the sanctuary consists of two essentially distinct parts, (I). The worship of God, (II). The administration of the means of grace.

a. Principles of the Cultus.—With respect to public worship, Olshausen* observes: "The element of adoration, with spurious objectiveness, has acquired in the Roman Church an undue predominance, while in the Reformed Church, with spurious subjectiveness, the preacher and his discourse have too much supplanted the element of adoration. The middle course is the right one, and it requires the two to be so distributed that the minister may stand forth not only in his subjectiveness as a

*Com. Acts 2 ; 42-47, vol. 4, p. 393, trans. by Lindsay.

teacher, but also as the organ through which the adoration of the Church receives expression." Dr. Höfling, in an article on "The Principles of the Cultus of the Evangelical Church,"* presented five principles as constituting liturgical action, which may be characterized by the terms, truth, freedom, generality, decorum and solemnity. With respect to truth he says: "The only objectively true and Evangelical faith of the Bible in redemption is just as truly expressed as it is appealed to by the cultus." Of freedom he says: "there is no ceremonial law of the New Testament; the acts of the cultus do not possess a character of external works commanded of God, * * the consciences of believers are not bound by this or that form of external worship, and the order of worship becomes an intolerable commandment of men, as soon as it is claimed to be a necessary element of the divine order of salvation." Of generality he says: "The Christian cultus is no merely individual, subjective or private worship, but public, common, and churchly. Its subject is not the individual believer *per se*, but the congregation of believers. Hence we infer that the merely individual and subjective understanding of the Scriptures, cannot be enforced, *nolens volens*, as objective truth, but wholly the common interpretation of the Church; and that the private faith of the individual subject cannot lay claim to be exhibited in the cultus, but the faith of the congregation." In reference to the relation of the worship of a local congregation to that of the total, after quoting the seventh article of the Augsburg Confession, that "it is not necessary to the true unity of the Christian Church that uniform traditions, rites and ceremonies of human appointment, should be everywhere observed," and that "it is sufficient that the gospel be rightly preached and the sacraments rightly administered," Dr. Höfling adds: that "the requisition that the worship of God should bear a churchly common character, that all the local congregations should agree, refers, especially * * to those acts in which, not so much the local as the total congregation is seen to act by the organ of her called servants in

*Translated by Rev. H. S. Lasar, *Ev. Rev.* vol. 10, p. 232, sq.

the name of God." It is not designed, however, by this principle, to neglect or ignore in any respect the spiritual wants and experience of the individual and of local congregations in public worship, but simply that the faith and worship of the Church in general, should be preëminently exhibited, as we shall observe more particularly hereafter. In reference to the fourth principle, decorum, he says: "A form of public and common action, like that of the cultus, cannot and dare not refuse to submit to the rule of the general moral law of order and decency; will not sacrifice the proper organization and orderly course of such action to accident or the option of a few individuals. * * The several parts must be united to an organic whole, and the different acts follow in such a succession as characterize the nature and end of common worship. * * The chief requisitions of this principle are the exactness in time and place, as well as the order and course of worship, the proper distribution of the different functions, and especially the provision made of particular organs to direct cultus-action." In reference to the fifth principle, solemnity, he says: "Cultus action cannot dispense with beauty and art, its end being to afford an expression to be perceived by the senses of something spiritual, and to keep everything distant that is low and common, all that is sensuous, impure and unworthy, or merely sensuous and not a reflex of the spiritual. But as little as the contents of the cultus is the spiritual and ideal generally, just so little can liturgic action be identical with artistic action generally, or beauty be its highest law. There is an immense, a specific difference between profane and sacred art. Profane art never advances higher than a religious contemplation of the world, but true churchly art is the representation of the divine, apprehended in the natural contemplation of God for the end of common devotion. The spiritual, as the contents of the cultus and calculated for the senses, * * is that which is holy *per se*. It being brought to exhibit itself directly in a proper manner, its result is not the beautiful, but the solemn. All liturgical action will correspond with this principle, if in it the arts are disrobed of all their own natural ideal contents, renouncing all efforts by their dexterity and skill to please; if they serve but the sacred

object they are to represent, both respecting form and contents, and appear as entirely devoted to and exclusively determined by it, in their production." The author then adds respecting these principles: "the less isolated they coöperate and the greater their harmonious union and mutual interpretation, the more living, the more pleasing in every direction and the more perfectly satisfactory will the cultus appear. No one element of religion and piety will make itself felt at the expense and exclusion of the others. * * On the mutual mediation of these, * * on their resolution into a higher unity and not upon their displacing and excluding each other, depends chiefly, the living character of the cultus."

b. General Synod's Order of Public Worship. Accepting these principles and guided by them, our General Synod formulates and presents in the Book of Worship, an order of public service in the sanctuary, in the observance of which the objective truth of the divine word, which is essential in true worship, is manifested every Lord's day in the morning service; thus conforming to the first principle of liturgical action. The non-observance of this ritual at other stated public services may serve to illustrate the second of the foregoing principles, viz. freedom; for thus it appears that "the consciences of believers are not bound by this or that form of external worship," nor does the order of worship become "an intolerable command of men," as though an unalterable liturgical service was "a necessary element of the divine order of salvation." The order of public worship on the Lord's day at the morning service also recognizes the third principle, termed generality, by which the local congregation exhibits the faith and worship of the Church in general. There is, with an exception or two, to which we shall presently advert, a proper arrangement and proportion of the several parts, so as to constitute an organic whole well calculated to edify the soul and to elevate it to a truly devotional experience. Each of the five liturgical principles already referred to has its special significance and value. The third principle, named generality, especially furnishes an argument of much force for the use of a liturgical form of worship. That principle requires that the local congregation shall ade-

quately express the faith and worship of the general or total Church. A prescribed formula by which the total Church is assured that her own faith and worship, and not the subjective views or feelings of the individual minister or local congregation are expressed, is therefore a necessity. An examination of the order of service, in the Book of Worship, will show that the first acts of service by the local congregation are an exhibition and confession of the faith and devotion of the Church in general. The Introits, the Gloria Patri, the Confession of Sin, concluding with the Kyrie Eleeson, the Confession of Faith in the Apostles' Creed, and the Gloria in Excelsis, embody not simply the worship and faith of the individual Christian or congregation; but especially is the Church Catholic represented in all the essential aspects of her faith and worship. There is perhaps ground for a minor criticism; that there is incompleteness in our order of service by the omission of rubrics to direct the congregation in the use of the liturgy; also by the omission of the declaration of absolution, which seems appropriate after the confession of sin and the Kyrie. For as the Church in general practically and appropriately illustrates her faith in the confession of sin, there would be conformity to good order and truth by practically and appropriately illustrating her faith in the forgiveness of sin, which indeed she professes in the Apostles' Creed, but which is not announced to the believing penitent. The twenty-fifth article of the Augsburg Confession says: "Our preachers diligently teach that confession should be retained for the sake of absolution, which is the principal and most valuable thing in it, to bring consolation to alarmed consciences, as well as for several other reasons." It is also doubtful whether it was an improvement to substitute the indefinite expression in the Apostles' Creed, "He descended into the place of departed spirits," for the phrase, "He descended into Hell." Certainly it is the doctrine of the Evangelical Lutheran Church as stated by Luther, according to the Formula of Concord, (IX.) "that the whole person, God and man, after his burial, descended into hell, and destroyed its power." Thus it is also stated in Luther's Smaller Catechism, in the Apostles' Creed, that Christ "descended into hell." The reading of the Pericopes designated in the ec-

clesiastical calendar, also harmonizes with proper liturgical action, if there is an observance of the Church year. The importance of the principle that the local church should represent the objective faith and worship of the total Church, is not, however, by any means designed to ignore the subjective wants or necessities of the individual or of the local congregation; indeed as integral constituents of the entire Church, they must individually experience the common faith and devotion which they represent. But beyond the individual experience in the common worship, the service of the sanctuary provides for the spiritual wants of the individual and of the local congregation, by the opportunity for extemporaneous prayer and for hymns adapted to special wants or occasions. The sermon, likewise, which is the prominent part of divine service, is usually delivered statedly three times during the week, and thereby opportunity is given not only for the consideration of topics suggested by the Church year, but likewise by individual or congregational experience. This recognition of that which is public, common and churchly, and likewise of that which is individual, subjective and local pertains to the cultus of the General Synod; which has "preserved the continuity of the past life of the Church with the present, in the adoption of forms, sacred through long association, and in making provision at the same time for the peculiar needs of the hour in unwritten prayers."*

c. Art in Worship. It was observed in the fifth liturgical principle, that "cultus action cannot dispense with beauty and art, its end being to afford an expression to be perceived by the senses of something spiritual," but as liturgical action is not identical with artistic action, "the arts must serve the sacred objects they represent, and appear as entirely devoted to it." Guided by this principle, the æsthetic judgment constructs and adorns the sanctuary, so that the external associations of divine service may awaken and cherish a truly devotional spirit; it avoids, on the one hand, a gaudy meretricious taste which ministers to pride and vanity; and on the other, that bald simplicity which does not apprehend the nature nor power of sacred art.

*L. E. Albert, D. D., *Lutheran Diet*, 1877, p. 272.

The true ethical and æsthetic judgment discards all melodies in divine service, which simply please the sensuous taste, or draw attention to the artistic skill of the performer, yet fail to awaken true devotion in the soul, and which, however appropriate elsewhere, are incongruous with the solemn associations of the house of God. It forbids all sensationalism, and whilst it requires eloquence and art in the ministry of the word, they must be concealed in the pre-eminent appearance and power of the truth. It makes a distinction to the eye, between the worship of God and the administration of His word, when the minister conducts the liturgical service in the chancel and delivers the sermon from the pulpit; and it is in conformity with a right liturgical form of public service in the sanctuary that the officiating minister should wear a distinctive robe in the performance of his official work. A plain vestment of black unlike the gaudy robes of the Roman priest, serves to identify the character of the minister and his office, and to impress upon the people the solemnity of the divine service in which they engage. Rev. John Hall, D. D., an eminent Presbyterian clergyman of New York city, says: "It does not follow, because a preacher is not a priest, that he is nothing but a paid speaker, or leader, or lecturer. He is an ambassador of Christ, a minister of the gospel, a commissioned officer in the Lord's sacramental host, called of God before he was called by the people of his particular charge; and whatever in dress or address will keep this in his own mind and in the mind of his people and the community, is not quite despicable. In the recoil from dead officialism in some parts of the country, it has been accepted as the proper thing for a clergyman to avoid, in some degree, any distinctive professional characteristics. This, however, may, like all reactions, be carried to the point where some evil begins; and it is just where this policy has ruled, and where sacred things are habitually divested of all sacred concomitants, that we should look for another and opposite reaction in favor of a florid or stately service."* Jacobson, in Herzog's Real Encyclopædia, vol. 7, p. 734, under Art. Kleider und Insignien,

**Princeton Review*, Mar. 1878, p. 354.

says that "ministers in the first centuries in the ordinary intercourse of life did not distinguish themselves from the people by their clothing, but beyond doubt they did so in the performance of their official acts."* And we may observe in the portraits of many eminent ministers of various Protestant churches, since the days of the reformation, that they are represented with a distinctive clerical apparel.

III CONSTITUTION AND ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNMENT.

Thus far the application of the principles regulating human ordinances has been made to *times* and *modes* of divine service. Another distinct function of the human agency which claims attention is the constitution and administration of government in the church.

a. Relation between Church and State. A preliminary reference to the relation between Church and State will not require an extended discussion; inasmuch as it is a fundamental law of this nation, with which the public sentiment accords, that the state cannot officially coöperate with the church in its government or development. The first Amendment to the Constitution of the United States declares that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." The Church and State, are alike divinely ordained institutions for the welfare of humanity and each has its distinct sphere and object, yet they are by no means absolutely independent of each other. Whilst it is exclusively the function of the State to protect life and property; and of the Church to administer the means of divine grace for the salvation of men, yet there is reciprocal protection. The State is the guardian of the Church, so that in its free development, "no one dares to molest it or make it afraid," a blessing which we need not go far back in history to learn to appreciate. We have but to recall the "Thirty Years' War," which desolated Germany, and the trials of England under Queen Mary and King James, II. The principle that the Church shall not be persecuted for its

*Im gemein verkehr unterschieden sich aber in den ersten Jahrhunderten die Beamten, dann der Klerus von dem Volke in der Kleidung nicht, wogegen dies ohne Zweifel bei Amtsverrichtungen geschah.

faith, was completely settled, and we trust forever, by the victory of the Protestants at Lutzen in 1632, associated with the heroic martyrdom of Gustavus Adolphus, and by the English revolution of 1688. On the other hand, the Church is the true guardian of the State. The spirit of Christianity as well as its precepts educate the citizen to loyalty, industry, and humanity. These are the best standing army of a nation; and it needs no prophet's eye to discern that the hope of perpetuating our noble civil government, must rest upon the intelligence and piety of the people. "The nation that forgets God shall perish." This obligation of the Church to infuse its faith into the state by no means implies that there should be any organic union between them, nor that the faith of the Church should be formally engrafted upon the constitutional law of the state. Our country affords an illustrious example to the nations of Europe which yet perpetuate an organic union of Church and State, that the Church can be faithful to her calling in her own sphere, distinct from organic union with civil government, and thereby aid the state and receive its protection in return. And whilst she has wisely refrained from attempting to exhibit her confession of faith in the national constitution, she has, to some extent, developed in its subjects the righteousness which "exalteth a nation."

b. Specific forms of Church Government: Papal; Episcopal; Presbyterian; Congregational; Evangelical Lutheran. Of more immediate practical interest and importance to us than the relation between Church and State, is the constitution and administration of Government in the Church; inasmuch as the subjective views of men, herein, again, widely differ in the application of the principles regulating human ordinances in the Church. Such importance pertains to modes of constituting government in the Church, that they serve in a great measure to mark and identify several of the great denominations of Christendom. Four different forms of government exist in the Christian Church in this land, viz.: the Papal, the Episcopal, the Presbyterian and the Congregational, representing respectively, monarchical, aristocratic, representative and democratic ideas of government. The Papal form of government is indeed admin-

istered by a body of clergy of different ranks and orders, but of this hierarchy, the Pope or Bishop of Rome is regarded as the supreme head of the visible Church, who in his official capacity is infallible in his judgment and absolute in his authority. The Episcopal form of government in the Protestant Church involves the principle that a succession from the Apostles in the order of bishops, as an order distinct from and superior to those who are called presbyters or teaching elders in the Church, is a requisite without which a valid Christian ministry cannot be preserved. The Methodist Episcopal Church discards the principle of an apostolic succession as necessary to a valid ministry, but "regards Episcopacy as essential to the itinerancy."* A third form of government in the Church, called the Presbyterian, maintains "that as to the bishops and presbyters, the Holy Scriptures make no difference between them," but that "all ministers of the gospel, although described by different names and titles, which designate their various functions, are of equal rank." This form of government holds that it is "agreeable to Scriptures that the Church be governed by congregational, presbyterial and synodical assemblies."† The Presbyterian organization is thus set forth in the "Westminster Confession of Faith," 1647,‡ Chap. 31:

Sec. 1. "For the better government and further edification of the Church, there ought to be such assemblies as are currently called synods or councils." The American Edition here adds: "And it belongeth to the overseers and other rulers of the particular churches by virtue of their office, and the power which Christ hath given them for edification and not for destruction, to appoint such assemblies, and to convene together in them, as often as they shall judge it expedient for the good of the Church, Acts 15 : 22, 23, 25.

Sec. 2. "It belongeth to synods and councils, ministerially, to determine controversies of faith and cases of conscience, to set

*J. F. Crane, D. D., *Methodism and its Methods*, p. 185.

†J. M. Krebs, D. D., *Art. Presbyterian Church*, in *Rupp's Hist. of Relig. Denom. in U. S.*, p. 567.

‡Schaff's *Creeds of Christendom*, vol. 3, p. 669.

down rules and directions for the better ordering of the public worship of God and government of His Church; to receive complaints in cases of maladministration, and authoritatively to determine the same; which decrees and determinations, if consonant to the word of God, are to be received with reverence and submission, not only for their agreement with the word, but also for the power whereby they are made, as being an ordinance of God, appointed thereunto in His word."

A fourth form of government is the Congregational. Those who adopt it "agree in the belief that the right of government resides in local churches or congregations of believers, who are responsible directly to the Lord Jesus Christ, the one Head of the Church universal, and of all particular churches."* Let us briefly estimate the value of each of these forms of government as human ordinances, from the stand point of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. With respect to the primacy of Peter, it is taught and declared in the "Dogmatic decrees of the Vatican Council, 1870," ch. 1, "that according to the testimony of the gospel the primacy of jurisdiction over the universal Church of God was immediately and divinely promised and given to blessed Peter the apostle, by Christ, the Lord."† With respect to the primacy of the Popes, his alleged successors, the following canon, occurs in ch. 2: "If then any should deny that it is by the institution of Christ, the Lord, or by divine right, that blessed Peter should have a perpetual line of successors in the primacy over the universal Church, or that the Roman Pontiff is the successor of blessed Peter in this primacy; let him be anathema." With respect to the power of the Roman Pontiff, it is taught and declared in ch. 3, "that by the appointment of our Lord, the Roman Church possesses a superiority of ordinary power over all other churches and that this power of jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiff, which is truly episcopal, is immediate, to which all, of whatever rank and dignity, both pastors and faithful, both individually and collectively are bound by their duty of hierarchical subordination and true obedience to

*Declaration of the National Congregational Council at Oberlin, O., 1871, in Schaff's *Creeds of Christendom*, vol. 3, p. 737.

†Schaff's *Creeds of Christendom*, vol. 2, p. 167, sq.

submit, not only in matters which belong to faith and morals, but also in those that appertain to the discipline and government of the Church throughout the world, so that the Church of Christ may be one flock under one supreme pastor, through the preservation of unity, both of communion and of profession of the same faith with the Roman Pontiff. This is the teaching of Catholic truth, from which no one can deviate without loss of faith and salvation." The Roman Church claims this supreme authority for the Roman Pontiff, the alleged successor of Peter, as a divine right, on the ground that the following passage of Scripture, among others, confers it, Matt. 16 : 18, 19. Christ said to Peter: "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock, I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee, the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven." The Protestant churches regard it essential to the right interpretation of this passage of Scripture, that the words of Christ to Peter be referred not to the person of Peter, but to the answer which Peter gave to the question which Christ asked all the disciples, "whom say ye that I am?" After the inadequate answers of some, Peter correctly replies, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." That confession of Peter is the rock upon which Christ has built his Church. In Matt. 18 : 18, Christ says to all the disciples, what he had said to Peter: "Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven," &c. The power of the keys, which it is alleged Christ gave to none but Peter, can only mean the office through which the promise of the Gospel is imparted to every one that desires it; yet this power, Christ expressly said, pertained to the whole Church; for after unavailing efforts to reconcile an offending brother, Christ directs that the difficulty shall be referred to the Church, and if the offender neglects to hear the Church "let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican." The office of the keys was again bestowed not upon Peter but upon the disciples on the resurrection day: "Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosesoever sins ye retain they are retained," Jno. 20 : 23. Paul

places himself on an equality with Peter with respect to his office : "For he that wrought effectually in Peter to the apostleship of the circumcision, the same was mighty in me toward the Gentiles," Gal. 2 : 8, and he ascribes to divine grace the ability to accomplish a greater work than any of the apostles ; indeed he declares that he withstood Peter to his face, because he was to be blamed for dissembling with the Jews. But if Peter had any primacy of office we may reasonably suppose that Paul would have here recognized it. On the night of his betrayal, Christ taught the apostles, disputing among themselves who of them ought to be regarded as the vicar of Christ after his death, that he wanted no primacy among them. "The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them, but so shall it not be among you." Yet again we read that "the council of Nice, (325) resolved that the bishop or pastor of Alexandria, should provide for the Churches in the East, and the bishop or pastor of Rome for those in the West,"* showing the supremacy of the Church over the bishops, and denying the primacy of the bishop of Rome over all others. For these among other reasons the Protestant Church rejects the dogma that a proper constitution of the government of the Church must recognize the Pope by divine right as the supreme head and ruler of the Church. This article of the Roman Church, says Luther, "we hold and know to be false, impious, tyrannical and pernicious in the extreme to the Christian Church."† Respecting the infallible teaching of the Roman Pontiff, it is said in ch. 4 of the "Dogmatic decrees of the Vatican Council, 1870."‡ "We teach and define that it is a dogma divinely revealed that the Roman Pontiff, when he speaks, *ex cathedra*, that is, when in discharge of the office of pastor and doctor of all Christians by virtue of his supreme apostolic authority, he defines a doctrine regarding faith or morals to be held by the universal Church, by the divine assistance promised to him in blessed Peter, is possessed of that infallibility with which the divine Redeemer willed that his Church should be endowed for defining doctrine, regarding

*Appendix to Smalcald Articles, VI.

†Book Concord, Eng. Ed., p. 392.

‡Schaff's Creeds of Christendom, vol. 2, p. 271.

faith or morals; and that therefore such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are irreformable of themselves, and not from the consent of the Church." An illustration of papal "infallibility" occurs in the decree of Pope Paul V. (1616), confirmed by his successor Urban VIII. that Galileo's propositions (I) that the earth moves around the sun, and (II) "that the earth has a diurnal motion of rotation" are, "heretical," *i. e.* contrary to the teaching of Scripture, and "erroneous as to faith."* Of this dogma of Papal infallibility, a learned Pontiff, of irreproachable morals, viz.: Adrian VI. says, in a book reprinted at Rome in 1522, during his pontificate, that "it is certain, that the Pope may err in matters of faith in defending heresy by his opinions or decretals." D'Aubigne, giving the original of these words and the reference, says: "If the Ultramontanists reply that Adrian was mistaken on this point, by this very circumstance they affirm, what they deny, namely, the fallibility of the Popes."†

With respect to the Episcopal form of government, in the Protestant Episcopal Church, it is to be said that "some have recognized in Episcopacy an institution of divine origin, which is absolute and indispensable; others have represented it as destitute of all apostolic sanction and authority."‡ According to the former view, no Christian community can have a right to claim to be considered in the true sense a branch of the Church catholic or universal, if it have not episcopal organization. The latter view considers Episcopacy desirable to the good government of the Church, and to the maintainance of Evangelical truth and apostolical order, but not essential to its existence. It is evident, indeed it is conceded by advocates of the divine right of Episcopacy, that the offices of bishop and of presbyter in the New Testament are identical.§ Thus the presbyters or elders of the Ephesian Church summoned by St. Paul to meet

*Miss Clark's Life of Galileo, Ency. Brit. 9th Edit.

†Hist. Ref. vol. 3, p. 152, Am. Tract Soc. Ed.

Certum est quod Pontifex potint errare in iis quae tangunt fidem, hære. sim per suam determinationem aut decretatem asserendo, Conom. in lib. 4, Sententiarum Quest. de Saer. Confirm. Romæ, 1522, fol.

‡Dr. Lightfoot, quoted in Art. Episcopacy, in Ency. Brit. 9th Edit.

§Cf. Canon Venables, quoted in Art. Episcopacy, in Eng. Brit. 9th Edit.

him at Miletus, Acts. 20 : 17, (*μετεκαλέσατο τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους,*) are, in v. 28, designated by him bishops or "overseers" of the flock (*ἐν ᾧ ὑμεῖς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἔδετο επισκοπούς.*) Paul directs Titus to ordain elders, Tit. 1 : 5, (*καταστήσης πρεσβυτέρους,*) and in the 2nd verse following, in describing their qualifications, he calls them bishops, v. 7, (*δεῖ γὰρ τον ἐπίσκοπον ἀνέγκλητον εἶναι*). The same thing occurs in his epistle to Timothy, 1 Tim. 3 : 1, when he describes the qualification of a bishop for ruling well, (*εἰ τις ἐπισκοπῆς ὀρέγεται,*) and then in chap. 5, v. 17, calls those who rule well "elders," (*οἱ κολῶς προεστῶτες πρεσβύτεροι.*) "Any conclusion, therefore, drawn from the use of the term 'bishop' in the New Testament, as to the existence of the episcopal office, as an office of superior rank or authority, to the office of presbyter or elder, would be fallacious."* The office of the apostles was indeed of superior rank and power to that of elders or bishops, but as the apostles were especially called, inspired and endowed with miraculous gifts, so we may believe, particularly in the absence of any positive scriptural or ecclesiastical testimony to the contrary, that their office in the Church likewise terminated with them, and was not perpetuated by the Episcopacy. Melancthon in the Appendix to the Smalcald Articles, (Bk. Con. p. 403, Eng. ed.) says: "The gospel commands those who should regulate the Church, to preach the gospel, to remit sins, and to administer the sacraments; and it moreover gives them the authority to excommunicate those who live in the open commission of sin, and to absolve those who desire to amend their lives. Now every one, even our adversaries, must confess that all who preside over the Church have this command alike, whether they be called pastors or presbyters or bishops." The Formula of Government of the General Synod, (Ch. III. Sec. I.) states that "the persons filling the clerical office in the New Testament, are designated in Scripture by different names as bishop, presbyter or elder, etc. All these are by divine right of equal rank." Hence we conclude that if an episcopal organization existed in the early Church, it is to be regarded entirely as a

*Canon Venables, Art. Episcopacy, Ency. Brit. 9th Edit.

human ordinance. Neander, in his Church History, thus explains the origin of the Episcopal office, as distinct from that of elder, in the early Christian Church: "Soon after the apostolic age, the standing office of president of the presbytery must have been formed; which president, as having preëminently the oversight over all, was designated by the special name of *Ἐπίσκοπος*, and thus distinguished from the other presbyters. Thus the name came at length to be applied exclusively to this presbyter, while the name presbyter continued at first to be common to all; for the bishops, as presiding presbyters, had no official character other than that of the presbyters generally. They were only *primi inter pares*."* Considered merely as a human ordinance, the Episcopal form of government has been advocated, as promoting tranquillity and good order, and as not contradictory at least to the example of the Apostolic Church. It is thus considered "the means of the confederation of the Church. The bishop represents the Church, and is the centre of unity to the body, a safeguard against disunion and a security for the harmonious coöperation of its various constituents."† No doubt there is advantage to the local congregation and the rector or pastor, in the personal or individual oversight and visitation of a bishop; and in the Scandinavian countries, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and in Iceland, where the Evangelical Lutheran Church prevails, the Episcopal form of government is adopted, not as of divine obligation, but as a human ordinance of value to the Church. The Presbyterian and Congregational forms of government have been already described in the words of their own confessions of faith.

The Evangelical Lutheran Church in this country, discarding Episcopacy, exhibits both Congregational and Presbyterian principles of government. It harmonizes with the doctrines of our Church, and the genius of our people, that the authority and government of the Church, in some respects should be vested entirely in the members of the local congregation and not delegated nor subjected to a foreign jurisdiction. Neander, commenting on the constitution of government in the early

*Vol. I, p. 190, Eng. Ed.

†Canon Venables, Ency. Brit. 9th Ed. Art. Episcopacy.

Christian Church, observes that "the monarchical form of government was not suited to the Christian community of spirit."* Thus our Church recognizes the Congregational polity to this extent that the local congregation is free to manage its own affairs in the control of its property, in the choice of its pastor, and in the ordinary government and discipline of its members. Yet the Presbyterian principle of organization appears in the synodical relation of the local congregations. In this relation the congregation adopts the constitution of Synod, and whilst it thus participates through its representative in the legislation of the general for the local Church, it is likewise subject to the authority of Synod, *e. g.* should the local congregation sever its connection with Synod by its own act, it may deprive itself of a pastor, who will teach its confession of faith, inasmuch as "pastors are amenable to Synod, which has the entire jurisdiction over them."† The advantage of an oversight of the Churches, which is attributed to the Episcopacy, is to some degree realized in the Evangelical Lutheran Church through the Synod and Synodical Conference. For these bodies visit the local congregations from time to time, not, however, as frequently as bishops or presiding elders; on the other hand the congregations through the lay delegates and pastors come into frequent association with the Church at large through the Synod and Conference, when the duties and responsibilities of the local congregations are in some measure supervised. It might be profitable to discuss the question whether in our Synodical Conference districts a systematic visitation of local congregations, by a suitable person in an official capacity, is feasible and desirable, and whether such a practice would be consistent with the Congregational and Presbyterian principles of government already recognized in our Church. Our General Synod is the representative, and likewise the legislative body for the entire Church. It possesses, however, advisory rather than judicial power. It is of great value in forming a bond of union in the Church, and in giving to it organic stability. It is also an important agency in the

*Ch. Hist. vol. I, p. 183, Eng. Ed.

†Form. Gov. Ch. III, Sec. 3, Gen. Synod.

general missionary, benevolent and educational operations of the Church. From this cursory view of the several existing forms of government, it will be observed that the Evangelical Lutheran Church recognizes as principles, sanctioned by the New Testament; the parity of the ministry; the rights and liberty of the local congregation; the necessity, however, for representative government with authority to reach and render efficient the entire membership of the Church. These principles correspond with those which regulate our civil government, and embody the truth that human governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, whilst their efficiency and success, both in the Church and State, seem to require more than any other, the highest type of intelligence and piety in the people.

IV. CONSERVATION OF THE FAITH OF THE CHURCH.

There remains to be considered, the application of the principles regulating human ordinances in the Church, with respect to the conservation of the faith.

a. Creeds; their necessity and limitation. Formulas of Faith, called Creeds or Confessions of Faith, have been and ever will be a necessity in the constitution and development of the Church. The Creed is the testimony of the Church to divine truth; thus the Church declares what it believes; thus it reproves the errors and unbelief of the world; thus it protects itself from the peril of false doctrines taught within its fold; thus it instructs its members in the knowledge of the divine word. Our inquiry now pertains, not to the necessity of Creeds as a defence of faith, against those without the Church who assail the truth, such as avowed atheists and infidels, but, to what extent human ordinances may defend the faith against those within the Church, of whom it is alleged that they are false teachers who misunderstand or pervert the truth of the divine word? The subjective views of the regenerate concerning the meaning of the divine word, are not exempt from the influence of the law of sin which is in their members, and which has impaired their mental as well as moral nature. Notwithstanding this incom-

plete sanctification of all believers, which has occasioned the various and discordant Creeds of Christendom, Christ declares that the Holy Spirit will guide the Church into all truth, Jno. 16 : 13, and that it can "know of the doctrine whether it be of God," Jno. 7 : 17. He has promised furthermore to be with His Church all the days of time, and that the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it. Hence that which especially marks and identifies the Church throughout her history, is, that she endeavors to "hold fast the form of sound words," 2 Tim. 1 : 13. She can suffer no man to take her crown, Rev. 3 : 11. This principle, which justifies the Church in establishing symbols, as the evidence and defence of her faith, and for the rejection of error, is recognized throughout Christendom. Hence the first controverted question in the Church respecting symbols of faith is not whether they are necessary, but what is their proper limitation. The entire Christian Church admits the necessity of contending for the faith once delivered to the saints, so far as the three ecumenical Creeds are concerned, viz.: the Apostles', the Nicene, and Athanasian, because those symbols express the subjective faith alike of the Protestant and Roman Churches. If we consider the doctrine which especially distinguishes the Protestant from the Roman Church, viz., Justification by faith alone, we find that doctrine engrafted on the various creeds of Protestantism as "the article of a standing or a falling Church;" over against the doctrine of the Roman Church, that there is a justifying merit in good works as well as in faith. When we consider the Protestant Church exclusively, we observe, however, a wide diversity of opinion respecting the doctrines of the divine word. United in the faith which exhibits the doctrines essential to salvation, and testifies to the errors of Romanism, the Protestant Church is itself divided upon doctrines which although not essential to salvation are fundamental with respect to a right understanding of the divine word. Hence the question occurs; shall the Church contend earnestly for the faith as it is expressed in the three ecumenical creeds, or does fidelity to the truth relate likewise to those doctrines concerning which there is diversity of opinion in the Protestant Church? Shall those doctrines alone, which are essential to salvation be em-

bodied in a confession of faith, or those likewise, which are essential to a right and full understanding of the word? It must be admitted, that there is a relative value, so far as the salvation of the soul is concerned, between doctrines confessed in the early creeds of the Universal Christian Church, and those doctrines which have divided Protestantism into denominations. Nevertheless the divine word indicates that the doctrines which divide the Protestant Church are fundamental with respect to the purity and completeness of the faith and to the welfare of the soul. "All scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, &c., * * that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works," 2 Tim. 3 : 16, 17. The command of Christ is, "teaching all things whatsoever I have commanded you," Matt. 28 : 20. "Whosoever shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven," Matt. 5 : 19. All the doctrines of Scripture are so related and essential that "the whole body" is "fitly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part," Eph. 4 : 16. Hence error with respect to one doctrine affects to some degree the clearest apprehension of another, even as "the shattering of a single nerve in one extremity of the body is felt throughout the system."* "Truth is an undivided whole, the component parts of which are essentially connected, no one article of faith can be undervalued without affecting the integrity of the whole, (as far as an individual is personally concerned)."[†] To use another figure of the Apostle, whilst there is but one foundation upon which the Church can build, "for other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ," 1 Cor. 3 : 11, yet it matters much whether upon that foundation the Church rears the superstructure of gold and silver and precious stones, or whether it builds of wood and hay and stubble. Whilst those in the Roman or in any Protestant Church, who truly believe in Christ as their Saviour, shall be saved; yet they shall

*C. F. Schaeffer, D. D.

[†]G. V. Lechler, D. D., Com. Acts, p. 81, Dr. C. F. Schaeffer's tr.

suffer loss, when they build upon the foundation of Christ, any doctrine or life not in harmony with the entire truth of the divine word, for "the fire shall try every man's work of what sort it is. If any man's work abide which he hath built there-upon, he shall receive a reward. If any man's work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss; but he himself shall be saved; yet so as by fire," 1 Cor. 3 : 13-15. Hence those who propagate error, even through ignorance of the truth, work incalculable mischief. Instead of a stately palace they rear an unsightly structure upon the foundation which is Jesus Christ; instead of a strong and beautiful Church built of the pure gold and silver and precious stones of divine truth, we see the frail and unsightly wood, hay and stubble, as an exhibition of the Temple of God. Hence all the doctrines of the divine word may be viewed as fundamental in their relation to the system of divine truth; for while some are fundamental with respect to the salvation of the soul, all are fundamental with respect to a right knowledge and faith of the word. The Evangelical Lutheran Church recognizes the importance of this principle more fully than any other portion of Protestantism, as the extent of her symbolical books apparently attests. Her confessions declare her faith in regard to every important doctrine that is taught in the divine word, and her position is clearly and fully defined in the great controversies of the Church, respecting the faith once delivered to the saints.

b. Doctrinal Basis of the General Synod. The doctrinal basis of our General Synod, as a human ordinance in the Church, seems practically to represent the subjective faith of the entire Evangelical Lutheran Church in its antithesis to those doctrines which especially mark and identify the Roman Church and the Reformed denominations; without, however, representing the positive faith which particularly characterizes the Evangelical Lutheran Church and which distinguishes it from the various denominations of Christendom; for in withholding its assent to all the symbolical books, as a correct explanation and defence of the doctrines taught in the Augsburg Confession, it implies that its phrase "fundamental doctrines," refers only to doctrines which are fundamental to salvation, and not

to doctrines which are fundamental to a right understanding of divine truth as represented in all the doctrinal articles of the Augsburg Confession. The ethical defence of the doctrinal basis of the General Synod is, that it rightly represents the subjective faith of its adherents, who, on the one hand, cannot conscientiously assent to a Roman or Reformed confession of faith, but on the other hand, are unprepared to accept the doctrines which especially identify the Church of the unaltered Augsburg Confession. As an organ of providence the General Synod has occupied a conspicuous sphere in the development of our Church in this land. Such, however, is the importance of the doctrines exhibited and confessed in all the symbolical books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, in their relation to the entire system of truth revealed in the divine word; such is the unwillingness of the General Synod to affirm the error of those Symbols in its doctrinal basis; and such is the desirableness of positive, accurate and definite faith respecting them; that it would seem to be a just inference that the true vocation of the General Synod, not unmindful of her external development and devotional life, is, the determination of the truth or error of those doctrines which it is yet unprepared to confess and defend. Such a calling is indicated by tendencies in the Evangelical Lutheran Church to withhold pulpit and altar fellowship from those who do not confess the doctrines of the divine word as they are taught in her symbolical books. Thus in reply to the question, whether all who live in the Church are to be admitted to the Holy Supper? Gerhard, (x. 381) says: "Nor are all Christians promiscuously to be admitted to the Lord's Supper; but according to the rule of Paul, only those who examine themselves, 1 Cor. 11 : 28, *i. e.* those who condemn themselves, v. 31 : those who distinguish the body of the Lord from ordinary food, v. 29; and who show forth the Lord's death, v. 26. * * Therefore all those are excluded who are either unwilling or unable to examine themselves, as (1) those who are defiled with heresy, *i. e.* who pertinaciously and refractorily persevere in error concerning the foundation of the faith, neglecting all kinds of admonition; for, since by their heresy they cut themselves off from the fellowship of the true Church

they also cannot at all be admitted to the Sacraments, which are the blessings peculiar to the Church; such are, *e. g.*, those who pertinaciously deny the true and substantial presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Holy Supper. Matt. 7 : 6; Phil. 3 : 2; 1 Cor. 11 : 29.*

This exclusiveness is to be regarded as a manifestation of the confidence of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, in all her symbols as correct exhibitions of divine truth, and of her fidelity to guard its purity. Hence her "close communion" is not so much a challenge as an appeal, to those "who are nigh," as well as "to those who are afar off," "to search" and "try" her symbols of faith, either to prove that they are built upon the treacherous sands of error, or else to learn that they abide upon the enduring rock of truth.

c. The Augsburg Confession. This year, distinguished as the sabbatic year of jubilee in the history of the Augsburg Confession, the oldest of denominational creeds, finds that symbol yet abiding in the bloom and vigor of its youth. In its eventful experience of seven semi-centennials, it has passed through fire and flood, and like our Lord, whose person and work it teaches us rightly to apprehend, it has often been, as to its integrity, despised and rejected of men, yet it survives to-day with more adherents than are claimed by all other creeds of Protestantism combined. Containing in the germ those doctrines which are more fully developed throughout the symbolical books, it seems to be the first necessary basis, upon which our Evangelical Zion can hope to realize an organic unity of faith. Indeed, says Rev. Dr. Krauth, in the introduction to his translation of the Augsburg Confession: "To it the eyes of all deep thinkers have been turned as to a star of hope amid the internal strifes of nominal Protestantism." He then quotes Gieseler, the great Reformed Church historian, as saying: "If the question be, which among all Protestant confessions is best adapted for forming the foundation of a union among Protestant Churches, we declare ourselves unreservedly for the Augsburg Confession." As the Magna Charta of the Reformation, as the symbol of

*Quoted in Schmid's Dogmatic, Drs. Hay and Jacobs' trans., p. 292.

faith for forty millions of the Protestant Church, as a clear and correct exhibition of those doctrines of the divine word of which it treats, the Augsburg Confession must ever stand pre-eminent among the human ordinances instituted in the visible Church.

We began, in the order of our discussion of specific human ordinances in the Church, with the consideration of the institution of the Lord's day; we end with that of the Augsburg Confession. If there is a relative value and importance among human ordinances in the Church, we may say of these two, that they are the alpha and omega, the beginning and the end; they are the bright and morning stars. Yet we may not undervalue any human ordinance in the Church, established in conformity with the principles enjoined in the fifteenth article of the Augustana, "for as the body is not one member but many," 1 Cor. 13 : 14, "and the head cannot say to the feet I have no need of you," so it must be said of every human ordinance rightly instituted in the Church, as has been already said of the value of every doctrine taught in the divine word, that "the whole body is fitly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part." Eph. 4 : 16.

ARTICLE II.

CHURCH DISCIPLINE.

By GEO. DIEHL. D. D., Frederick, Md.

In the training and government of the Church, rules and regulations are necessary. The application of these rules and principles derived from divine authority, is called church discipline. These methods of governing are chiefly educational. But in the case of offenders, they may become punitive. The application of such a system of rules is designed to promote the piety, purity, peace and good order of the Church, and the usefulness and final salvation of her members.

Discipline also embraces the methods of regulating public worship and the general management of congregational affairs. Offenders against the canons of the Church, after a fair investigation and impartial decision are visited with penalties, graded according to the offence. The purity of the body sometimes requires cutting off, from all fellowship, the incorrigible; as the Church cannot be responsible for the grossly immoral or the flagrantly heretical. Government in the Church is as necessary as in the state or the family. It is salutary to the subject of discipline and necessary to the welfare of the body exercising it.

WHAT ARE THE AIMS OF CHURCH DISCIPLINE?

The statements above have partly answered this question. In the wide sense of the phrase the object of discipline is the religious improvement of her members, and the prosperity and efficiency of the congregation.

The Church is the visible body of Christ; the witness of His redeeming power on earth; an organization of people confessing the name of Christ and holding forth among men the word of life. In training her people for eternal blessedness the Church becomes an oratory for prayer, a school for conscience, a nursery of goodness. Discipline and government must always

contemplate the advancement of the people in Christian knowledge and holiness. Those who conform to her requirements, obeying her regulations, attending her ordinances and leading exemplary lives require no exercise of disciplinary supervision, being loyal citizens of the kingdom and obedient subjects of grace.

There are three classes over whom the Church should exercise disciplinary influences. The ultimate aim in each case is the same, though varying in the immediate object to be reached.

The first class of members requiring disciplinary training are baptized minors, whose names are enrolled as part of the visible Church. No punitive discipline can be exercised over these even if they grossly violate their baptismal obligations. It has been justly remarked that the entire body of the visible Church—or the entire membership of the baptized—cannot be convened to investigate and decide a case of discipline should there be an accusation of vice or heresy against a baptized youth, who is not in sacramental communion. This entire body has no organization. And no part of a body can feel authorized to act for the whole. There may be persons in the visible Church who are leading the most scandalous lives; but being non-communicants there is no organization of the entire Christian community, that is, persons who have received Christian baptism, to call to an account for immorality or heresy, those who have never sought for admission to the holy communion.

Again, the Church cannot directly exercise authority over minors, since God has entrusted this power to parents and guardians. Paul says (Gal. 4 : 1, 2): "The heir as long as he is a child differeth nothing from a servant though he be lord of all; but is under tutors and governors until the time appointed of the father." The apostle here teaches that children so long as they are minors, are under the absolute control of parents, whose authority is supreme. This authority children are commanded to recognize and obey. (Col. 3 : 20): "Children obey your parents in all things; for this is pleasing to God."

There can be no conflict of authority given by divine appointment. There cannot be two jurisdictions that might come

into collision. The scriptural injunction to obey parents precludes the idea of the Church interfering directly between the parent and the child. Nothing can be done that would set aside or weaken the authority of the parent. But the parent being a member, the Church has jurisdiction over him, and through him, indirectly, over the child. The Church can demand that the baptized child be trained in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.

Baptized minors have entered into covenant relations which bind them to the service of God. This duty should be impressed upon their minds from the earliest unfolding of their powers. The doctrines, facts and duties of the Christian religion should be carefully instilled. Their relations to the Church and the Saviour should be unfolded to their view. Habits of devotion should be fostered. Daily prayer, the reading of the scriptures and attendance upon church services, should be pressed upon their consciences. Evil tendencies in the child should be corrected. He should be guarded against the formation of habits of profanity, falsehood, dishonesty and other youthful vices. He should be continually warned against the snares that lie around the pathway of childhood. Having been consecrated to God, and that without his own consent, at an age too early to comprehend moral and spiritual duties, he has the strongest claim upon parents and the Church for a religious training that will enable him to fulfill his baptismal obligations. The Church is remiss if she does not use her authority over the parent to secure the requisite religious education, teaching the baptized child to kneel in prayer, to be instructed by family influences in the great duties of piety, to be sent to the catechetical class, and to have around the minor the attractive influences of Christian warning and guidance all along the course of childhood and youth. This duty is not limited to the parent. Ministers, church officers, Sunday-school teachers and pious associates are under obligation to the baptized child, that he may be encouraged, or solicited, or admonished, or warned, as the case may require. The Church should not forget that he is an immortal and responsible being, in the most critical period of life when a character will be formed that will probably shape his

career in this world and his destiny in the world to come,—a period also when it will be easy to turn his feet into the way of morality and religion. The child should be so disciplined by sacred influences, at home, in the school and in the sanctuary, that piety becomes easy by reason of the scriptural culture of all these graces which have thus grown into habits. When such a youth evinces a disposition or tendency to the neglect of religion or to immorality, he should be admonished. "Thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy neighbor and not suffer sin upon him." This command is as applicable to the case of youth as those of riper years.

This kind of disciplinary training is not limited to youth. If in mature life the baptized are living in manifest violation of their baptismal promises, they should be solicited or warned that their eternal interests already imperiled may not be hopelessly ruined. The error so prevalent, that no special obligation rests on baptized persons to serve God, until a profession of religion is made in adult age, should be dispelled. The current sentiment on this point should be changed by sound instruction from the pulpit, in the family, and in the general tone of religious conversation. If a young communicant should commit some immoral act like drunkenness, his brethren would feel under obligation to rescue him from his spiritual danger by gentle warnings and appeals. Yet if a baptized youth not a communicant should be guilty of the same scandalous conduct, the members of the church seem not to realize a responsibility of disciplinary efforts for his reformation, as though the non-communicant were at liberty to break every precept of the gospel. These two young persons are both in the Church. The one made a solemn promise in baptism to renounce the devil and his works and be a follower of the Christ. The other made the same promise and renewed it. The Church received in the name of her great Head the promises of both. On what principle then can Christ's people shirk the responsibility of warning the erring youth who has never appeared at the sacramental table, but has made through his representatives the most sacred promises that can bind a human being to the throne of God and the cross of Christ?

Another class whose religious improvement should be sought by disciplinary influences, consists of confirmed members of the Church who have neglected the sacramental communion. Their church membership is in a state of voluntary suspension. They belong not to the sacramental host, not being in full fellowship, at the time, and therefore the altar is not profaned by their conduct. It is true that no punitive discipline can be visited upon them for any error in doctrine or life, because they ask not for that which punitive discipline withholds. It would be a mere farce to bring a formal accusation, before an organized tribunal against a man who for years has absented himself from the Lord's table, even though his conduct be scandalous, with a view to trial, conviction and punishment, when the only penalty the Church can inflict is exclusion from the sacrament, which he voluntarily and perversely abandons.

The discipline in such a case must therefore be limited to appeals and warnings and rebukes not only by the pulpit, but by private personal interviews. There should be combined efforts on the part of church members to recall such wanderers of the flock to the altar of their baptism and their vows before God and men. In private conversation such neglecters of duty should hear from their faithful brethren, the solemn denunciation of a woe upon them that are at ease in Zion. Faithfully, tenderly and affectionately should they be solicited: "Come thou with us. We will do thee good; for the Lord hath spoken good concerning Israel." Whether it would be wise to cite them before the church council for neglecting the holy communion, when they first absent themselves, must depend on circumstances. Even then it could be merely for admonition. But private remonstrance by pastor, elder or fellow member, given in the spirit of a tender solicitude for the highest interests of the admonished person must always be proper and practicable, and therefore always a duty. Warnings should be sounded in the ears of a backslider who has become immoral if perchance he may be saved from a ruin impending.

The other class who are proper subjects of church discipline, for their spiritual safety, consists of communicant members of the Church, who fall into conduct openly immoral, or adopt

sentiments avowedly heretical and yet claim the privileges of communicants. The aim is their reformation or restoration to orthodoxy.

Dr. Dwight says: "The aim of Church discipline is nothing less than the reformation of a lapsed Christian; his peace; his Christian character; his worthy participation of Christian privileges; his recovery of the divine approbation; his future usefulness in this life; his happiness in the life to come, and even his salvation itself are all deeply concerned and sometimes absolutely involved in these administrations. That these are at times accomplished by private remonstrance and public admonition will not be doubted. They may sometimes be accomplished by excommunication."

Another aim of Church discipline, when it becomes punitive whether in suspension or excommunication, is the purity of the Church. By such an act the Church frees herself from all responsibility for the character and conduct of the excised member.

WHAT ARE THE LIMITS TO CHURCH DISCIPLINE?

The right and duty of Church discipline by private admonition and counsel, are coextensive with the visible Church, embracing all those who neglect the requirements of the gospel. Punitive discipline must be confined to gross offenders, whose errors and vices have become scandalous.

The exercise of this kind of discipline must ever proceed on the basis of the truth taught in the Parable of the Tares:

"The kingdom of heaven is like unto a man which sowed good seed in his field. But while men slept his enemy came and sowed tares among the wheat, and went his way. But when the blade was sprung up and brought forth fruit then appeared the tares also. So the servants of the householder came and said, wilt thou then that we go and gather them up? But he said, nay; lest while ye gather up the tares, ye root up also the wheat. Let both grow together until the harvest; and in the time of harvest, I will say to the reapers, gather ye first the tares and bind them in bundles to burn them; but gather ye the wheat into my barn. * * He that soweth the good seed is the

Son of Man ; the field is the world ; the good seed are the children of the kingdom ; but the tares are the children of the wicked one. The enemy that sowed them is the devil ; the harvest is the end of the world ; and the reapers are the angels. As therefore the tares are gathered and burned in the fire, so shall it be in the end of the world. The Son of Man shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all things that offend, and them that do iniquity. And shall cast them into a furnace of fire. There shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth. Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father." (Matt. 13 : 24-30 and 37-43). "The field is the world." The world cannot mean the entire population of our globe. The servants of the Great Householder never proposed the ejection from this globe of all evil people. They never had the power to do this. The "world" here must mean the Christian world. The gospel is preached and the Church founded on earth among men. That portion of the human race and the earth represented here as a field, in which wheat and tares are growing side by side, must be the communities to whom the gospel is preached and by whom Christian institutions are recognized—peoples where all bear some resemblance to wheat although a portion are tares. In other words, the cultivated field in which tares and wheat grow intermingled, must represent the nominal Church. This is further evident from his calling this field, or world, "his kingdom." "The reapers shall gather out of his kingdom all things that offend." The field in which the wheat and tares grow and out of which, in the end, the tares shall be gathered in bundles and burned, must be the visible Church. This kingdom cannot mean the entire human race, but only those who are embraced in Christian institutions and are, to some extent, under gospel influences.

The truth taught in this parable is, that in the visible Church there will always be good and bad—converted and unconverted persons. The servants of the Master must not attempt to cast out all the bad. They would often be mistaken as to Christian character. The wheat would often be rooted up with the tares.

On this question great theological battles have been fought.

Some have sought to cast out of the visible Church all unregenerate souls. The Donatists in separating from the Church, partly on account of irregularities in certain ordinations, avowedly took the ground that the gospel demanded a strictly pious church. The idea of a church they held was, "that of a perfectly pure body : holiness is its essential predicate, to which all others must be subordinated ; the exclusive note of the Church. They did not deny that hypocrites might lie concealed in its bosom ; but where the evidently ungodly were suffered to remain in communion with it, not separated off by the exercise of discipline, it forfeited the character of a true church ; and the faithful were to come out from it. For remaining in it they would be defiled."

To this the Church catholic, through her great champion, St. Augustine, replied, that "Holiness is indeed one of the essential attributes of the Church ; but their idea of holiness could not be accepted. The quality of holiness was found in the Church which the Donatists had forsaken, and was combined with other qualities quite as essential, such as catholicity to which they could lay no claim. The Church, despite all appearances to the contrary, is a holy body, for they are its members who are in true and living fellowship with Christ, and therefore partakers of his sanctifying spirit." Ever since that great religious conflict was waged successfully by that eminent writer, it has been admitted that some who are in the visible Church are not of the spiritual body of Christ. "They press upon Christ as the thronging multitude, but do not touch him as did the believing woman." (Luke 8 : 45). "They who are thus in it, but not of the invisible true Church, whether hypocrites, lying hid, or open offenders who from their number may not without greater evils ensuing, be expelled, do not defile the true members as long as these share not in their spirit, and communicate not with their evil deeds." "They are like the unclean animals in the same ark with the clean ; goats in the same pasture with the sheep ; chaff on the same barn floor with the grain ; tares growing in the same field with the wheat, endured for a while, but in the end separated, the evil from the good."

When the Saviour said "Nay" to the servants who asked,

"Shall we root them up?" all such measures for the excision of offenders were condemned, as should "leave them no possibility of after repentance and amendment." Indeed the prohibition is so plain and positive, that some attempts made toward carrying the proposal into execution, appear, says Bengel, to be "not wheat making war on the tares, but tares seeking to root up the wheat."

Again, in rooting out tares, persons who are now impenitent, we might cut off those who will hereafter repent and become the true followers of Christ. Moreover, the servants with the best intentions might be mistaken. What human insight can distinguish between those whose hearts are right in the sight of God and those who are not. The Omniscient alone can look into the soul and know unerringly who are His own.

The reason for the prohibition must be apparent. The Saviour whose omniscient eye swept the whole period of time from the hour of the delivery of this parable to the final consummation when all evil shall be removed from the Church, saw that in all Christian countries, through all the ages of church history, many baptized members would long remain unconverted. As He came to seek and to save the lost, He desired not only the Christianizing of the heathen, but the conversion of the impenitent in Christian lands. If all nominal Christians should be arraigned before the Church, tried and convicted, and cut off as unworthy to be in a holy body, their excision would completely estrange them from Christian people and ordinances. They would be beyond the reach of Christian influences. Hostile toward the Church that had degraded their moral standing, they would not enter the sanctuary. With bitter feelings toward ministers, they would rarely come within the hearing of the gospel. Thus cut off from the hallowing influences of public worship, with strong dislike toward the body that had pronounced them unworthy of fellowship, they would listen to no private admonition from Christians. Their exclusion from the Church in many cases would be nearly equivalent to sealing their damnation.

On the contrary, retained on the roll of nominal members, they feel encouraged to attend public worship and mingle with

Christian people. Their children will be reared under Christian training. All the appeals of the pulpit sound in their ears, and the hallowing associations of the Sabbath and the Sanctuary are acting on their souls. Their contributions flow into the treasury of the Church, and the ordinances of religion receive from them an outward homage. Thus from the ranks of impenitent, but nominal members of the Church accessions are continually made to the true followers of Christ. Indeed for some centuries converts have come chiefly from those already in the Church by baptism, and some by baptism and confirmation. For every convert from heathenism, a thousand come from nominal christendom. No wonder the Master said, "Nay, root them not up."

There is, however, a class of church members against whom the Scriptures authorize the exercise of punitive discipline. One passage sometimes cited in proof of this authority is this, (Matt. 18 : 15-17) "Moreover if thy brother trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone. If he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother. But if he will not hear thee, take with thee two or three more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established. And if he shall neglect to hear them tell it unto the Church. But if he shall neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as a heathen and a publican."

This passage although generally cited in support of scriptural authority for the exercise of punitive discipline, teaches it only by inference. The case stated is that of a disagreement between two members of the Church, a wrong inflicted by one upon the other; and the duty of seeking a private settlement of the difficulty. If the effort of the brother who feels himself injured, fail to procure an acknowledgment of the error and the righting of the wrong, the interposition of a few mutual friends is to be sought. If this effort at the adjustment of the difficulty should fail the interposition of the Church is to be invoked. Should the judgment of the congregation fail to convince the man of his injury to a fellow member, the wronged person is authorized to withdraw all social and religious association with

his opponent—treat him as the Jews treated the heathen and publicans—have no intercourse with him. The passage does not instruct the Church to proceed farther than this earnest effort at reconciliation by convincing the person that he has wronged a brother, and the reparation that would naturally follow such an admission. It can only be by inference that this passage would authorize the Church to proceed to arraign the unconvinced wrong-doer. Direct authority must therefore be sought in other passages. This we find in the following texts :

Rom. 16 : 17, 18 : “Now I beseech you brethren, mark them which cause divisions and offences contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned, and avoid them. For they that are such serve not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own belly ; and by good words and fair speeches deceive the hearts of the simple.”

2 Thess. 3 : 6 : “Now we beseech you brethren in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ that ye withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly and not after the tradition which he received of us.”

Titus 3 : 10 : “A man that is a heretic, after the first and second admonition reject.”

1 Cor. 5 : 10 : “Now I have written unto you not to keep company if any man that is called a brother, be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolator, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner ; with such an one, no, not to eat.”

1 Cor. 5 : 4, 5 : “In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, when ye are gathered together, and my spirit with the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, to deliver such a one unto satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus.”

1 Tim. 1 : 19, 20 : “Holding faith and a good conscience which some have put away, concerning faith have made shipwreck, of whom is Hymeneus and Alexander, whom I have delivered unto satan that they may learn not to blaspheme.”

2 Cor. 13 : 10 : “Lest being present I should use sharpness according to the power which the Lord hath given unto me, to edification, and not to destruction.”

Every society of men possesses inherently the right to eject

from the body members who prove themselves unworthy by reason of unfitness of character, incongruity of views, incompatibility of disposition, or conduct hostile to the interests of the association. Religious organizations have at all times practiced the excision of the unworthy. The Hindoos, the Ancient Greeks, the Romans, the Jews practiced excommunication. By virtue of the authority given in the passages cited, the Christian Church has also practised it. In ancient times in the middle ages, and in some countries where the Church and State are united in modern times, excommunication has been followed by civil disabilities. But no authority for such penalties can be found in the New Testament.

The first cause or ground of excision is heresy. The reason for this is apparent. One who denies the doctrines of the Saviour cannot properly be a member of his body. Gross violations of the law of chastity, drunkenness and odious vices are named by the apostle as meriting exclusion from the Church.

There is a fitness in the direction to cut off from the holy communion persons whose vices have become so public as to be scandalous in the eyes of the community. The Church cannot receive to her holy altar those who so flagrantly violate not only her canons, but also the common requirements of decency. If private admonition and pulpit remonstrance fail to bring about reformation, the offending member must be cut off from the Eucharist and all the privileges limited to communicants. When the apostle says, he delivered "such unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus," we have no data on which to decide the question whether the apostle by his miraculous power inflicted bodily diseases or temporal judgments on Hymeneus, Alexander and the incestuous person to bring them out of their heresies and vices, or whether he intends to express simply exclusion from the holy communion and other privileges limited to communicants; referring to the two kingdoms—the kingdom of God and the kingdom of Satan, and expulsion from God's kingdom would be a deliverance to the government of Satan. But one thing is certain, whatever power Paul may have exercised over the cure or the infliction of diseases, since the day of

miracles is over, the Church has no scriptural power to make excommunication extend beyond exclusion from sacred and spiritual privileges.

THE DUTY OF ENFORCING DISCIPLINE.

Form of Government, Chap. iv., Sec. 8: "It shall be the duty of the council to administer the Discipline of the Church on all those whose conduct is inconsistent with their Christian profession." "They shall have the power to cite members to appear before them." It shall be their duty first privately to admonish him that offends. If these measures prove ineffectual, to suspend or excommunicate, that is debar from the privileges peculiar to Church membership," those who entertain fundamental errors. "It shall also be their duty to restore those subjects of suspension or excommunication to all the privileges of the Church, who shall manifest sincere repentance. Every act of excommunication or suspension may be published to the Church, if deemed necessary by the majority of the council."

From the preceding scripture citations and the principles laid down, we learn,

That disciplinary training by private appeals, admonitions and warnings is required on behalf of all who are baptized and yet are living in violation of their baptismal covenant ;

That the scriptures authorize the excision of such as are scandalously immoral, or flagrantly heretical ;

That the apostle inflicted punitive discipline on those who avowed dangerous heresies and wrought schism in the Church, and on those who grossly violated the laws of purity in the family relation ;

That the Church must not be responsible for their vices and errors, but must bear testimony against them by excluding from the holy communion the incorrigible ;

That there is no scriptural authority for inflicting civil disabilities as part of the penalty ;

That the excommunicated are to be restored to forfeited privileges upon satisfactory evidence of repentance and reformation ;

That the Church is a holy body, notwithstanding the presence in her of unregenerate persons ;

That the influence of the Christian character, conduct and converse of true believers is designed to operate as leaven to leaven the mass of the impenitent. Therefore they are to be encouraged to attend the preaching of the gospel and all the services of public worship, and that excommunication does not debar the exscinded from the services of the sanctuary, but merely from the Eucharist and the right of voting in congregational elections ;

That the design of church discipline must ever be the spiritual improvement of the subject ;

That excommunication does not annul the baptismal covenant ; and therefore the restored penitent is not to be re-baptized ;

That church discipline is to be exercised with the tender affection toward the erring with which a loving mother chastises her offending child, bearing in mind that Christ came to seek and save the lost.

Finally, while the scriptures authorize the sterner discipline of an accusation and trial before the church in extreme cases, the ancient venerable Lutheran practice of requiring all communicants to have an interview with the pastor prior to the communion, obviated the necessity of resorting to the more public measures of a trial with all the scandal and heartburnings that such a trial almost inevitably occasions. If this practice were resumed and faithfully carried out, the erring would be most earnestly and affectionately warned or admonished ; usually brought to repentance, and if necessary kept from the sacrament without inflicting the pain and mortification which the usual modes of discipline in some churches create. The holy communion would be kept pure. The pastor's power for good would be augmented. The erring would in most cases be brought to an acknowledgment of his evil, and won back to a life of purity and the service of the church. His relatives would be spared the bitter mortifications that usually attend public discipline and often drive them from the church. And the prosperity of the congregation would be greatly promoted.

ARTICLE III.

THE COLLEGE.

By REV. CHAS. S. ALBERT, A. M., Carlisle, Pa.

A great deal of attention has lately been given to education in its lower and higher departments. It has been called forth by the importance of the change in intellectual thought so manifest in our day. The idea which lies at the heart of the controversy is, after all, whether education shall be religious or not in the future?

The friends and enemies of Christianity know well the vantage ground which education confers, and each seeks to prepossess, by its system of training, the youthful mind towards its principles. Stripped of verbiage, this is the end of all the argument, the point towards which all go. Youth is the receptive period of life, maturity the creative. Youth worships, maturity deliberates; youth receives the impulse, maturity makes the impulse reality—not invariably so, but to such an extent that we may safely let the division stand. It is therefore of incalculable value to place our children where they may be impressed with the best thought. The best thought is a large word. To one who believes the best thought refers also to the moral nature of man, it is not enough to have the best intellectual thought. If no other considerations were to be taken into account except knowledge and method, a father would be wise who sends his son of scientific bent to the College, or University, which would give him the most thorough training in his specialty. But there are other considerations to be taken into account, to be seriously weighed in selecting a College for a young man not established in character. It is not enough that it is specially adapted for his peculiar calling, or profession. It may not seem so to those who do not believe that character and worth are founded upon a belief in God, but it certainly does appear so to those who so believe. Moral influence must be considered.

"Education is properly the development of the whole man. The whole person is to be educated; but the main subject of the work is the spirit. Education is the nurture and development of the whole man for his proper end. The end must be conceived aright in order to understand the process. Every man's earthly end is predominantly moral; and, therefore, we find all ages and all nations declaring their belief that there can be no true education without the inculcation of true religion."

Webster in his celebrated speech against the Girard will, argued that the trust it proposed to create was opposed to all civilized jurisprudence, outside of the law and therefore void, because it sought to exclude Christianity from the College. "In what age," he said, "by what sect, where, when, by whom has religious truth been excluded from the education of youth? Nowhere. Never! Everywhere and at all times it has been regarded as essential. It is of the essence, the vitality of useful instruction."

It may be argued also, that whilst culture without any definite purpose sends forth men imperfectly equipped for life's pursuits, it is none the less true that special courses and special pursuits not based upon general education are justly censured by thinking men, as tending to narrowness, weakness and failure. "Culture for culture's sake not only fails to prepare for definite pursuits so necessary in the complexly organized modern society, but fails even to attain the brightest culture; since culture must terminate outwardly on some definite object, not inwardly upon itself, in order to attain its highest point. On the other hand a pure intellectual apprenticeship to special pursuits not only fails to give that general culture so necessary to enable us to perform wisely the complex duties consequent upon our moral relations to each other in the family, the Church, and the State, but fails even to insure really high success in the special business which is its immediate object; for special education without thorough foundation of general culture can make only *routinists*, formula men, rule-of-thumb men."*

General culture based upon religious thought ought to enter

*Joseph Le Conte, *Princeton Review*, March, 1880, page 180.

into our calculation of the respective merits of Colleges. We guard the opening years of our children sedulously. We do our utmost to inculcate virtue, to repress vice, to build up a conscientious character towards God and man. When, therefore, the judgment is not matured, when there is not the trained reason to detect falsehood and sophistry, when experience has not shown the eternal verities of truth, in the formative stage of life, to send our sons to anti-Christian Colleges, or, to those, some or many of whose chairs are filled by professors notoriously skeptical, is to subject them to perilous danger. The young man with heart all open and mind grasping eagerly after knowledge will take indiscriminately into his soul things good and bad to grow into a harvest of how much misery, we know not. Belief possesses a man and rules him. It must out; consciously and unconsciously, he will proclaim it and in direct proportion to his strength of belief, for belief is the foundation of all influence, character, power and work. The professor who disbelieves in God and hates Christianity will inculcate his faith, sometimes the more strongly because unconsciously he is quietly contemptuous and proudly arrogant towards religion. A sneer is harder to meet than an argument with youth. Every strong intellectual man placed over burning, diffident, worshiping youth, is a *Magnus Apollo* to be revered and obeyed.

Such considerations have a profound bearing on the selection of a College. Attention has lately been called to Yale College. "It is well known that the Evolutionary theory in its baldest form is taught from one of the scientific chairs in the College, and now another of the professors has caused his colleagues much anxiety, and introduced a serious division in the Faculty by teaching and defending the principles of Herbert Spencer. Spencer, it is well known, is the chief of the Agnostics, and believes that the universe is without God, at least is without a God that can be known to man. 'He holds,' as one says, 'that all systems of religion will ultimately disappear, and be succeeded by a vague belief in an infinitely remote and incomprehensible cause.' Prof. Sumner, of the College, teaches Spencer's principles of Sociology, using one of Spencer's vol-

umes as his text-book, and continues this against the advice and remonstrance of President Porter."

There lies the danger. We are asked to send our young men, unformed, "to walk in the counsel of the ungodly, to stand in the way of sinners and *to sit in the seat of the scornful.*" The value of our own Church Colléges with sound religious foundations has been enhanced by these developments and their claims for support are shown to be just and legitimate, for they at least strive to preserve purity of faith in their teachings.

Nevertheless there are other factors entering into the choice of an intellectual home for our sons. Granted that the determination has been in favor of an institution of sound religious basis, selection would not necessarily be in favor of our own Alma Mater, even among General Synod Lutherans. Another element would enter into the choice. There would be a desire to send young men to the strongest College as well as to a worthy one. This leads us to say that one of the characteristics of a strong College is *strong men*, intellectually. This fact ought to be recognized and met by the Church and professors in Church Colleges. Strong institutions are built upon able men. Men attract more than appliances or wealth of endowment. Masters always secure a following. Luther and Melanchthon peopled Wittenberg with students. The man is more than the book. Written words weaken the power of thought. Words give precision to thought, and embody the idea, but, when written, always in their stiffness and coldness lose the subtler shades of meaning, which the voice, tone and manner convey. Text-books always are less than the writers. The inspiration of presence, that so fires the listener and infuses into his soul life-purposes, is not there. Strong men are like the glowing fire at which another's torch may be lit. They create in their students the same invincible desire for knowledge that possesses them. It was Plato and not Athens that gave to him the noble following. To-day in Germany the current sets towards the Universities most ably manned. Men are the magnets. Clearly then the duty of the professors is not merely to hold forth the moral advantages of Church Colleges, but to so fill

their respective chairs, that they shall compare favorably with others, and excel as leaders of thought. The professor it is true must always be able to impart the knowledge he possesses, else he lacks a most essential requisite, the teaching power, but he ought in addition to be a master of his department, revered in the intellectual world. Second-rate men will never be able to hold the best of young men, when first-rate men are offering to lead spirited and talented men to the sunny heights of knowledge which they have won by painful climbing.

Right over against this, as a second element of a strong College, is *adequate support of instructors and institution*. Brains have their price. Every professor of ability will always be wanted, and to retain them they must be suitably compensated. It is but just that he should live freed from petty anxieties for daily bread and shelter. It is necessary that his income be such as will enable him to purchase books, apparatus and appliances to prosecute his studies. He should be able to attend and participate in the deliberations of all bodies which meet to discuss the subjects in which he is interested. He could thus easily keep abreast of the best and freshest of modern thought. Our professors are in truth miserably paid. They have a bare living, if that. The able and efficient men who continue to serve do so at a sacrifice, praiseworthy in itself, but which the Church has no right to demand, whilst in days past, Pennsylvania College has seen some most noble instructors leave, who, in other institutions, have made names and reputations almost world-wide. Pennsylvania College has advanced somewhat in its appliances, but is sadly behindhand for want of funds. The magnificent structures, the great libraries, the splendidly furnished departments of other Colleges place her at a great disadvantage, and attract from her the young men who ought to be educated in her own halls.

It does seem that there is scarcely a greater, or more promising opportunity for rich men wisely to use their wealth than in the endowment of their own institutions. The opening of this article maintained that a man is not truly educated whose brain alone is cultivated; that the moral and religious nature being the loftiest and noblest part of the man, should be developed

with his body and intellect. The teachings of our own Lutheran Church are able to do this, some of us think, better than any other phase of Christian religion.

The advantages, again, of skilled religious thought are well known. Whatever may be the experience of faith, it is always joined to its historical foundation. Attacks upon its historical character, paraded with much learning, are far more deadly than arguments addressed to the reason. It is the age of Apologetics and there is need of profound scholarship and research to explode the theories of those who attack the historical validity of the scriptures and of those who, in the name of science, profound anti-theistic, anti-Christian theories.

Men may deeply feel the truth of the Christian religion, be confident of its worth, yet, because the battle has been shifted to unknown fields, may not be able to defend it against the attacks of the scholarly skeptic. Those established in the faith may not be moved, but the younger generation, if there were no refutation, would be captivated by the seeming wisdom displayed, become skeptical concerning the faith and finally lost to it. When the faith has men of skilled thought, capacious intellect trained to reason and supported by knowledge as various and extensive, if not more so, as that of skeptics, the danger is lessened. They are ever the light-bringers to a darkened world. The rays of knowledge expose the hypocrisies, the self-deceptions of error. Their sagacious fore-thought predicts and declares the disastrous outcomes into which infidelity will issue. Eve in her dreams may listen to Satan, and be enraptured with their beauty, but the touch of Ithuriel's spear discloses him in all his vileness. The spear of truth wielded by skilled hearts and intellects can alone reveal the dangerous consequences of many fascinating dreams of modern thought. We owe, under God, to the keen intellect of Paul the deliverance of the Church from Judaistic errors. When "Satan transformed himself into an angel of light" in the person of "false apostles and deceitful workers," he with the truth made them manifest to the Church and saved her from destruction. The Church needs men like Paul to-day, and she should be willing to support them.

It has been permitted our wealthy men to acquire riches by

the exercise of talents no less marked, in their way, than those of the scholar. Perhaps the fertility of mind, the quickness of perception, the keen insight into men and circumstances, the sound judgment, the strong self-restraint, the tireless work of the business man might, under suitable conditions, have made him the scholar. What better use of wealth than to liberally endow the College by which it may be equipped in the great contest against wrong? If Frederick of Saxony had not founded the University of Wittenberg, using his riches for the spread of knowledge, would the world have had Luther and the Reformation? And though the people groaned under error, if this brave, keen-sighted scholar had not been their mouthpiece, would error have been exposed and the Church reformed?

Unbelieving men, holding that knowledge is power, found Colleges and Universities, or obtain possession of State Universities, that these may be the champions of godless thought. It is an example to us who believe that truth and the religion of Christ are necessary to our peace and happiness, as individuals, as communities, as a nation, that if these give immense sums to such institutions, we should at least be equally liberal and so endow our Church Colleges that they may without disadvantage compete with them.

There is another element of a strong College which it is well to consider. It is NUMBERS. There is no desire to undervalue small Colleges, or depreciate the good work done by them in the past, but numbers have a vital relation, both to endowment and also to able professors.

It is difficult to interest men in Colleges whose outlook is meagre, since they have a right to a small territory only, and have no prospect of growth and commanding influence. It looks to shrewd men like a waste of money to endow such institutions. Besides a College, with a circumscribed field, has in the nature of things few men of means and liberality to draw upon for endowment.

Able men, again, are not plentiful so that excellent instructors cannot be found to constitute the many faculties of struggling institutions each with a poverty-stricken roll of students. It must ever remain a great temptation to a gifted man, placed

over a handful of students, to leave them for wider fields of usefulness; for the same effort and teaching may be given to a hundred students as well as to ten with tenfold result for labor.

There are certain facts which we ought to face as a Church. First, the number of students have not kept pace with the increase in membership, indicating that either as Lutherans, we have not to-day as many educated young men relatively as in the past; or that many of the young are educated in other institutions and are imbibing opinions and traditions which in the end will lead them out of the Church of their fathers. There has been nothing sadder in the history of the college life of our Church, than its endless divisions and sub-divisions. Disintegration has been the rule. College after College has been established on mere whim and fancy, until there are many weak, struggling institutions, slimly attended, imperfectly equipped, in financial straits as a normal condition, inadequately manned. Some of our institutions do not deserve the name of College. The Church might have had a great University, strong in numbers, ably and efficiently conducted, if forbearance had been practiced, and if conceited and arrogant individualism had not thrust itself across this great work and prostrated it.

Much may be done to strengthen the numbers of students by united and persevering effort. Numbers have power. They bring inspiration to the teacher, incentive to labor. Mind quickens mind as multitudes mingle. A just and noble spirit of pride is engendered that makes every student a joyous herald of his Alma Mater. Numbers are a mighty voice to the world proclaiming the vigor and power of the College. One attracts another. Every reputation made is a new argument to men to send their sons. The influence continues in after life. The nation is practical and men readily see that the graduates of large institutions like Harvard find it always to their advantage afterwards, giving them friends, influence, character, position. It has its weight.

A College to secure numbers must be broad and generous in its culture. It ought not to be a mere nursery of theological fledglings. Every profession and employment ought to find in its bosom a home. It is as much a matter of rejoicing to num-

ber, among the illustrious sons of a College, a skilled surgeon, a distinguished physician, a wise statesman, a great poet, a profound lawyer, an able editor, a skillful scientist, as to write upon her roll of honor the name of an eminent theologian, for they may be as useful to the maintenance of the truth as he. There is need then of broad culture which will provide suitable facilities for each and every calling.

This leads us to the last element of a strong College we shall mention, *adaptation to the wants of the day*. Latin and Greek in the middle ages, at the time of the revival of letters, contained the great treasures of knowledge. It was natural, therefore, that an extraordinary amount of study should be given to these languages, for through them the wisdom of the ages could be acquired. The modern mind did not simply learn what they knew, but began its own independent investigations and has added immense treasures of learning, especially in the natural sciences. The claim is now put forward that whilst Latin and Greek were essential a century ago that they are not as necessary to-day as these new sciences, and that the continuance of the classics in all their integrity is unwise. It is better, it is claimed, to give them a much more limited course, or even none at all, and devote the energies to the studies which are useful in active life, namely to mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, physiology or biology, and mental philosophy.

The adherents of the classical course argue that the aim of college instruction is, to make man a thinker, to broaden his understanding, to develop his reasoning powers and to direct his intellect to the best methods of discipline. The modern revolutionists hold that the purpose of education is to qualify the student for a particular profession by imparting the knowledge, the methods of study, the facts that are essential and fundamental to progress in the selected branch of knowledge. The controversy, into which we have not space to enter, seems destined to be harmonized by a combination of the two theories, to meet in a curriculum which will give intellectual discipline and, at the same time, fit men for the particular professions in which they wish to engage.

The result is that the curriculum of the College is not satis-

factory; it may have met the wants of our ancestors, it does not meet the wants of the present generation. Therefore, if the College is to be strong, it must seek to gratify the demands of the times. Colleges are conservators of thought and should not lightly yield time honored counsels or methods. Colleges should be more than conservators, they should be leaders of thought. Bourbonism in literature is as deadly as in politics, and the end of both is loss of power and ruin. *Adaptation to the wants of the day* is therefore necessary to a vigorous College. The problem must be carefully examined, with laborious study; it must be met courageously and, if necessary, prejudice must be sacrificed in its settlement. An extension of the college course proper may be required which would not be harmful, for the work of many Colleges is very superficial, even in the classics themselves. An able metaphysician lately said in a conversation with us: "When I determined to make metaphysics my life-work, I saw that Latin was absolutely necessary. My college training had given me the rudiments, but to obtain a thorough and accurate knowledge of the language that I might critically use it, required hard study for a long time. Latin conquered, I perceived I must be thoroughly acquainted with German. I therefore spent several years in Germany until I learned the language. I confess that though I have since given so much attention to Greek as to read it readily at sight, I have not that command of it, by which I easily detect the shades of meaning in words and phrases which is the very thing most needful."

A more thorough training, a broader curriculum, a higher standard of scholarship seems to be demanded of Colleges. We need to consider the whole matter carefully as it holds much woe or weal to the Church. We ought to have the very strongest College possible, and spare neither toil, men, nor means, until it be accomplished, that men, "rooted and grounded in the faith," may be sent forth into the world admirably qualified for whatever profession they may choose, and equally trained to be champions of the cross.

ARTICLE IV.

SOME OF THE PRIVATE COLLOQUIES AND PUBLIC DISPUTATIONS OF LUTHER.

By JOHN G. MORRIS, D. D., LL. D., Baltimore, Md.

Among the many daring and dangerous efforts made by Luther to restore the pure doctrine and to reform the abuses of the Church, his religious discussions deserve conspicuous mention. The variety of these conferences, the distinguished and influential men with whom they were held, the burning zeal for the truth which he displayed in them, his deep anxiety for peace and unity, the learning, the logical acumen and controversial skill he exhibited, all command our attentive consideration.

There is no doubt that some controversies in the Church have resulted in unmixed evil and injury to the cause of truth and righteousness, instances of which will readily occur to intelligent minds, beginning with the dispute which our mother Eve held with the enemy of mankind, which "brought death into the world and all our woe." But still, truth will only triumph by persistently controverting error and error will not succumb without a struggle. Our Lord himself engaged in public disputations with the learned theological errorists of his day, although he knew beforehand that He would not accomplish His wish to gain them over to the gospel, but His design was to rebuke their audacity and paralyze their mischievous influence by "stopping their mouths." Nearly the whole of Paul's Christian life was one of almost ceaseless controversy with Hebrew theologians and Greek philosophers, and thus, through every age of the Church, the truth has been compelled literally to fight its way and the necessity of theological disputation will only cease when all Christians shall be "perfectly joined together in the same mind."

The history of the Reformation swarms with instances in which the long obscured truth was again restored to light and

extended by disputations, and especially by the academic controversies of Luther. He was not naturally inclined to this service but the terrible corruptions of the Church compelled him to employ this mode of warfare, for he could not accomplish his exalted purpose by letters or preaching. Heaven had endowed him with extraordinary gifts as a disputant, a keen discrimination and wonderful faculty for discerning the weak points of his opponents, a never failing memory, an uninterrupted fluency of speech, an amazing knowledge of Scripture, a coolness of temper amid the most vigorous onslaught, and an unshaken confidence in the righteousness of his cause, which rendered his verbal discussions refreshing to every unprejudiced hearer.*

It was however not only in his public disputations with his Romish adversaries, that he displayed these remarkable powers, but, in his colloquies and conferences with Protestant theologians the same high qualities were exhibited.

It is my purpose to portray some of these, and the beginning shall be made with those of a more private character, although this word is not to be understood as if no persons were present except the disputants, but that they were not held in public and were not the result of open challenges as was the case with those best known, or rather they were not openly announced.

By *Colloquies or Conferences* as they were called, I mean those discussions which he held with men of his own faith before he formally cut himself loose from Rome. They were a sort of family meetings, held for the purpose of settling difficulties in the household. Some of them were held with individuals, such as his colloquy with Cajetan, Miltitz and others, and they were comparatively private; others were of a more public character, such as that held at Heidelberg. The conference with Zwingli some years after (1529) was rather of a private nature, though a considerable number of persons were present.

By *Disputations* I mean those open, oral discussions which

*"Mira ejus in respondendo suavitas, in audiendo incomparabilis longanimitas: in dissolvendo Paulli agnoisses acumen, non Scoti, adeo brevibus, eque divinæ Scripturæ pena depromptis responsis in sui admirationem facile cunctos adduxit," Bucer.

he held with the adherents of Rome, which were publicly advertised and attended by crowds of hearers, such as that, for instance, with Eck, at Leipzig, in 1519.

COLLOQUY AT HEIDELBERG.

The first conference in which Luther took an active part was that of the Augustinians at Heidelberg in 1518, which he attended as a brother of the Order, and here he displayed heroic courage. It had some of the features of a public controversy, but after all it is to be properly ranked among the conferences. In the previous year (1517) he had taken a perilous step in the publication of his ninety-five propositions and hence was abominated by every zealous papist as a heretic and an enemy of the Christian Church, although he was yet in full communion with Rome. He had a long journey to make from Wittenberg to Heidelberg, upon which he was exposed to every possible peril of his life and he was vehemently urged by his friends not to undertake it. But our hero, relying upon the protection of God, calmly entered upon his journey, and on foot, at least as far as Würzburg. He was highly honored at Heidelberg, and was entertained at the Augustinian convent. He was even kindly received by the Pfaltzgrave Wolfgang* and other dignitaries and invited to their tables. He was shown all the costly jewels and other precious and wonderful curiosities of the famous castle.

Twenty-eight theological and twenty-two philosophical propositions called *paradoxes* were the subjects of discussion. They were thus designated because they were singular, or apparently incapable of being believed. In the theological theses, he refuted the errors of the Church of Rome on Free Will, Grace, Faith, Justification and Good Works, and repeated his propositions against Indulgences. Those on philosophy, were all directed against Aristotle. They were all publicly nailed up at a conspicuous place, and on April 26 the discussion was opened by Luther and his respondent Leonhard Beyer. It was not held

*He had studied at Wittenberg, and in 1515 he was Rector of the University.

in the auditorium of the University, because the professors of theology opposed it, but in the Augustinian cloister. There was a great crowd of students, citizens and courtiers. Not only did the learned monks take part but also the five professors of theology. Luther in a letter to Spalatin, speaks well of four, but the youngest set the whole house in a roar by exclaiming to Luther, "If the peasants heard you talk in that style they would stone you to death." The doctrines of Luther were strange to the ignorant theologians of those days! Bucer, Brentz, Schnepf, Billican, and other eminent theologians were present. Bucer wrote down the greater part of Luther's words. The Pfaltzgrave wrote to the Elector lauding Luther, very highly for his skill and learning displayed in the discussion, and offering him all official protection. Luther did not return on foot as he came, but in a carriage with others.

If this colloquy had resulted in nothing better than in displaying the extraordinary gifts and great acquirements of Luther and thus securing the favor of the Pfaltzgrave, it would have been enough.

The protection of this wise and powerful prince was important to him. But another inappreciable advantage resulted from it. Luther needed helpers in his mighty enterprise of overturning popery in so many kingdoms and states. To this end, this conference contributed essentially. The men mentioned above became his hearty co-adjutors. Twenty-eight years afterwards (1546) the city of Heidelberg itself petitioned the Elector Frederick to introduce the religion of the Reformation.

CONFERENCE WITH CAJETAN.

It was in the same year 1518, that Luther held a colloquy with Cardinal Cajetan, the papal legate, at Augsburg, which must be regarded as the most momentous and perilous of all, not only for his personal safety but also for the Church which was now painfully sighing for a reformation.

He came to Augsburg without an imperial safe conduct, or government protection and he was there three days without it. Cajetan, his bitterest enemy, was aware of this. This crafty Italian was anxious to take advantage of this fact. He sent to

Luther every day and employed every means to induce him to come to an interview, before he had received the safe conduct. If Luther had allowed himself to be thus entrapped, the cardinal would have accomplished his cunning design. Either Luther would have been compelled to recant, or if he had refused, he would have been sent to Rome in chains, where short work would have been made of him. But Providence guarded our hero against the artful pitfalls prepared for him. He yielded to the persuasions of his friends not to appear before the cardinal, until he had furnished him with the imperial document guaranteeing his personal safety. Even after he had received it he was not exempt from danger. As papal legate, the cardinal exercised great authority and influence, and would have concerned himself little about the document, could he have gotten Luther into his power by violence or cunning artifice.

When it was by authority announced to him that Luther had received the paper from the emperor, and that the cardinal should not employ forcible means against him, he is said to have declared, "It is well, I will do what my office requires."*

After Luther had appeared before him three times and would not consent to a recantation, the cardinal peremptorily forbade his presence thereafter. He said, "I will have nothing more to do with this wild beast, for he has deep piercing eyes and wonderful thoughts flit through his head." Luther wrote to him requesting another interview, but he received no answer. This aroused suspicion in the minds of Luther's friends. The report was circulated that the pope had given Cajetan permission to seize and imprison him, if he would not recant. The legate wrote to Rome for instructions, and who knows what would have been the consequence, if Luther had waited until the answer had been received from Rome. He left Augsburg but not secretly,† according to the advice of his friends, after he

*Luther's own account of this affair may be seen in the Preface to the second part of the Jena edition of his works. A German translation will be found as a Preface to Part VIII. of the Altenberg edition.

†Lampadius, a Reformed writer, tries to show that Luther fled from Augsburg secretly, but he has been refuted by Hœe in his *Apologia pro Luthero*.

had sent to his persecutor a written appeal, and waited from Sunday to Tuesday night for a reply.

Cajetan did not adhere to the proposed subject of the Colloquy, which was, "The doctrine of Indulgences and the disgraceful proceedings of Tetzel." If he had conducted the affair discreetly and made some concessions himself, he might have secured the same from his opponent, for he was willing to yield on some points but the cardinal did not touch the subject, for he was well aware that he could not uphold it. On the contrary, he brought up some other presumed errors of Luther on faith and grace and thus craftily avoided the real issue.

Maimbourg, Eck and other Romish writers acknowledge that Cajetan failed entirely in this conference with Luther, but we must not attribute the fact that the Reformation was more promoted than retarded, to this failure but to the overruling Providence of God, "who taketh the wise in their own craftiness."*

Dangerous as this colloquy was to Luther personally, it was equally so to the Church, which was longing for a reformation. Had he been apprehended and carried to Rome and there executed as he doubtless would have been, the Reformation, in its first outbreak, would have been much retarded. He yet at this time felt the most profound reverence for the pope and the legate, and fell at the feet of the latter the first time he met him. He observed that every possible measure was employed to move him to a recantation. How easily could he as a man and a monk, still full of prejudices for the Romish Church and the pope, have committed an error and with the single word *I recant*, have turned back the work of reform already begun and possibly never again to be resumed.

This colloquy with Cajetan is of special importance in the history of the Reformation.†

*See fuller accounts of this and other Conferences in books on the Reformation. D'Aubigne gives the most dramatic account. For some facts not so well known, see my "Journeys of Luther."

†Fabricii Centifol, p. 1, cap. xxviii., p. 56, p. xi, p. 535.

CONFERENCES WITH MILTITZ AND OTHERS.

After this momentous colloquy at Augsburg, Luther held many others, such as that with the papal nuncio, Charles von Miltitz at Altenberg, with the elector of Treves at the Diet of Worms, with Carlstadt at Jena and Orlamunde, with Bucer, Capito and Lycosthene at Wittenberg, and with Zwingli at Marburg. Those with Miltitz and Zwingli are the most important and they only shall be specially noticed. After the signal failure of Cajetan to force a recantation from Luther, Miltitz, of a more mild and conciliatory nature, was despatched to Saxony to employ different measures in subduing the refractory monk. He arrived at Altenberg, and on January 5th, 1519, the colloquy began in Spalatin's house in the presence of the electoral Councillor, Fabian von Feilitzsch.

When Luther entered the room, Miltitz fell upon his neck, kissed him and exclaimed, "O, dear Martin, I thought you were an old, worn out theologian, who sat by your stove and disputed with yourself; but I see that you are a fresh, young, vigorous man.* If I had an army of 25,000 men, still I would doubt whether I could take you out of Germany. For on my journey here, I inquired all along how the people were disposed towards you, and I observed that where one was on the pope's side, there were three on yours against the pope."

He confessed that in a hundred years nothing had occurred that gave the Roman court more concern, and that it would rather lay down ten thousand ducats than to allow this matter to proceed any further."

Luther afterwards said that "although we mutually enjoyed ourselves in this first interview, yet I so demeaned myself as if I were utterly unconscious of his Italian finesse and dissimulation." Luther quickly discerned the wolf in sheep's clothing. Yet it must be acknowledged that Miltitz's manner and treatment of him had a mollifying influence upon him, for he wrote "That he would keep silence in future and write and confess to the pope that he had been too severe, also that he would publicly declare that his theses should not be regarded as contra-

*Luther was at this time 36 years of age.

dictions against the Romish Church, and that the affair should be handed over to a German bishop for decision and settlement."

He soon after wrote another letter to the Elector, in which he briefly informs him of the articles upon which he agreed with Miltitz.

He fulfilled his promise to write to the pope, and in his letter he expresses profound reverence for His Holiness and the Roman court, and declares that he never thought of "separating or tearing himself loose from it." But recantation against his conscience, he could not for a moment entertain. "I freely confess," said he, "that this Church has power over all, and that nothing in heaven or on earth is superior to her, *except Jesus Christ, the Lord over all!*" And upon this foundation, which human authority and human ordinances sought to undermine, must gradually, even though Luther did not wish or originally design it, be built a new edifice, in which God's word must be the highest authority and Christ the true Shepherd.

After Luther had returned to Wittenberg, Miltitz had repaired to Treves, where he politely invited Luther to visit him. He replied with sarcastic decorum, "I have no time to spend in such a distant excursion." He made a new attempt to cite Luther to Coblenz, but Frederick the Wise interposed his authority to prevent it.

The Elector desired that the affair should be settled at Frankfort. Miltitz also soon changed his mind and said that it was not necessary that Luther, for the present, should present himself at Coblenz.

No sooner was this storm abated than there appeared on the horizon the gathering of a still greater. Eck had challenged Luther to meet him at Leipzig in a public discussion, which was held the following year (1519), but as the purpose is to adhere to the plan laid down in the beginning of this article, the *private* conferences will be disposed of first.

CONFERENCE WITH ZWINGLI AT MARBURG.

We now advance ten years farther on (1529), and the cele-

brated conference between our reformer and Zwingli at Marburg arrests our attention.

Of the numerous narratives of this eventful affair, that of Koehler in his "Journeys of Luther," now in press in this country, suits our purpose best, and particular use will be made of it.

The Landgrave, Philip of Hesse, the Magnanimous, was very anxious to strengthen the associates of the alliance established for the defence of the evangelical states, by the accession of those who adhered to the doctrine of Zwingli, and to bring about this event he endeavored to reconcile Luther and Zwingli, who differed from each other on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Hence he invited Luther to a colloquy with Œcolampadius and Zwingli at Marburg.*

Luther wrote to the Landgrave on June 23, in which he expresses his opinion that this conference would result in nothing important. "I have," says he, "received your Grace's letter, in which you inform me of your earnest desire that I should repair to Marburg to have an interview with Œcolampadius and his associates on the subject of the differences of opinion upon the Sacrament, if perchance God might bring about peace and unity: although I never entertained any strong hope of such peace, yet your Grace's zeal and anxiety in this matter are greatly to be praised, and I, for my part, am willing for the sake of your Grace, to engage in this hopeless service, which after all may be accomplished, for I am not willing that the opposite party shall have the credit of being more inclined to peace than I am."

"It appears to me, however, that they, taking advantage of your Grace's zeal, are trying to play a trick upon us, from which no good will result, and that is, that they may hereafter boast to our discredit that it was not their fault, for they had even influenced great princes in its behalf, and thus through your Grace they would bring dishonor upon us and greatly magnify

*The Landgrave wrote to Luther and Melancthon informing them that the men of the opposite party would also come to the colloquy, wherefore they should punctually appear and devise measures for peace and unity. De Wette, III., 473.

themselves by representing us as enemies of peace and truth." At this time, Luther had adopted such a firm and assured view of the Lord's Supper founded upon the Scriptures, holding it to be the only correct one, that he well knew he could not yield in this point, without proving unfaithful to convictions derived from the Scriptures, and hence he says at the end of the letter: "For it is certain if they do not yield, we will separate without any good result and shall have come together in vain, and your Grace's trouble and zeal will have been for nothing."

We find a similar opinion in a letter in De Wette of June, without specifying the date, which also coincides with one he wrote on Aug. 2 to John Brisman.*

Neither did Melanchthon cherish any bright hope of a favorable result, and hence in a letter to the electoral prince, John Frederick, he advised him to influence the Elector, his father, to refuse his permission for this journey to Marburg.† But his effort was fruitless; the meeting was fixed for Sept. 29, the festival of St. Michael.

About Sept. 23, Luther accompanied by Melanchthon, Justus Jonas, and Caspar Cruciger, left Wittenberg and proceeded on their journey through Erfurt, Gotha and Eisenach. On Thursday, Sept. 30, they arrived at Marburg, and were graciously received by the Landgrave. They were quartered, not in the city, as was first determined, but in the castle, although soon after they moved to a special residence. ‡

* De Wette, III., 491: Vocavit nos Landgravius Hassiae ad Diem Michaelis Marburgum, tentaturus concordiam inter nos et sacramentarios: Philippus et ego cum diu recusassemus et frustra reluctati essemus, tandem coacti sumus *improbitate* ejus promittere, nos venturos, nec dam Scio, au profectus procedet."

De Wette expresses it very mildly when he says, that Luther complains of the *turbulent* spirit of the Landgrave, for the word "*improbitas*" clearly means something more. Luther most probably means by this word that the Landgrave was less concerned about the *doctrine* in this meeting than the political *alliance* at which he aimed, which was very likely.

†Hall. Annal. Thl., xvii., 2356.

‡A House near The Bears' Fountain is to this day pointed out as Luther's residence.

Besides those already mentioned and M. George Noverius from Wittenberg, there were present at the colloquy on the Lutheran side, Andrew Osiander, John Brentius from Halle in Swabia, and Stephen Agricola, preacher at Augsburg.

On the part of the Swiss, there appeared John Œcolampadius, Dr. of Theology at Basel, Ulrich Zwingli, preacher at Zurich, Martin Bucer, preacher at Strasburg, and Caspar Hedio, of the same place.

By the direction of the Landgrave, besides several of his councillors, there were present the Hessian court preacher, M. Adam Fulda, the Superintendent Crato (Kraft), and the Professor of Theology, Dr. Franciscus Lambertus, John Schnepf, John Lonicerus, Dr. Stephen Frosch, and Melander, preacher at Cassel. Of the civil dignitaries who were in Marburg at that time, the following especially deserve mention: Eberhard von der Thann, bailiff at the Wartburg, Jacob Sturm, a prominent member of the council at Strasburg, Ulrich Funke, councillor at Zurich, and Rudolf Frey, councillor at Basel.

The Landgrave adopted the prudent measure that on Oct. 1 Luther should have a private interview with Œcolampadius, and Melanchthon with Zwingli, thus opposing one of ardent temperament with one of moderate disposition, who would not, on account of previous controversies, enter upon the discussion with resentment against each other. To the objection against the doctrine of Zwingli, the latter replied so satisfactorily, as Melanchthon reports, that he in part recanted what he had formerly written upon the subject.

On Oct. 2, the discussion took place, at which were present the Landgrave, his principal councillors and the persons mentioned above. In the course of the debate on the Lord's Supper, it was soon made evident that there was no prospect of yielding on either side, as the three grounds, which the Swiss theologians adduced as their defence, as well as the refutation of them by Luther, had been so frequently brought forward in the writings of both parties and answered.

On Oct. 3, the debate was renewed in a hall next to the Landgrave's chamber and was continued to the evening, after Luther had preached on this day on "Spiritual Righteousness or the

Forgiveness of Sins.”* These two debates by no means decided the controversy. Hence the Landgrave felt himself compelled on Oct. 4 to make another attempt to reconcile the contending parties. The result was that Luther and Melanchthon held a special interview with Zwingli and Œcolampadius, whilst Brennius treated with Bucer and Hedio. This attempt also failed to accomplish the purpose. Luther then felt compelled to prepare fourteen, some say fifteen, articles upon which they agreed and which both parties signed. In the last, the papal doctrine of the Holy Supper was denounced, by which it was declared, that, although they could not agree on this point, yet that each party should, as far as their conscience allowed, exhibit Christian love to the other.

Of this date, we have a letter of Luther to his wife, in which among other things he says, “This is to let you know that our friendly talk in Marburg has come to an end and we are one on nearly all points, except that the other side maintains that it is *mere bread in the Sacrament*, and that Christ is *therein only spiritually present*. To-day, the Landgrave is trying to reconcile us in our views, or if we cannot agree, that at least, we should regard each other as brethren and members of Christ. He showed ardent zeal in his endeavor. But of this ‘brethren’ and ‘members’ we will not hear, though we are still desirous of entertaining the kindest feelings towards them.”†

He writes the same subsequently to John Agricola, in which he especially declares, that he still holds fast to the words, “This is my body.” Towards the end, he also says, “At last they besought us that we would at least recognize them as brethren, and upon which the Landgrave insisted strongly, but that could not be granted to them; we however, extended the hand of peace and affection and that in the mean time all unduly severe

*The tradition is still extant, that Luther on his way to the castle, exclaimed at every step, Hoc est! hoc est! (This is! this is!) as an admonition to himself not to depart from his doctrine of the Lord's Supper.

†To Gerbellius in De Wet. III. 3, he writes: “Charitatem et pacem etiam hostibus debemus. Sane denuntiatur eis, nisi et hoc articulo resipiscant, charitate quidem nostra posse eos uti, sed in fratrum et Christi membrorum numero a nobis censori non posse.”

language in writing or speech be avoided, and that each party should teach its opinions without unbecoming coarseness, but not without argument and opposition."

During his sojourn at Marburg, he also sent a communication to the Landgrave in which he vindicates the doctrine of the bodily presence of Christ in the Sacrament by quotations from the Church Fathers.

When Hempel in his History of the Christian Religion, Leipzig, 1830, vol. I., 355, blames Luther for betraying on this occasion a severe and unjustifiable zeal in maintaining a favorite doctrine or a dishonorable triumph, he certainly goes too far and forgets to place himself upon Luther's standpoint, by whom the word of God was estimated above all other things and from which he could not deviate even at the sacrifice of peace with all men. But we believe that those also in our times, on the other hand, go too far and aid in disturbing the peace of the Christian Church, who like Luther are continually exclaiming "This is" and do not recognize that the words also conceal within them "It represents" as the Scriptures plainly prove, and as Luther himself in his Catechism shows. Leopold Ranke beautifully and truly says, "How much misapprehension about the articles of faith, how many controversies would vanish, how much *true union* would ensue, if men would determine to read Luther's writings with hearts desirous of securing salvation."

If we plant ourselves with Luther on the Scriptures, if we teach with him out of and according to the Scriptures, while so many elevate themselves above the Bible and make out of it what they desire, then shall we more and more show ourselves to be members of one Body and find in the *repentance* which the Holy Supper requires and the *grace* which it offers, a basis of union, which would elevate us above all mere verbal controversy and would not suffer us to substitute the letter for the spirit. But as we are not what we should be, let us follow after that which is yet lacking and patiently bear with each other, giving heed to the admonition of Paul in Phil. 3 : 12, "Not as though I had already attained, either were already perfect, but I follow after, if that I may apprehend."

Luther has been severely censured for his treatment of

Zwingli at Marburg, and of course his friends have come to the rescue. Dr. Krauth in his paper on "The relations of the Lutheran Church to the Denominations around us," read at the First Diet in Philadelphia, 1877, and published in the volume issued by the Diet, gives a very enlightened statement of the case which is here inserted :

"At Marburg the whole question was epitomized, and Luther there passed through a sorer struggle, a mightier temptation, and showed himself more matchless as a hero than at Worms—for what is harder than to reject the advances of seeming love, which pleads for our acknowledgment on the ground of devotion to a common cause. Luther saved the Reformation by withholding the hand, whose grasp would have meant the recognition of fundamental error—either as in unity with faith, or as too little a thing to be weighed. Not only Luther's personal qualities, but his religious and reformatory principles, were precisely the same as revealed against Rome and against the Zwinglian tendencies. There is no consistency in blaming him in his relation to the latter, while we praise him for his attitude to the former. It would have been a surrender of the vital principle by which the Reformation itself stands or falls—the authority and clearness of the Word. Concession at the point at which Zwingli demanded it would not have stopped there. Other concessions to other errors would have been demanded, with equal justice, on the same grounds. The political element was no small one in this early desire for Unionism, and the complexion it would have given would have brought a Capel, at which not Zwingli but the Reformation itself would have fallen. We know well that there are good people so blinded to the real character of the scene at Marburg that they regard Zwingli's course as the very embodiment of Christian love, and Luther, they think of, as hurried away by the zealotry of partisanship. When Zwingli declared that he desired fellowship with no men so much as with the Wittenbergers, he pressed on them the hand of fraternity, he wept because they declined taking it. What a loving, large spirit is that ! men exclaim ; and how poor before it seems the narrowness of Luther and of Melanchthon, of whom the editor of Zwingli's works has said that 'at that

time he was almost harsher than Luther himself.* But the men of Wittenberg had not forgotten how Zwingli, in 1524, had endorsed the book which Carlstadt had directed against Luther under the title: 'Of the execrable abuse of the Eucharist.' They had not forgotten that, in 1525, Zwingli had assailed Luther in his 'Commentary of true and false Religion,' had pronounced Luther's language on the Eucharist as 'monstrous,' and had said in the most sweeping way that 'neither were those to be listened to who though they saw that the opinion cited' (Luther's) 'was not only coarse, but impious and frivolous, yet said that we eat Christ's true body, but spiritually.' The Wittenbergers had not forgotten that he had called those who held the doctrine of the true presence 'Carnivori,' 'a stupid set of men,' and had said that the doctrine was 'impious, foolish, inhuman and worthy of anthropophagites.' And these were the amenities of Zwingli at a period when Luther had not written a solitary word against him. The Wittenbergers had not forgotten that in that same year the book of Zwingli had been followed up by another, in which he characterizes the holders of Luther's view as "cannibals." They had not forgotten that in 1527 Zwingli had distinctly declared that his own view involved the fundamentals of faith, and had condemned Bucer for saying that 'either view might be held without throwing faith overboard.' On this Zwingli says: 'I do not approve of his view. To believe that consciences are established by eating flesh, is conjoined with throwing faith overboard (*cum fidei jactura*).† The Wittenbergers had not forgotten that in 1527 Zwingli had written a book against Luther, had dedicated it to the Elector of Saxony, and charged Luther to his own Elector with 'error and great audacity,' which he claims to have 'exposed.' All this the Wittenbergers could not forget, but all this they could have forgiven had it been sorrowed over and withdrawn; but all this remained unretracted, unexplained, unregretted. Zwingli himself being judge, there was not the fraternity of a common faith. The conflicting modes of interpretation involved in fact

*H. Zwingli's Werke: (Schuler u. Schulthess) Vol. II. iii. 55.

†Exegesis ad Lutherum.

the whole revelation of God. What Zwingli still held of the old faith would have gone down before his rationalistic method, just as surely as what he already rejected. All went down before it in aftertime. Luther uttered the warning, but Zwingli would not believe it. His course was the beginning of that effusive sentiment of compromise, which from the rill of 1529 has gathered to the torrent of 1877, and before which we are expected to allow, without a struggle, all fixed principle to be swept away.

“How fleeting the better mind of Zwingli was, is shown by the fact that on the margin of a copy of the Articles of Agreement at Marburg, he wrote annotations, which prove how hollow, superficial and untrustworthy the whole thing was on his part.

“The violence of Zwingli had been the more unpardonable because he had originally held the same view of the Lord’s Supper as Luther, and must have known that it did not involve what he charges upon it. Even in 1526 he wrote to Billican and others who held Luther’s doctrine: ‘You affirm that Christ’s true body is eaten, but in a certain ineffable manner.’ Zwingli, indeed, confesses in so many words that he had rejected the literal and historical interpretation of the words of the Lord’s Supper, before he was able to assign even to his own mind a reason for it. He tells us that after he had made up his conviction without a reason, a dream suggested a reason. It was indeed a reason demonstratively irrelevant—an interpretation which his co-workers, Carlstadt and Ecolampadius, both rejected, and at which a fair scholar of any school would now laugh—but it was enough to begin the great schism whose miseries live and spread to this hour. The mode which unsettles the doctrine of the true presence, unsettles every distinctive Evangelical doctrine—the method which explains it away explains everything away. To give it up is in principle to give up everything. The division began at the doctrine of the Eucharist; the union must begin at the point of division. The bone must be knit where it was broken, or the arm of the Church will continue to be distorted and enfeebled.

“In a few months after the scenes at Marburg, without a voca-

tion from God to man, Zwingli prepared a Confession, part of whose object was to condemn the views of our Church, and to mark his own separation from it. He attempted to thrust upon the Diet at Augsburg his rationalistic speculations, whose tendency was to throw contempt upon our Confession, to weaken and endanger our cause, to peril the liberty and lives of our confessors, and to hazard the cause of the entire Reformation. It was an uncalled-for parading of division in the presence of a ruthless enemy. In his Confession, he classes the Lutherans with the Papists, and speaks of them as 'those who are looking back to the flesh-pots of Egypt.' He characterizes our doctrine as an 'error in conflict with God's Word,' and says that 'he will make this as clear as the sun to the emperor, and will attack the opponents with arguments like battering-rams.' This is dated July 3d, 1530. Contrast it with the brief and gentle words, which on June 25th, had been presented in the Tenth Article of the Augsburg Confession: 'Therefore, the opposite doctrine is rejected,' 'and they disapprove of those who teach in a contrary way.' "

MISCELLANEOUS CONFERENCES.

Besides these colloquies with *theologians*, Luther held many with electors, princes and other high civilians, in which the most momentous questions of religion were discussed. Fabricius gives an account of them in his *Centifolium Lutheranium*, Part II., p. 608, and even he with all his usual fulness has overlooked a few and especially that held in Merseburg in 1545.

It was on this occasion that Luther ordained to the office of the ministry Prince George of Anhalt, who particularly requested this service from Luther because he "had no confidence in the bishops of that ecclesiastical district and who would not have performed the sacred rite of ordination without the practice of the abuses common on such occasions." The prince evidently by "the abuses" meant, the unscriptural ceremonies of the Romish church. The solemn act was witnessed by many persons of high civil and ecclesiastical rank.

In this his last Conference, he showed an almost incredible diligence. It was just fifteen months before his death, when as

he himself says, "Aged, worn out, weary, spiritless and now blind of one eye, I long for a little rest and quietness, yet I have as much to do in writing, and preaching and acting, as if I had never written, preached or acted. I am weary of the world and the world is weary of me; the parting will be easy, like that of the guest leaving the inn; I pray only that God will be gracious to me in my last hour and I shall quit the world without reluctance."

Having given brief descriptions of his more *private Conferences and Colloquies*, let us proceed to view what have been designated as his *public Disputations*.

LUTHER'S FIRST DISPUTATION.

The *first* disputation of Luther which we yet have in print is the question, "An homo ad Dei imaginem creatus, naturalibus suis viribus Dei Gloriosi creatoris precepta servare, *bonum quippiam* facere aut cogitare, atque *ad gratiam* mereri, meritaque cognoscere possit?" This was held at Wittenberg in 1516, a year before the public annunciation of the famous 95 propositions. Some notice of this discussion and of Luther's notes and comments may be seen in Loescher's *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, Tom. i., c. xv., p. 328. It is worthy of attention from the fact that it clearly shows that as early as 1516 Luther was led by the Holy Spirit, to contest and refute the errors of Rome. Loescher and others hold that these theses should be regarded as the beginning of the Reformation, at any rate he here significantly foreshadowed the fundamental doctrine of the Reformation in smiting the very heart of popery, namely the doctrine of the merit of good works, of preparation for conversion and justification by selfrighteous deeds, and of confidence in good works and in the saints.

It also affords demonstrative proof, that Luther not only preached but publicly disputed against popery several years before Zwingli, and that hence the honor of being the first reformer belongs to him.

DISPUTATION ON THE NINETY-FIVE THESES.

More important than the former and in regard to momentous

results probably the most important of all, was the one upon which he entered by himself on Oct. 31, 1517. He challenged the whole Romish Church by the publication of his 95 propositions. This story so often narrated and so familiar to all intelligent persons will never lose its interest. The sounds of the hammer by which he attached the almost divinely inspired document to the castle gate, have not ceased their reverberations to this day. The echo was first heard against the walls, the gates, the pillars of popery and shook them to their foundations. It penetrated the palace, the cloister, the church, the university. The heroes of popery were struck with amazement at the extraordinary sound, which at the same time awakened thousands from the sleep of error and sin. True, many and mighty opponents rose up and endeavored to annihilate the theses, but they accomplished nothing. It has been observed by wise men that no special enterprise ever undertaken by man for the glory of God and the defense of the truth, seemed to enjoy such a singular divine protection. Every biography of Luther and every history of the Reformation must necessarily expatiate upon this grand event, and the further exhibition of it here would be superfluous.

DISPUTATION WITH ECK AT LEIPZIG.

The public controversy with Eck at Leipzig in 1519 was distinguished by many peculiarities, and has in every generation since it occurred, been regarded by all historians as unspeakably important.

In the presentation of this interesting event, special use will be made of a translation of Köhler's "Luther's Reisen."

Dr. John Eck was a conspicuous actor in the scenes about to be described. His real name was *Mayer*, and he was born in 1486, in the Suabian village *Eck*, and according to the custom of the times, assumed the name *von Eck*; but to distinguish him from *John von Eck*, a jurist and an official of the Elector of Treves,* he was called simply *Eck*. He was a learned man,

*It was the jurist John von Eck and not the theological opponent of Luther who put the questions to him at the Diet of Worms concerning his books.

and taught theology at the University of Ingolstadt for many years with success.

Luther awarded justice to his vast theological attainments, although he jocosely said of him, "that he skipped over God's Word like a water-spider over the surface of the stream."

A year before (1518) at Augsburg, Dr. Eck and Luther had agreed to hold a disputation at Leipzig. Eck, who was pro-chancellor of the city of Ingolstadt, and inquisitor in Bavaria and Franconia, had previously carried on a controversy with Andrew Bodenstein, of Carlstadt, in Franconia, canon and arch-deacon in Wittenberg and with other theologians. Luther met Eck in Augsburg, and asked him whether he would not meet Bodenstein, also known as Carlstadt, in a discussion at Leipzig, for the final settlement of the question at issue between them. Dr. Eck, however, thought it too small a matter to carry away the honors of a triumph over the comparatively undistinguished Carlstadt; he expressed a wish also to measure his strength upon the yet unconquered Luther.* Previous to this, Eck had published a book, which he called *Obelisks*, that is, "Spears," in which he attacked Luther's Theses on Indulgences in a malignant and virulent manner. But in his announcement of the doctrinal points which were to be discussed at Leipzig, in which he attacked the University of Wittenberg, Luther felt himself challenged again to take up the controversy which had been nearly settled, although he felt disposed, as he was now forcibly drawn out, the sooner the better to retire into obscurity, so far as it would be without prejudice to his honor as a Christian. Luther accepted the challenge, and immediately prepared some theses antagonistical to those of Eck, in which, with the most vigorous and overwhelming arguments, he assailed the sovereignty of the pope, which his opponents had exalted beyond all precedent. Although the Leipzig theologians, as well as the bishop of Merseburg, Adolphus, prince of Anhalt, to whose diocese the city belonged, did all in their power to prevent the discussion, yet the lord of the province, Duke George, by emphatic and personal interference, and by ordering the advertised

*Sleidanus, l. i., p. 22, "Joannes Eckius, theologus animosus et audax."

prohibition to be torn down from the church doors, succeeded in bringing the disputation to pass.

Dr. Eck, on February 19, challenged Luther to the disputation in these words: "I have appointed June 22d as the day on which we will commence the discussion. As Carlstadt is your champion, but you are the principal—for this reason it seems good to me that you yourself should appear at the place." He expected to distinguish himself particularly, because he was already quite celebrated for the discussions he had held in Bologna and Vienna in 1515 and 1516.

But Luther felt himself a match for his opponent, and in a written petition to Duke George, he begged permission to engage in the disputation, which was however denied him, as appears from a letter to Spalatin, dated February 16, in which he says: "Duke George answered me twice and will not allow me to dispute, although I told him that Eck forces me both in letters and public advertisements to reply to him. I will now write to him the third time."

Notwithstanding this, a "safe conduct" was denied to Luther, so that according to his own showing, he came to Leipzig not as a *disputant* but as a *hearer*. Yet Eck prevailed upon the Duke to permit Luther to enter the arena. Perhaps the Duke wished to enjoy the triumph of witnessing his discomfiture, in which however he was deceived, although many of Luther's opponents claimed the victory for themselves. "For it mortified the Duke," says Myconius, "that the University of Wittenberg should gain such reputation, and that of Leipzig be depreciated."

Eck had arrived at Leipzig earlier, even before the festival of Corpus Christi, and appeared in the procession together with the Leipzig theologians. This festival was celebrated on that day with great pomp. He was habited in sacerdotal vestments and made a grand display, so that he might demonstrate his assurance of victory over the Wittenbergers in advance.*

*In what follows, we make particular use of the narrative of Sebastian Fröschel, at that time Magister in Leipzig, afterwards Deacon in Wittenberg, who witnessed the entrance of the Wittenberg theologians and was

On Friday before Corpus Christi (June 24) Luther also arrived in Leipzig, accompanied by Duke Barnim, of Pomerania,* Carlstadt and Philip Melanchthon. They drove in open vehicles through the Grimma gate, Carlstadt in advance, followed by Luther and Melanchthon. The Wittenberg students who had traveled with their teachers to Leipzig, walked by the side of the carriages, and were armed with spears and halberds. When they reached the door which leads into St. Paul's churchyard, Carlstadt's carriage broke down and he was pitched into the mud. Luther and Melanchthon drove past him. The people who saw this, said :

"This one (Luther) will conquer, the other (Carlstadt) will be overcome, as it has already happened" (Fröschel). On the Saturday after Corpus Christi, Dr. Emser also arrived.

Even before the public discussion began, the Wittenberg and Leipzig students had such violent conflicts in the taverns, that the landlords were compelled to station armed men at their tables to maintain peace. A certain M. Baumgärtner, who had traveled around with Tetzl and supported him in his trade of indulgences, became so terribly incensed against a Wittenberg student of noble rank on account of Luther, that it cost him his life. Fröschel assisted in carrying him to the grave.

On Sunday after Trinity, June 26, all those who were to take part in the discussion assembled at the castle (Pleissenburg) where also the ducal commissioners, Cæsar Pflug, Chancellor, Dr. John Küchel, Private Secretary, and George von Niedebach, Castellan at Leipzig, had previously repaired. In this meeting the conditions were established :

1. Carlstadt was to speak first and then Luther.

present at the disputation. See his book "Vom Koenigreich Christi u. Seinem eigenen Priesterthume," Wittenberg, 1566.

Compare Kœhler's treatise on Sebastian Fröschel in the *Zeitschrift für histor. Theologie* von Dr. K. F. A. Kahnis, 1872, 4tes Heft, p. 512.

Unschuld, *Nachr.*, 1717, p. 12. M. Jacobi Thomasii *Orationes*. Lips., 1683, "De Disputatione Lipsiensi."

De Wette. Bd. I, vom 20 juli. 18 aug ad Spalatin, p. 284, u. 306.

Lingke, a. a. o. p. 61.

*At that time student in Wittenberg and rector of the University.

2. That a correct report was to be made, and hence that they were to speak slowly ; and

3. That the transactions should not be printed until a decision should be pronounced upon them.

Eck proposed the pope and several universities, but Luther unconditionally rejected the first and only consented to the latter after long resistance, and preferred an appeal to a general free Church Congress.*

Luther, who was fully aware of the dishonest designs of his opponents, thus expressed himself upon the approaching discussion, "The affair was not begun in God's name, and it will not end in God's name." On Monday, June 27, at 7 o'clock in the morning, the parties with their friends from Wittenberg and Ingolstadt met in the "Large College." As hearers, there were present the Duke himself with his Councillors, the Magistrates, the Doctors and Bachelors of the University, and an immense crowd of people from all the neighboring towns.

The meeting was opened by Dr. Simon Pistoris, Ordinary of the Faculty of Law, with a "magnificent" Latin oration in the name of the University. After the conclusion of the speech, they proceeded by twos, a Leipziger and a Wittenberger together, to St. Thomas' church, where chorister Rhaw,† with the assistance of the bookbinder Herbipolis, and other vocalists, sang a mass of twelve voices.

From the church they proceeded to the castle, where the Duke was not present,‡ but the most distinguished members of the court, also young Barnim, of Pomerania, as well as many counts, abbots, knights, and people of all ranks, had previously assembled. There were also four citizens appointed, clothed in coats of mail, with their banners and weapons, to maintain peace and order as long as the discussion lasted—that is, every morning from 7 to 9, and in the afternoon from 2 to 5 (Fröschel).

*M. Vogel's Leipzig. Annalen, p. 97 seq, Seckendorff a. a. o. l., 1, and 54 seq., p. 72 seq.

Löescher's Acta Reform. Thl. iii. Kap. 8, u. g., p. 214.

†Rhaw later was a printer in Wittenberg, where he published many of Luther's works.

‡ Others say he was present.

The main business, however, was not yet begun; but there was first a Latin address made by the learned Peter Mosellanus (*Peter Schade*), from Brüttig on the Mosel, professor of the Greek language in Leipzig, in which he spoke of the true method of disputing theological subjects, and exhorted the disputants to moderation, love of the truth, reverence for the Holy Scriptures, and to the confession of their convictions.* At the conclusion of the discourse, chorister Rhaw and other musicians led in the singing of the hymn, "Veni Sancte Spiritus" (Come, Holy Spirit), whilst all present reverently kneeled.

As the discourse was full two hours long, so that the time of dinner had come, the session was terminated, and was opened again in the afternoon at 2 o'clock, with the same hymn, upon which the discussion began.

First, Dr. Carlstadt and Dr. Eck entered the lists, and commenced their disputation upon "Free Will," which was continued four days upon the same subject. After this, Luther disputed with Eck nine days upon Purgatory, Indulgences, Absolution, Repentance, and the Papal Primacy. The last subject was discussed most violently, as Luther maintained that the Primacy could not be proved from the Scriptures, but was based on human rights and presumption, which must also now be admitted fully and truthfully.

Luther expressed himself upon this subject so contrary to the general belief, that many present, and with them Duke George, were absolutely alarmed.

As Luther during the disputation said to Eck, that not all the articles of Huss were heretical, the displeasure of the Duke was demonstrated by shaking his head. (Fröschel).

After Luther had valiantly contended for nine days, Carlstadt renewed the disputation for two days; but there was no obvious result.

Luther retired from the contest sooner than Carlstadt, who still continued it with Eck. A considerable number of learned men surrounded him. But in proportion as he was honored by these proofs of profound veneration by his friends, the wrath of

*Peter Mosellani Oratio de ratione disputandi praesertim in re theologica.

his enemies was excited. Carlstadt finished the learned contest with Eck, which exceedingly inflamed the minds of many, but which, upon the whole, resulted in nothing definite.

Both parties claimed the victory.

The following deserves to be recorded concerning Luther's sojourn in Leipzig :

He was invited by Duke Barnim, with the sanction of Duke George, whose kindness and munificence he speaks highly of in a letter to Spalatin* on August 15, 1519, to preach on the 29th of June in the castle church, to which he consented. His text was Matt. 16 : 13-20.† As soon as this was known in the town, the crowd became so great that he was compelled to preach this sermon in the spacious hall in which the discussion was held. The subject was "Free Will, and the power of St. Peter and of the Keys." Pflug, who was absent at the time, declared upon his return, "I wish Dr. Martin had spared his sermon for Wittenberg." Luther was urged by many other parties to preach again, but it was not allowed him, while Eck afterwards preached four times against him in different churches.

Mosellanus, who wrote an account of the discussion, gives us a true picture of Luther when he says :‡ "Martin is of medium height, and so emaciated by anxiety and hard study, that you can nearly count his bones through his body, and yet vigorous and sprightly, and of a clear and elevated voice. He is so thoroughly learned, and has such a familiarity with the Scriptures, that he can count every thing on his fingers. In his deportment he is courteous and social, and has nothing morose and severe about him. In company he is cheerful, genial, always in good humor, and hopeful, so that it is hard to believe that this man can undertake these weighty enterprises without the divine help and sanction."

Mosellanus could not have set him forth in stronger light, as

*De Wette. Bd. 1. S. 299.

†Hoffman's *Histoire von Leipzig*. S. 123-130. The sermon was printed the same year, at Leipzig, by Wolgang, Stockel.

‡In a beautiful Latin letter to Bilibad Birkheimer, of Nurnberg. Comp. Chr. Fred. Junii compendium Seckendorffianum 1755. Book I. p. 135, and Seckendorff Com. Hist. de Lutheranism. T. N. p. 141.

he appeared at that time. In after years, his physical condition was changed, but his spirit always continued vigorous; and even in the severest sufferings his cheerful disposition never forsook him. He did not allow himself to despond even in Leipzig, although he was not altogether satisfied with his reception, as plainly appears from his own letters.*

"They," (the Leipzigers) he says, "neither salute us nor visit us, and treat us as their greatest enemies. They associated with him (Eck), clung to him, entertained him hospitably, invited him to their houses, took him out on pleasure excursions, presented him with a tunic, etc., and in a word, they tried to mortify us in every possible way. They did one thing, and that was, they made a present to us of some wine. Those who were on our side visited us secretly. Dr. Auerbach once invited us to his house—he was a man of very sound judgment; Pistor Jr., did the same; the Duke also invited us there at the same time."

In his report to the Elector, he employs the following remarkable words: "Some began to imagine that I carry a familiar spirit with me."

That such a report prevailed in Leipzig also appears from a letter which Eck wrote to the Elector of Saxony, in which he says: "Whether Dr. Luther carries a familiar spirit with him, I know nothing about it, and no one in Leipzig has ever heard me ascribe anything of the kind to him; but this is true, that with a little string and small ring attached to one finger, he bore something, and this occasioned much talk among the people." Probably Luther's skill in disputation, in which he "could count everything on his fingers," gave rise to this tale.

Even the monks at Leipzig, to whom this fable was probably not unknown, feared Luther's alleged spirit of divination.

Fröschel relates the following fact in relation to it:

"During the celebration of Corpus Christi, Luther went into St. Paul's Church, as the monks had the monstranz upon the altar of St. Dominic in the morning. As soon as they observed

*De Wette. Bd. 1. S. 284. Letter to Spalatin of July 20, 1519, and to the same of Aug. 15. 290.

that Dr. Luther was in the church, they snatched the monstranz and other sacred vessels from the altars, and hurried with the greatest speed into the sacristy, where they locked it up, afraid that Luther would poison the holy sacrament, and the other monks who were reading mass at other altars hastily gathered their holy implements and rushed out as though Satan himself were after them."*

For the discouraging experience which Luther had at Leipzig, he was compensated by some friends and supporters whom he found there. Among these was Pistor the younger, mentioned above, who is to be distinguished from the senior, who was Doctor of Medicine and Ordinary of the Faculty of Law. It was the latter who opened the discussion, or rather the introduction to it, with a Latin discourse.

An especially dear friend of Luther was Henry Stromeyer of Auerbach, who had previously made his acquaintance in Augsburg. He was Professor of Therapeutics, Dean of the Medical Faculty, Councillor, and owner of the house which was afterwards called "Auerbach's Court."

Besides these, Dr. Breitenbach and Henry von Schleinitz were friendly to him. The latter was a ducal councillor. They invited Luther as a guest, and they gave other evidences of their friendly feelings. There were others upon whom he made favorable impressions, so that they soon held public discourses in his spirited style. Fröschel mentions Andrew Comitianus, M. Reusch, M. Hegendorff and Mosellanus, the last of whom delivered lectures on the Epistle to the Romans. But among those who soon professed the evangelical faith, must be especially mentioned John Cellarius, Professor of Hebrew at Leipzig, who resigned his professorship, repaired to Wittenberg, and continued his studies under the direction of Luther, until he became a preacher in Frankfort-on-the-Main, in 1522, and subsequently superintendent at Dresden. George Rhaw, the chorister in St. Thomas' church mentioned above, resigned his office, went to Wittenberg, and there established a printing office, at which many of Luther's works were printed. John

*De Wette, Bd. I., 284 and 290.

Poliander also, who came to Leipzig with Eck, and had reported the disputation on Eck's side, embraced the evangelical doctrine, which was also the case with Sebastian Fröschel, magister and private teacher at Leipzig.

Many Leipzig students also went to Wittenberg, and many inhabitants of the same city abandoned the Romish faith, and connected with some evangelical churches in the neighboring villages. On the other hand, Duke George, who previously had not been disinclined towards Luther, now became a sworn enemy of the Reformation. For when his courtiers observed that the truth was beginning to shine into his mind, they tried in connection with the Catholic priesthood to prevent this result, and to defame Luther, in which they unfortunately succeeded.

The Catholic party has often reproached Luther for leaving Leipzig sooner than Carlstadt; but he had good reasons for this course; for the discussion had properly been finished, as the reports distinctly show, in which it is said, "On the 14th of July, at 7 in the morning, Eck continued" (*wider abreden*). It must also not be forgotten that the discussion was really ended, and that Luther only appeared as second contestant. He had also been convinced that notwithstanding his superiority nothing would result from the whole affair; hence he, tired of the discussion, would no longer have anything to do with Eck, and thought it most advisable to leave Leipzig. This also appears from the words which he wrote in relation to Eck. He says: "I have already yesterday replied to the nonsense of the Doctor; for, like a ridiculous player on the harp, he always comes back to the same old hum-drum; he has not touched the point in dispute. Thirdly, to-day he entirely ignored the Holy Scriptures." More Luther could not say in justification of his departure and his silence, inasmuch as further discussion under such circumstances could produce no good results. To all this must be added, that he had learned that Dr. Staupitz was in Grimma, as his letter to Spalatin of July 29 shows, and it must not be overlooked that Eck himself does not speak complainingly of the accusations made to the Electors concerning Luther's early departure, but thinks the reason was that Luther,

together with Carlstadt, had requested the Duke to break up the discussion, because the University would suffer from their long absence, and that the strangers present would be put to too great expense by its longer continuance.*

There is another reason given by Mosellanus which should not be overlooked, and that is, that the expected arrival of the Elector of Brandenburg would necessitate the evacuation of the chamber at the castle (Pleissenberg); and yet it is very probable that this was merely a subterfuge to get rid of a subject from which they apprehended no happy results. Although Luther was not present at the valedictory sermon preached by John Lange, yet all due praise was awarded him for his learning, discrimination, boldness and firmness.

According to the letter of July 20, he left Leipzig not directly for Wittenberg, but for Grimma, where he wished to consult Staupitz. He arrived in Wittenberg on July 19, where he was honored with a present of money by the Council, as appears from their proceedings of 1519. His departure from Leipzig was probably on July 14. On the day following his arrival (July 20), he gave Spalatin a full report of the contest, and among other things said, that although Eck exceeded Carlstadt in noise and vehement gestures, yet that he (Carlstadt) had admirably maintained all his positions, and had thoroughly refuted the arguments of his opponent, and that finally the cunning and unscrupulous Eck had yielded to all that Carlstardt claimed, against which he had before fought valiantly, and agreed with him in all points, although he falsely boasted that he had won Carlstadt to his opinions. Subsequently he practiced a similar trick, as church history abundantly shows.

PECULIARITIES OF THE LEIPZIG CONTROVERSY.

It was observed above that this disputation was distinguished by some peculiarities, some of which shall here be specified.

The first was the formidable opposition made by friends of both parties to its being held. Not only did influential papists oppose it violently but many friends of Luther vehemently ad-

* Hall A. Th., xv., R. 1571.

vised him against disputing with Eck on *the primacy of the pope*. Even the pope himself resisted it and ordered the bishop Merseburg, as chancellor of the University and the theological faculty, not to suffer it. The prohibition was accordingly nailed on the church door. Duke George favored a general discussion, but finally opposed any controversy on the *pope's primacy* and he would not grant Luther "a safe conduct" though the latter requested it three times. The University even tried to excite the common people against it, so that the civil authorities might be led to prohibit it for fear of an insurrection.

Notwithstanding all the obstructions laid in the way by the papists, the discussion took place and the subject most dreaded by them, the papal supremacy, was not omitted. The whole history of this proceeding is intensely interesting but there is no room here for the narrative.* But divine Providence controlled this affair, for in the discussion Luther became more deeply grounded than ever in the conviction that the pope's assumption of control over all christendom was utterly untenable and demonstrated it clearly before the vast audience and the complete overthrow of this assumption gave a powerful impulse to the Reformation. This was Providence.

Eck himself may have entertained some fears of the result of the controversy, although he appeared anxious to encounter Luther, and hence he added to his twelve *Positions*, which were to be discussed, a thirteenth, on the dreaded subject, the pope's primacy, thereby laying a trap for Luther. He vainly presumed that Luther would not dare to deny that fundamental doctrine of papacy and would decline the discussion, so that he might boast that his opponent refused to meet him and thus be exposed to derision and scoffing. But if Luther would still agree to the contest, he would either have to acknowledge the superiority of the pope and concede the whole point, and thus give Eck the victory, or that Luther would deny the doctrine, which would bring down upon him the hatred and opposition of all classes and even put his life in peril. So formidable to the papists even at this early period was the heroic Luther.

*See Lœscher Reform. Act. Tom. III. cap. VIII. S. 214-507.

But, secondly, Luther was not to be caught in the snare so cunningly laid, and although he well knew that by contesting the pope's superiority he would more expose himself to the scaffold, which he had already done by his opposition to Indulgences, he did not for a moment flinch from his purpose of maintaining the whole truth. He displayed on this occasion the same unshaken firmness, the same heroic zeal and the same buoyant cheerfulness that always distinguished him in times of trial and danger. He was always ready for a martyr's death, rather than compromise the truth in the least degree.

He went to Leipzig without any security for his personal safety; and this was a bold venture, but a wonderful Providence guided and protected him. His conduct during the debate excited the admiration of all for his manliness and unterrified bravery.

Extraordinary solemnities were associated with the opening and closing of this discussion. On the first day, which was June 27, the disputants and a large number of doctors, professors, masters, students and others from various parts all around, assembled in the "College," where they were greeted in a Latin oration by D. Simon Pistoris, the Dean of the Faculty of Law. Thence they proceeded, as has been mentioned before, to the church of St. Thomas. Here there was grand music and another Latin oration by Mosellanus. In the afternoon they assembled again and every day a large number of the citizens in coats of mail and spears, guarded the passages against the entrance of the surging crowd of common people. The conclusion was celebrated with a Latin oration of the Rector Magnificus, John Langius, and sacred music, accompanied by trumpets and horns.

The presiding officer of this disputation also rendered it remarkable. It was Duke George, who was sovereign of that district, and who at that time was one of the most powerful princes in the Roman empire, and in high favor at Rome. It must be mentioned, however, that he presided only during the contest between Eck and Luther, and not when Eck and Carlstadt were engaged in the debate.

The large and influential assembly, before which the dispute

was held, was extraordinary. Besides Duke George there were present Duke John, the hereditary successor of Duke George, Duke Barnim, Prince George of Anhalt, numerous abbots, counts, gentlemen, nobles, all the Leipzig professors, many professors from Wittenberg and Erfurt, the magistracy of Leipzig, a large number of Leipzig and Wittenberg masters and students, and many other learned and unlearned people from different parts, making a crowd too large to be accommodated in any hall in Leipzig. None of the three bishops and eleven abbots of Duke George's dominion were present.

This contest was held between two theologians, who at that time were the greatest and most celebrated in the country. Eck was universally acknowledged to be a man of commanding intellect, vast acquirements, wonderful skill in debate, and of logical acumen and incomparably versed, as Luther himself says, in all scholastic theology. He had already disputed at eight Universities, of which he was very proud when Luther artfully gave him this as a reason why he (Eck) was so anxious to dispute with him at Leipzig. The other disputant we need not specialize. He was already at that time well known in all Europe for his learning and talents, but especially for his terrific assaults upon popery. It can then be said with truth of this disputation, as was said by Hornius of that between Luther and Erasmus on Free Will. The affair did not less excite the attention of everybody than when two great mountains rushed against each other in tremendous collision.

The long continuance of the contest was remarkable. It endured nearly three weeks. It began on June 27 and ended on July 15. That especially between Eck and Luther continued from July 4 to July 14. On that day, Carlstadt renewed it with Eck, which was continued to the following Friday, and it would have lasted longer if it had not been necessary, by Duke George's order, to vacate the Pleissenberg that it might be made ready for the reception of the Duke of Brandenburg, on his return from the Frankfort Congress.

The principal subject of the discussion was an unusual one. The primacy of the pope was a doctrine, which at that time was regarded with the most profound reverence by the mightiest

potentates. They all entertained the sentiment uttered by the Emperor Ferdinand I., who as late as 1559, in writing to the pope said, "Ego manus ac pedes vestræ sanctitatis deosculor." Luther thus also writes of it, "Quanta vero papæ majestas, ut metus ejus non regibus terræ modo, sed et, ut ita dicam cœlo et inferno metuendus esset." It was looked upon as the greatest sin to doubt the power of the pope. He was a bold man who would publicly dispute it. Yet Luther combated it in this discussion and the Dagon fell.

The place where it was held is worthy of remark. It was in a city whose people, university and sovereign, were fanatically devoted to popery. Eck, who boasted "that he could dispute well and overcome his adversary, even if he were drunk," expected to bring Luther to shame in this papal city, and for that reason aided in procuring him a passport. If that had not been the general expectation, Duke George would never have given his consent, and thus draw upon himself the papal displeasure, for the Elector Frederick himself would not have allowed a similar disputation within his territory.*

The locality in which it was held is not undeserving of notice. It was in a princely palace, and in beautifully decorated rooms. Two new stands, or desks, ornamented with carpets, were erected expressly for the occasion. The Pleissenberg in Leipzig has the honor of having this contest, which attracted the attention of all Germany, and a great part of Europe, held within its walls. Duke George ordered the largest hall to be prepared. All the walls and the writing tables were covered with beautiful hangings. The two stands for the disputants, placed opposite to each other, were similarly decorated. That of Wittenberg was designated by a likeness of St. Martin, and that of Eck by one of St. George.†

Is it not remarkable that this hall of fierce contest should be converted into a church and the stands into pulpits? It pleased God that the good seed should be sown into the hearts of the high and the learned, not alone by the discussion, but also into

*Loesch., l. c. S. 537.

*Loesch., *ibid.* S. 508-509. See this sermon in Loesch. III. S. 516 seq.

the hearts of the unlearned and common people by preaching. By a direct act of Providence, it was brought about that Luther preached on St. Peter's and St. Paul's day on Matt. 16 : 13-19. This was effected through the agency of Duke Barnim of Pomerania. Luther had so many hearers of this sermon, that he was compelled to preach in the hall, because the castle chapel was too small. He himself mentions that the opposition tried to prevent it, and finally sent several spies to the worship.

It is worth while observing that the predictions of Luther concerning the result of this contest were fulfilled. If he had listened to the apprehensions of his friends, the consequences would have been different. He would have feared that all who had hitherto clung to him, would abandon him because he had undertaken such a perilous and impracticable enterprise. He thus writes to Spalatin : "*Res ista finem non accipiet (si ex Deo est) nisi sicut discipuli et noti sui, ita et me derelinquant omnes amici mei.*" He knew beforehand, that opposition to the primacy of the pope would expose his life to the greatest danger, but he was quite willing to lay down his life for the truth. "*In summa si ego perdar, nihil peribit de mundo.*" But he said in advance, that this contest would result in injury to the papal chair, and that was realized. Until now, he was ready to maintain silence if his enemies would also keep still, and in this very year (1519) he wrote reverentially and obediently to the pope. But the Leipzig disputation infused new energy into the Reformation work. He grasped the subject with increased power. He began to see that Rome was the Babylon of the Revelation. He showed, at Leipzig, on irrefragable grounds, that the power which the pope claims, does not rightfully belong to him, and after the disputation, he demonstrated in many writings the utter groundlessness of the pope's pretensions to supremacy.

The last peculiarity to be mentioned here, is the extraordinary influence this contest had upon the progress of the Reformation. When Luther said, "The affair was not begun in God's name, and will not end in God's name," he was not speaking of himself, as some Romish writers claim, but of Eck. He knew

that Eck was not moved by the love of truth, but by personal ambition and avarice, and hence he wrote to Spalatin, "As Eck and the Leipzigers have sought their own honor and glory in this disputation, and not the truth, it is no wonder that it began badly, was carried on more so, and ended worse." This was exemplified in the subsequent conduct of Eck, who failed to secure certain lucrative ecclesiastical offices, and was so chagrined that he had an interview with Melanchthon upon the expediency of joining the Lutheran party.*

The zealous papist, Duke George, admitted to Luther, at his own table, that he was now convinced, that the papal chair had no claims upon divine appointment. Many Leipzigers were favorably inclined to Luther. Some examples have been given above, such as Mosellanus, Pistoris, Rhaw, Cellarius and others. Matthaeus Hiscollus, a monk, who published a description of the debate, openly gave Luther the right. Poliander, whom Eck brought with him to Leipzig as a sort of reporter, discerned that Eck was in the wrong and soon embraced Lutheranism. He defended Luther in a treatise in 1525. In 1529, he went to Königsberg as preacher. He wrote several fine hymns, and was designated as the Orpheus of Germany.

The lecture rooms of Leipzig, soon after the disputation, became silent witnesses of the influence which Luther's words had upon many of the students. A large number of them repaired to Wittenberg to attend the theological lectures of Luther. The University suffered sorely from the loss of pupils, and two years after, on the occasion of a University row, it was almost entirely deserted. It is also very evident that the favorable inclination towards the Lutheran doctrine which was manifested by many inhabitants in the following years, and which Duke George vainly endeavored to extinguish by various severe laws and penalties, were in a great measure the result of this disputation.

It also reflected great honor on Luther himself, especially as his opponent was one of the most learned men of the Romish

*See Seckendorf for this whole interesting story, too long for this paper.

church and particularly familiar with scholastic theology. Besides, if Luther had been allowed a few days time for preparation, he would have been still more powerful, but he came to Leipzig not as a disputant but as a hearer, and was only a hearer until he received the government assurance of protection. And yet, with these disadvantages, he overthrew the difficult doctrine of the pope's supremacy by irrefutable arguments from the Scriptures, the Fathers, and Church history. Even his enemies admitted that he displayed wonderful learning, skill in debate, and brilliant talent. Eck himself, in a letter to the Elector Frederick, praises him for his mental vigor. And Maimbourg expresses this opinion, "The other (Luther) showed much talent and erudition."

In this connection, a small collateral circumstance may be mentioned. Lampadius, the Reformed historian tries to prove that Luther throughout all this discussion was aided by Melanchthon and that it was only through his "suggestions" that Luther gained the victory. It is true that Melanchthon, as a hearer, sometimes forgot himself in his excitement and did interfere by some side remark, which brought from Eck the sharp retort, "Tace tu, Philippe, ac tua studia cura, nec me perturba," but this does not prove that Philip helped Luther all through the contest. Eck is silent on this subject in his letter to the Elector Frederick, and no well grounded complaint would have been overlooked by him, whose piercing eye observed every thing. Neither in any of the reports of the discussion, by friend or foe, is there any allusion to the fact that Luther was indebted to Melanchthon for his arguments or his wit.

Thus in four consecutive years, Luther held four disputations, each one of which could have cost him his life. Subsequently he was engaged in similar contests. Those which were held until 1538 appeared in print during that year. A collection of them extending to 1544, may be found in the Latin Jena edition of his works, pt. I., p. 371-418. In 1545, he wrote three more, two on the Holy Trinity, and one against the theologians of Lyons. This last consists of seventy-six theses. For this, see pt. II. of the Latin Jena edition. Cruciger translated them

into German. Seckendorf in Hist. Lutheranismi Lib. III. S. cxxviii. fol. 589 seq. has an epitome.

Thus, a brief summary of these theological contests has been given, and every one of them tends to enhance our admiration of the incomparable champion of the Reformation.

ARTICLE V.

THE NATURE AND PURPOSE OF OLD TESTAMENT MIRACLES.

By Rev. Dr. GEORGE H. SCHODDE, Martins Ferry, Ohio.

In theological science no branch has been more conscientiously and successfully cultivated in the last decades than apologetics. This is, in fact, preëminently an age of apologetics. Defence always presupposes an attack, and the prominent role which the defence of Christian truth has assumed is not the result of voluntary choice on the part of theologians, but a necessity forced upon them by the unceasing assaults of infidelity in its many and varied forms, from the aristocratic and learned criticism of Renan and Strauss down to the ignorant and vulgar blasphemies of Ingersoll. It has been, and is yet, to some extent, a question of "To be, or not to be," for Christianity; not this or that shade of Christian belief has been called into question, but the very right of existence has been denied to our religion as such. Fortunately the theological heavens have been cleared of many a dark and threatening cloud, and the sun of truth is again spreading life and light over many of the waste places. In the combat between neological theology and philosophy, falsely so-called, on the one side, and apologetics and faith on the other, the former have steadily lost ground. Many points disputed for years, such as the authorship of the fourth gospel,* the historical character of Christ's life and words, the harmonious spirit of the early Church, have been virtually decided to

* It is certainly a "sign of the times" when men of the independence of Ezra Abbot defend the traditional view of the authorship of the last gospel, as that scholar has recently done in the *Unitarian Review*.

the satisfaction of candid investigators. Consequently, being driven out of the New Testament, the never resting spirit of destruction has taken refuge in the Old, and conservative Christians are now called upon to renew the contest here. What Baur, with his Tübingen school, attempted to prove in regard to Christianity, namely that it originated without any supernatural factor whatever, and was simply a successful combination of the better elements of culture and religion extant at the time of Christ, this his spiritual brother in the department of Old Testament criticism, Kuenen, is trying to establish for the history of the children of Israel. To accomplish this, recourse is had to the theory that whenever the records of the Old Testament indicate any interference of Providence, that is, any miracles great or small, we are dealing not with facts but with myths. But never was a more untenable position taken; for if apologetics have ever proved any thing, it is that in the history of the old covenant there are many authenticated instances of the hand of God guiding and directing the fate of His people; and if the defenders of truth have not proved this, then historical evidences have no value whatever, and nothing that is past is certain. Candid research offers no hope to the deistic spirit which, forgetful of Arago's famous words, "*Celui qui en dehors du mathématiques pures prononce le mot impossible manque de prudence*," has denied the possibility, or reality, of the supernatural events recorded by the prophets and historians of Israel; for if the historical character of one single miracle in these accounts is proved, then their theory is lost, and at least the possibility, if not the probability, of the truth of the others established. Were these extraordinary accounts confined to the book of Genesis and to the earliest history of Israel, long before the invention or general use of written records, then those who scorn to believe in any theory of inspiration whatever would have a plausible ground for their hypothesis; but happily a great number of the most important and greatest miracles are related in those books of the Bible which are based on contemporaneous and official records, so that according to the rules of legitimate research, adopted in the investigation of other histories, a candid mind cannot doubt the truth of what is here pre-

sented. We have here in mind especially the wonderful history of Elijah and Elisha, as found in the second book of the Kings, which book claims to be,—and the claim according to the unanimous voice of critics is just—a reproduction and compilation from the royal annals taken at the time when the events transpired by the official persons appointed for that purpose. Even the most rabid and critical dissecters of the Old Testament acknowledge the general historical character of the records since the days of Samuel and Saul, and it is only subjectivism and *a priori* dogmatism when those portions of the later books which speak of a divine interference in the natural course of human events are impugned as unhistorical, while the other portions are regarded as trustworthy, since both are drawn from the same sources by the same author.*

We take it then for granted that really such miracles did occur in the development of Israel's history, that both the myth of old vulgar rationalism, that the authors did not intend to recount supernatural events, and the rationalism of modern mythologists, that we cannot trust the records, are without foundation. This must be insisted upon; for the miracles in the different epochs of O. T. history are an all-important factor, and without them this history would be a body without a soul, an eye without the power of sight. They are important because they constitute a main element in the dealings of God with His own people, and a closer investigation of their purpose and object will soon show that without them Israel would not be the chosen people, and the O. T. not a history of the kingdom of God under the old dispensation.

It is an acknowledged rule of interpretation that, in order to understand and appreciate an author, it is absolutely necessary to place ourselves on his ground, to proceed from his premises, to put ourselves in his place. Especially is the observance of this canon necessary in biblical hermeneutics, for here the introduction of any preconceived notions and theories make a sad

*The miracles of the Bible are in this way better authenticated than any claimed by the sacred books of unchristian religions. With regard to Mohammedanism, in this respect, cf. Tholuck, *Die Wunder Muhammed's*, in *Vermischte Schriften*, vol. IX.

havoc of truth in the exegesis. In studying the object of biblical miracles this rule dare not be lost sight of, since here many of our abstract ideas of God's personality and attributes, and especially the generally received notions about nature and nature's laws, frequently prevent a proper understanding of what God and His holy servants meant by their deeds. Only when we fairly and squarely adopt biblical Theism the views of revelation on God and His relation to the world and to mankind, on the nature of man and his relation to his Creator, on the object of all of God's dealings with the fallen creature, can we hope to understand the reason why the finger of God so frequently appears on the pages of the Old Testament. The refusal to adopt the spirit in the study of our sacred books is the *πρῶτον ψεῦδος* of all those methods which see in the miracles there recorded unnecessary or impossible events.

The possibility of supernatural interference on the part of the Creator is given by the uniform view of God in the Old Testament. It knows nothing of stern and strict laws of nature that act independently of God, and over which He has no control, but sees rather in the action of these laws the continuous work of Him who once established them, and even regards each event in the realm of nature an individual act of His freedom. The holy men of the old covenant never asked themselves how miracles were possible and could not regard them as against nature, since these events were nothing but the extraordinary exhibition of the same power that manifested itself in the rising sun, in the falling of rain, and the change of seasons. The difficulties in this regard that now so much trouble deistic and even theistic thinkers never presented themselves to the minds of the prophets. They all presuppose that the power which God showed over nature in the act of creation was still in His hands for any and every purpose, and therefore He is regarded as a God for whom it is natural and characteristic to perform wonders and miracles.* No attribute of God is more strongly emphasized than His omnipotence.† A God who could not inter-

* Cf. among other works, especially Schultz, *Alttestamentliche Theologie*, p. 537.

† Cf. Joel 2:26; Jer. 32:20; 5:22-24; Job 5:9 sqq.; 9:4 sqq; 37:14.

fere in the affairs of men and guide their destinies, would not have been "a living God," and the sages and prophets of old would not have understood the definition which Thomas of Aquinas gives of miracles, as embracing the two elements of a *suspensio* and a *restitutio leges naturae*, since all the *leges naturae* were under His will and control. Any act which went beyond the usual course of events was but extraordinary exhibition and intensification of that same omnipotence of God which He daily showed in his dealings with men and in the usual run of nature. It is thus that the Old Testament, regarding God not only as the Creator, but also Preserver of what He created, finds no difficulty in a direct divine interference in the laws of nature; that it regards this interference as necessary, and considers all miraculous events not as purposeless, will easily be seen by its view of man, his destiny and relation to God. The echo of the words that "God created man in His image" resounds through the whole Old Testament, and it teaches that man's destiny is his union with God and the submission of his will to that of his Creator. The creature is to be pure and sinless, obeying from love the commands of his Lord. The picture of the relation between God and man as presented in the beginning of Genesis, when he enjoyed the bliss and innocence of Paradise, is, for all the Old Testament writers, the type of what the destiny of man was to be according to the will of the Creator. Clear as this is to their minds, it is equally clear to them that the purpose of God has been thwarted by the introduction of sin, and any attempt to understand the law and the prophets, without due consideration of this postulate, must signally fail. Clear it is to them also that God does not wish that this rupture shall remain; it is His purpose that a restoration shall be effected, that the head of the serpent shall be trodden on. From these premises the law and prophets set out, and regard all the dealings of God with mankind, but especially with His chosen children, as an effort on His part again to restore what was lost, again to join the broken links of happiness, and make it possible for man, notwithstanding the dire effects of sin, still to reach the good for which they had been destined. As a means in His hands he makes use of miracles, whenever His wisdom regards

them as forwarding this object, and thus all miraculous events have in His hands an ethical and teleological importance.* He thereby shows His love to mankind and His good will for their happiness, and in these exhibitions of His power they are to see invitations to return to Him, and means for effecting this return. The love of God towards fallen humanity which we see in all its glory in that miracle of miracles, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, is also the impelling motive in all other wonders, and this last and greatest miracle is but the culmination of all its predecessors. And as in Christ God desired completely to restore mankind to His household, thus all the miracles that preceded Him were destined to prepare the way, and point to a still greater love which God would show in "the fullness of time." That such is really the object of God in performing these miracles is especially clear from the first few chapters of Exodus where He Himself assigns this as His motive. Proceeding from these biblical grounds we can see the deep meaning of the Psalmist when he demands (Ps. 136 : 4) that we shall give thanks unto the Lord, and assigns as a reason, that He is the one "who alone doeth great wonders,"† which he regards as a proof of God's *mercy*. The Old Testament thus regards all miracles not as capricious and purposeless actions of God, but as intimately interwoven with His plan of the salvation of mankind, and accordingly the best possible proof of His love, and a reason why the sinner should bow before the Almighty. All that He does is subservient to the one purpose of establishing the kingdom of God among men.

Looking at the miracles in this light, we can also understand one strange phenomenon which neological critics generally prefer to overlook. It is what the careful student of the O. T. must never lose sight of, namely that miraculous events are not related at each and every occasion in the history of the children of Israel, but that they occur periodically. Very frequently there seemed to be and really are generations and even centur-

*Cf. Köstlin, in *Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie*, ix., p. 246, and Christlieb, *Moderne Zweifel*, p. 347 sqq.

†Cf. also Ps. 72 : 18.

ies in which God does not appear to interfere in Israel's favor any more than in the fate of other nations, and then almost unexpectedly the power of the the Almighty breaks forth and shows itself in all its splendor. The creation of the world manifests the Creator's power, but then that power seems to rest to the days of the deluge ; again it is displayed in the life of the patriarchs, but during the stay of the children of Israel for 400 years it seems to have disappeared. Its full glory again shines forth in the exodus, during the stay in the desert, in the capture of the holy land, and to some extent during the rule of the judges. Then there is a blank, and Israel's history is like that of any other nation down to the time of Elijah and Elisha, when miracle followed upon miracle with such rapidity as had scarcely ever been witnessed before. The Old Testament is then not like the sacred books of other religions in which wonderful events and supernatural interferences are related on every page, increasing in number and incredibility the further back in antiquity they are placed. This peculiarity in the history of the old covenant is full of significance and an important index for understanding the purpose of God in His dealings with men, and at the same time speaks loudly for the truthful character of this history. The general principles above, drawn from the Old Testament itself, explains this peculiarity. It was God's will that the disharmony occasioned by sin should disappear, that men should be restored to their proper sphere and should finally reach the destiny for which He had intended them. For this purpose He established covenants with men, in which the pious pledged themselves to be His servants and do His will, and He promised to be their God and Father, and whenever a miracle occurs its purpose is related to these covenants, either to punish those who have proved faithless, or to advance those for whom there is hope. Under the first category falls the miracle of the deluge, while the translation of Enoch is a voice declaring the fidelity of God to His promises, and the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah a warning that in His relations to man God will not be mocked. In this light the Old Testament regards the relation existing between Israel and Israel's God. They are His chosen people whom He has

taken from among the heathen that they should be the bearers of His grace, the medium through which He intended to realize His purpose, the nation out of which should ultimately come the kingdom of God through the Messiah.* Israel is then under the special care and guidance of the Almighty who is training them for His special purpose, and in this training, at certain important stages in its development, He resorts to miracles, when these are apt to bring His people one step nearer to the goal intended. Such important stages in the development of the old covenant are its establishment with Abraham, its renewal and confirmation at Sinai, the invasion of Canaan, and others, and for this reason we find miracles recorded at these periods. This is especially made clear when we consider such important epochs as the 40 years stay in the desert and the later days of the kingdom when the fiery words of the great prophets Elijah and Elisha resounded through the idolatrous land. In the desert God was training His people to become an independent nation, to become conscious of the high mission for which they were intended and prepare themselves thoroughly for the great work which He had assigned to them. For this purpose He miraculously gives them His laws, shows them His power and His earnestness by daily supplying their wants and by the destruction of those who rebelled against the authority of His chosen servants. All the wonders that God showed Israel in those days went to teach them their position and duty towards Him, and in this manner these miracles were instrumental in His laws for the advancement of His purpose for the welfare of sinful humanity. The same purpose is manifest when the two great prophets just mentioned appeared in the northern kingdom. Through the influence of ungodly kings that kingdom had almost entirely fallen away from God and become worshipers of wood and stone, like its neighbors. Then the powers of God, which had seemingly been sleeping for generations and generations, appeared in His servants, and by wonderful deeds these proved that the Jehovah of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob was not dead, but called upon His people to

*Cf. Jan. No. of this REVIEW, p. 80.

remain faithful to the covenants and walk in the paths of their fathers. Here again the object of these miracles was to impress a careless people with the fact that they have a special relation to God and that they were in danger of failing in their mission unless they repented and again became obedient to their Lord and King. And if we closely examine the other miracles as we find them recorded we cannot fail to notice that they all have a purpose and all are intended in some way or other to forward the plans of God which He had conceived for the benefit of man.*

For this reason, too, we must strenuously refuse to place the miracles of the Old Testament in the same category with "witchcraft" and "sorcery," as many ignorantly or maliciously have done. These latter all have personal ends and purposes, while all in the Old Testament are instrumental in the hands of the Divinity for His ends. They are all intended for the glory of God, and are announced by those who perform them with this end in view. This must be clear when we regard another peculiarity of these wonders, namely that in the early history of mankind they are never performed by a human being, but always either by God Himself or by his angels. Moses is really the first human being to whom the power of performing miracles has been given. While the greatest miracles, in the beginning and early history of mankind, are the work of the Creator, the second volume certainly shows that here no aggrandizement of this or that human being is intended but that God's power shall be glorified. And in later times the prophets of Israel never seek self-glorification by the wondrous works, but always know themselves to be the medium of the power of Israel's God.

Thus the miracles of the Old Testament virtually subserve the same purpose as those of the New, especially the greatest of all miracles, Christ. Not only the miracles He performed, but also His miraculous nature and character, were all intended to teach the truth that God was a God of mercy who is ever ready to receive penitent sinners, and that He had arranged a

*On some especially difficult miracles, cf. Christlieb, l. c., p. 367, sqq.

plan by which this redemption would take place. The wonders of God in the old covenant, were indeed the shadow of the future substance, but the shadow is so well outlined that even those who had not yet seen the perfection of God's mercy in Christ Jesus, could still recognize in His wonderful guidance and deliverance of His chosen people, a hand that was powerful and ready to save all who would be rescued. And regarding these occurrences as a part of the plan of God for the establishing of His kingdom among men, we certainly should not be so foolish as to regard them as blemishes of the sacred volume, as something for which we are to offer excuses to good common sense, or, if possible, to interpret them out of the Bible. They belong there, and were they not there we would miss something that biblical Theism would demand of us to seek in God's word, for without these miracles the Old Testament might be the history of a certain people called Israel, but would not be the history of a people chosen by God, educated by Him to become the foundation of a kingdom of grace and the home of the Saviour of the world. Certainly he who thinks deistically of God, who knows nothing practically of a living God, will always find these strange histories a stumbling-block, and will vainly seek to understand and appreciate the story of Israel's fate, but when we stand on the basis on which Christ and the pious writers and actors in the Old Testament drama stood, look at these events with their eyes and hear them with their ears of faith, we will have no difficulty in seeing in them the signs of God's wisdom and the manifestation of the Creator's power.

ARTICLE VI.

THE PRACTICAL RELIGION OF THE HINDUS.

By REV. A. D. ROWE, Guntoor, India.

The Hindus are preëminently a religious people. They eat religiously, bathe religiously, shave religiously, dress religiously, marry religiously, die religiously, are burned or buried religiously, and, for years to come, certain days are remembered religiously. From morning to night, from day to day, from year to year, and from generation to generation, the Hindus are controlled in almost every act of their lives by their religion. The huge and tyrannous caste system which holds every man in its iron grasp, from the day of his birth to the hour of his death, is but a part of the Hindu religion.

MORALITY.

It must not be supposed that Hindus are moral in proportion as they are religious, or even that morality is a very important part of their religion. Religion and morality in India have long since, alas, parted company, the former continuing to make a grand show, receiving homage, applause and respect, while the latter has been neglected, ill-treated and allowed to find a home and friends as best she could.

Morality without religion is cold and unsatisfactory, but religion without morality is a loathsome blasphemy.

By way of illustration on this point, I give a few instances which have come under my personal observation.

In 1873 a temple was being built in the village of Gottipadu, near Guntoor. Hindu temples are generally built by wealthy individuals who erect them for merit. It is seldom that the villagers join together to build them. In this case, however, a number of the prominent men of the village were interested in the erection of the temple, and one day when they wanted charcoal for the blacksmith who was doing the iron work for them, they concluded the cheapest way to get it would

be to appropriate a certain tree which belonged to the public land and burn it. After they had cut down the tree and taken it away a policeman unfortunately came that way and inquired what had become of the missing tree, whereupon the temple-builders declared upon oath that a certain poor man, whom they named, had hewn it down and carried it away. The poor man was arrested, thrown into the police station and would have been sent to jail but for the timely interposition of a Christian teacher who knew the circumstances of the case, and appeared in his behalf.

At another village, not far from my home, a woman had a temple erected. She had called a stone mason from Ongole—60 miles to the South—and when he had done his work she neglected to pay the balance of wages due him. From week to week and from month to month she put him off. Meanwhile she heard of an old debt which the poor man owed to a distant relative of hers and sending for this creditor she soon arranged for the canceling of both debts. The poor stone mason was in great distress and away from his home. On this last occasion he had already waited fifteen days in the hope of getting what was yet due him. When the old debt was turned against him he begged that she would give only enough to buy his food until he could reach his home. To this request the pious devotee replied, that if he would come in ten days she would give him road expenses to his home!

A case was lately brought before the High Court in Madras in which a wealthy Zemindar was accused of instigating a robbery of a man who had acquired a considerable sum of money as a laborer on a foreign island and who had just returned to his native country with his hard earned savings. The instance brought out during the trial to which we call attention, is that one sum of money consisting of two hundred and eleven rupees, was divided among ten men engaged in the robbery giving each man twenty-one rupees, and leaving one rupee over. *This odd rupee was piously set apart for their god.*

HINDUISM.

What is Hinduism? As an immense glacier, slowly descend-

ing from the mountains, gathering up and incorporating stones, earth and *debris* of whatever kind comes into its way, but at the same time accommodating itself to the configuration of the mountain side, so has Hinduism come down through the ages, gathering up and incorporating whatever gods and goddesses, heroes and saints, religious theories and doctrines, rites and ceremonies, came into its way and accommodated itself at the same time, with remarkable flexibility, to whatever influences were too powerful to be overcome by it. What Hinduism is theoretically, it is not our object to discuss. Any standard cyclopædia will furnish the reader with this information, better than he could learn it by a life-time's intercourse among Hindus. Not one in a thousand of them can give an intelligent idea of what he believes, or can state a reason why he observes certain and innumerable rites and ceremonies beyond the all-sufficient one that "it is our custom."

So flexible is Hinduism and in a certain way so tolerant that Christianity, its deadly foe, could at once be incorporated into this huge system if Christians would but consent to have Jesus Christ regarded as one of the innumerable gods of the Hindu pantheon, form a caste subdivision by themselves and pay proper homage to the Brahmins. Regarded in its widest popular sense, we can give no other definition of Hinduism but that it is *the religion of the Hindus*.

THE ANCIENT VEDAS.

What of the ancient *Vedas* or sacred books of the Hindus, whose praise has resounded throughout the whole civilized world?

No more than you can find the pure, sparkling rivulet which was its source, in the muddy, filthy stream as it lazily finds its way, a mighty river, into the sea, can you find in modern practical Hinduism the pure and exalted teachings of the ancient *Vedas*. The millions of India know as little about the *Vedas* as they do about the Bible, or even less. It is not from those grand old books that they have gotten their many gods, their idolatrous rites, their superstitious observances, and their abominable caste. So far as they relate to a divine Being many

of the hymns of the early Hindu *Vedas* are exceedingly pure and sublime—worthy the admiration of all thoughtful minds. Of late years, efforts have been made in certain quarters by intelligent and devout Hindus to lead the nation back to the pure religion of the *Vedas*, but so far their success has not been very encouraging.

BRAHMANISM.

Hinduism and Brahmanism are not interchangeable terms, though they are sometimes so used.

Brahmanism is only a part, but a very important part, of the whole system of Hinduism. Hinduism has been affected and moulded by Buddhism, Mohammedanism, the demon worship of the aborigines, and possibly by Christianity; but it has taken its chief coloring from Brahmanism. Brahmanism rests not upon the ancient *Vedas* but upon the later Hindu so-called sacred writings and to it must be ascribed the origin and maintenance of caste, the subtle pantheistic idolatry of India, the doctrine of the transmigration of souls and the sacerdotal hierarchy.

Brahmanism is utterly selfish, being constructed and maintained in all its features solely for the interests of one class, the Brahmans. To elevate and benefit the masses with as no lessons and influences.

Never was more consummate wisdom displayed by a crafty priesthood than was shown by the Brahmans, who thus perfected a system which should at once secure its own perpetuation and the social and religious supremacy of its founders.

WORSHIP.

Real, spiritual, heart-worship is, we fear, but little known among the Hindus. Wherever found among them it exists in spite of, and not by virtue of, their system of theology.

Their prescribed rites and ceremonies are observed, in a routine way, as matters of duty; their numerous festival days are regarded as holidays rather than as occasions of worship or thanksgiving; their pilgrimages and works of charity are per-

formed confessedly for *merit*; their offerings to the gods are made in payment of vows, or to appease their anger, and their prayers are almost invariably set phrases or vain repetitions.

The names of the gods, as "Rama, Rama, Rama," are repeated hundreds of times in succession, and the account registered by means of a rosary. So efficacious is the repeating of the names of the gods considered, that if even by mistake or accident sounds resembling the names of the gods are uttered, blessings are said to follow.

Such a thing as meeting together with one accord in one place for the united spiritual worship of God is unknown among the Hindus. The caste subdivisions and the utter selfishness of the people would make such assemblies, at present, impossible, and it is probable that the want of this feature in the Hindu religion has contributed in a great measure to bring about this deplorable isolation among the people.

HINDUISM AND THE TRUE GOD.

It has been the fashion with books, of a popular style, to speak of Hinduism only with ridicule and contempt while the Hindus have been put upon a religious level with the savages of Africa and the South Sea Islands.

A late English writer whose book has been republished in America speaks of the Hindus as "Millions of heathen idolaters, living without God and hope in the world, knowing not the Giver of every good and perfect gift," etc. Such language we hold can do no good because it is not true. It may admit of "interpretation," but we fail to see the necessity of writing on so plain a subject in language which needs a commentary.

We are not called upon to defend Hinduism—no sensible man can defend modern Hinduism,—but in taking hold only of its ridiculous features and holding these up before the public *as Hinduism* we stultify ourselves, deserve and receive the contempt of thoughtful Hindus, and do no good in the way of reformation. Hinduism as a religious system may deserve our righteous indignation, but if it is only the silly, flimsy, pitiable affair we see so often portrayed in its name, how is it that we have not long since with all our zeal and learning, our men and our

money, ridiculed it out of existence. It is no doubt in the main a system of error, but it is a *gigantic* system and has just enough of truth and utility in it to cement together its spurious parts, and until we apply ourselves to the work of pointing out to the Hindu what use he can make of the valuable parts of his own endeared system in the building up of a new and better one, we shall utterly fail to do him religious good. We must endeavor to put ourselves in his place. He looks upon us as a people with "no religion," while we in pitiable contempt turn to him and call him a heathen with no knowledge of the true God. It is utterly unfair to say that Hindus do not know the true God. They may not have a true and full knowledge of God, their devotion may and does spring from fear rather than from love, they may not have that sweet communion with God which springs from a knowledge of Him as "our Father," and they may be without hope and faith in Jesus Christ as a personal Saviour; they even may and do ascribe to God acts and attributes unworthy of God as the Christian knows Him, but to deny them *in toto* a knowledge of the true God is unjust, and brings no good either to the Christian or the Hindu.

INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY UPON HINDUISM.

Of all the forces with which Hinduism has hitherto had to contend none has been so strong and vital as Christianity. Christianity is to-day influencing Hinduism in ways undreamed of by Hindus and to an extent scarcely credible to Christians themselves. Christian preachers, mission schools and western books are changing and purifying the whole theological atmosphere of India. The believers in a plurality of gods are fast disappearing, and audiences which were once delighted with the fabled stories of the silly exploits of Rama and Krishna, now laugh at them in derision. The acts of murder, adultery, theft and intrigue which their sacred books ascribe to the hero-gods, are now glossed over, explained away, or skillfully kept in the back ground by the defenders of Hinduism.

Some go so far as to reject all the later sacred books and claim as their religious guide only the ancient *Vedas*, declaring that these teach a spiritual god and salvation by faith.

A discussion has of late been going on among educated natives in Madras, advising the introduction into Hindu schools of a systematic study of Hinduism as taught in the ancient *Vedas*, in order to compete with mission schools on the score of religious instruction. The *Brahmo Somaj*, or Theistic Church of India, with its cry of India for Christ, while its members hold fast with both hands to the ancient *Vedas* and to many doctrines and reservations which are incompatible with the gospel, is but an outgrowth of Christian influence upon Hinduism. All these efforts at religious reformation on the part of Hindus themselves are the fruit of Christian missionary effort—fruit, however, which like the sickly apple ripening before its time, is stunted, diseased and tasteless and not to be compared with that which is yet to ripen for Christ and His Church in India.

ARTICLE VII.

THE PALATINE PARISH BY QUASSAICK.*

By REV. WILLIAM HULL, Hudson, N. Y.

The Palatinate was a portion of Germany lying upon the Rhine. It has been divided and incorporated with Bavaria and the states of Rhenish Prussia, Baden and Hesse Darmstadt. It was a section which early embraced the doctrines of the Reformation, and the Elector was one of its earnest advocates and friends. Protestants from other countries flocked to the Palatinate to enjoy that religious protection which they failed to secure at home.

The Palatinate suffered largely in the wars in the time of Louis XIV. In 1674 a French army entered its territory and marked its advance by acts of the greatest wantonness and

*The title of this article is the corporate name given in the patent for the lands donated to the Palatines who settled at Quassaick Creek in Orange county, N. Y. Our information is chiefly derived from the Documentary History of New York, Johnson's Reports of Cases in the Supreme Court and Mr. Ruttenber's History of Orange county.

destruction. From his castle at Manheim the Elector saw two cities and twenty-five towns in flames. Turenne, the French commander, was finally forced to retreat from the territory, and the Palatinate enjoyed prosperity, until in 1683, the edict of Nantes, which had protected the Protestants was annulled, when the unfortunate territory was marked on account of its Protestant sentiments for especial vengeance. Learning that Austria and Holland intended to commence hostilities against France, the king of the latter country dispatched his son, the Dauphin, to invade the Palatinate with a hundred thousand men. The sudden blow was successful, and when several cities had succumbed to the power of the invaders, an order came from the government that the Palatinate should be reduced to cinders and the country be converted into a desert.

The order was peremptory, and the Dauphin notified the inhabitants that in three days the work of destruction would commence. The people had no time to turn their property into money—they gathered up what little they could and fled. Their dwellings were burned and men, women and children were driven to the fields in mid winter. Over forty cities, besides a much larger number of villages were burned. Europe gazed in horror upon the scene of pillage, cruelty and destruction.

Tens of thousands of the impoverished fugitives scattered over Europe. They went to Protestant countries where they naturally looked for sympathy and aid in the calamities which so suddenly darkened the whole horizon of their lives. Those who remained around the ruined cities and villages of their native land were reduced to abject poverty and want, and many years rolled by before the damage of a few days could be repaired.

Protestant England felt a lively interest and sympathy for these good people, who had suffered such barbarities on account of their religion, and the government acted a humane and noble part in aiding the Palatines who came there, to new homes in her colonies in the western world.

A vanguard of forty-one Palatines including their pastor, Rev. Joshua Kockerthal, went to England in the spring of 1708.

At the Queen's Court in Council, on the 10th of May in that year, a Report was read, dated April 28th, from the Lord Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, in which they inform the Queen and her Council that they had, in accordance with her Majesty's command, "considered the petition of Joshua Kockerthal, the Evangelical Minister, in behalf of himself and several poor Lutherans, come hither from the Lower Palatinate in Germany, praying to be transferred to some of your Majesty's plantations in America. We humbly take leave to represent to your Majesty that they are in number forty-one, viz.: ten men, ten women and twenty-one children."

The Report further states that they were very necessitous,—that they were dependent upon charity—that they had been reduced to this condition by the ravages committed by the French in the Lower Palatinate—that they brought good testimonials of character from magistrates in their native land, which by the aid of Lutheran ministers in London had been examined; and it was finally recommended that they be settled upon the Hudson River in the Province of New York; provided with tools for agriculture; aided from the public treasury for a year until they could raise a crop; that they be made denizens of the kingdom; and that to save expense they be sent to the new world in a ship of war.

This Report was fully approved, and it was ordered that they be made denizens of the kingdom under the royal signature and great seal and that no fees or charges be made to them for these "Letters of Denization." Queen Anne herself provided at her own expense for their removal to America and their maintenance. They were to receive nine pence a day *per capita* for a year, at the end of which time it was supposed they would be able to provide for themselves. Letters of Denization were issued to them on the 25th of August, 1708. On the 10th of August, H. Boyle, Her Majesty's principal Secretary of State, wrote to Lord Lovelace, who was at that time Governor of New York, "The Queen having graciously pleased to send fifty-two German Protestants to New York, and to settle them there at her own expense—Her Majesty, as a further act of charity, is willing to provide also for the subsistence of Joshua Kockerthal,

their minister, and it is her pleasure that you pass a grant to him of a reasonable portion of land for a glebe, not exceeding five hundred acres, with liberty to sell a suitable proportion thereof for his better maintenance till he shall be in a condition to live by the produce of the remainder."

They reached New York in the winter and were subsequently transferred up the Hudson river about sixty miles, just beyond the Highlands, to a district then known as "Quassaick Creek and Thans-Kamir"—now the city of Newburgh. The family of their leader, Rev. Joshua Kockerthal, consisted of himself, Sibylle Charlotte, his wife, and their children, Christian Joshua, Benigna Sibylle and Susanna Sibylle.

Originally the number mentioned was forty-one—these were increased to fifty-two at the time they left England, and on reaching their destination they were represented in the official documents at forty-seven.

On the 26th of May, 1709, and after the death of Lord Lovelace, a petition was presented to the State Council from Rev. Joshua Kockerthal, Herman Schuneman, and other Germans, stating that after the death of the Governor, the provision for their maintenance had not been complied with—that they were in want, and that without the public provision made, they could not perfect their settlement. The Council made immediate provision for their assistance to continue, as ordered in the letter of Mr. Boyle to Gov. Lovelace—"a needful and necessary support until the expiration of twelve months." In their petition they also stated that nineteen of their number had "changed their religion, become *Pietists*, and withdrawn themselves from the communion of the minister and the rest of the Germans." Mr. Van Dam, Mr. Barbarie and Captain Provost were appointed a committee to inquire into the disputes between the Germans, which it seems were subsequently satisfactorily arranged. The Council also made an allowance of twenty pounds a year to Rev. Mr. Kockerthal.

In the spring of 1710 there was a distribution of tools and building material among the colonists, including smith-tools, nails, iron and steel for horse shoes, agricultural implements and horses, cows and swine.

On the 30th of April, 1713, Robert Hunter, who had become Governor of the Province, issued his warrant to Augustus Graham, Surveyor General, as follows: "You are hereby required to survey and lay out for the Germans at Quassaick Creek, in the county of Ulster, such quantity of land as is petitioned for by them, and approved of in Council by a report confirmed, and that you survey for each of them his quantity distinctly, and of what you shall have done therein to make returns unto me in Council."

A survey under this order was made on the 13th of April, 1714, and on the 17th of June, in the same year, George Lockstaedt, in behalf of the colonists, petitioned Gov. Hunter that the Surveyor General might be directed to give them additional land a mile in the rear of the survey, as that surveyed was all "upland," and they needed some "meadow" land for fodder for their cattle in winter. This petition does not seem to have been granted.

The patent for the lands for the Palatines was finally issued by the state government on the 18th of December, 1719. It consisted of 2190 acres, 500 of which were reserved for a glebe, and the remainder was divided into nine lots and distributed as follows: George Lockstaedt and family, 250 acres; Michael Wiegand and family, 250 acres; Herman Schuneman and wife, 100 acres; Christian Henricke, 100 acres; widow Joshua Kockerthal and children, 250 acres; Berger Meynders, 100 acres; Jacob Webber and family, 200 acres; Johannes Fischer and wife, 100 acres, and Andries Volck and family, 300 acres. Forty acres were reserved for highways. The glebe of 500 acres lay in the middle of the tract, which bounded the river on the east and ran back in lines at a right angle with the river. On the south side of the glebe were five lots, and on the north side four lots.

Of the settlers, Mr. Ruttenber, in his history of the county of Orange says, "Of their private history we know nothing beyond the fact shown before the commissioners of trade, that they were men of good character, and the general fact that they had been stripped of their possessions by religious persecution; that they were followers of the doctrines of Luther and members

of the Lutheran Church, and were knit together by common memories and a faith that had proved sufficient to sustain them amid the most severe sacrifice and trials. Unlike the pioneers in other localities, they brought nothing with them, and left behind no friends able to assist them. A scanty public stipend, too frequently withheld, was all that sustained the strong arms and willing hearts, before which the dense forest yielded its sway, their humble cabins dotted the hillside, and a sanctuary in which to worship God arose."

These lands were conferred upon the colonists in fee, and to their heirs forever, subject to a rent to the state of twenty shillings for every hundred acres.

By letters patent issued in the name of "George, by the grace of God King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.," Andries Volck and Jacob Webber were made Trustees of the glebe of five hundred acres, "*for the use of the Lutheran Minister and his successors forever.*" It is again mentioned in the letters patent, "*and that the five hundred acres thereof laid out for a glebe, be set apart and appropriated towards the maintenance of a Lutheran Minister and his successors forever.*"

The letters patent further provided that in case of the death or disability or absence of either of the Trustees, the male inhabitants of the 2190 acres should assemble and choose his successor, and that these Trustees and their successors be a corporation to be known in law as the Trustees of "The Palatine Parish by Quassaick" with power to sue and be sued.

Rev. Joshua Kockerthal was dead when the letters patent were issued for the land to the colony. The preceding year he had sent a petition to Governor Hunter, so that his decease must have occurred in 1718 or 1719. He was succeeded by Rev. Justus Falkner, who founded the Lutheran Church at Athens, then called Loonenburgh, in 1704, and in whose handwriting the record of their church begins. Mr. Falkner died in 1723. He also ministered to the Lutherans in New York city.

In 1725, Rev. William Christopher Berkenmeyer arrived at New York, and in connection with other points he became pastor of the Quassaick Church. He resided at Athens, and in the

records of that church are included the ministerial acts performed at Quassaick and also at Albany. Mr. Berkenmeyer's pastoral labors also included New York city. He died at Athens and his remains were deposited beneath the church. On putting up a new building in 1853, the stone which covered his remains was placed upright in the brick wall of the vestibule between the two doors. It bears an inscription comprising a mixture of Greek, Latin and Low Dutch.

Andries Volck and Jacob Webber, the two first Trustees sold their lots and moved to Pennsylvania. They were succeeded in the trusteeship by Zacharias Hofman and Tobias Weigand. These entered into a written contract with the Lutheran congregation in New York city, by which the Palatine Parish at Quassaick was received into the communion of the former, and agreed to receive Rev. W. C. Berkenmeyer as the lawful teacher of the Parish of Quassaick. He was to visit them twice a year, going to and coming from Albany, for which he was to receive the annual income of the glebe. By the contract he was to minister, "after the manner aforesaid, as well in preaching the Holy Gospel purely, according to the Holy Scripture and the Symbolical Books of our Lutheran Church, as in administering the Holy Sacraments and practicing the usual ceremonies of the fellow-believers of the unaltered Confession of Augsburg."

The contract further stated that as they had no use for the bell, presented to their parish by Queene Anne, with the oral permission of Gov. Burnett it was given to the church in New York, on condition that when they became able to build a church, it was to be returned, or one of the same weight and value to be sent. The church in New York was never to leave them destitute of a minister, unless the church in New York should call one who was not loyal to the unalterable (unaltered?) Augsburg Confession. This contract was signed by Zacharias Hofman and Tobias Weigand, Trustees of the glebe, on the one hand, and the Minister and Consistory of the Protestant Lutheran Church of the city of New York on the other.

Thus on the 30th of March, 1727, the colonists had not as yet secured a house of worship, and had but two services a year for which they paid Rev. Mr. Berkenmeyer thirty cheepels of

wheat. In 1726 there was a misunderstanding between the pastor and the Palatines in regard to the produce of the glebe—the former wrote to the Governor for redress, which he declined to give, and directed him to the courts of law, but the matter was settled without such a resort.

Mr. Berkenmeyer served as pastor until 1731. In 1733 he was succeeded by Rev. Michael Christian Knoll, who served at New York, Hackensack, Quassaick Creek and Weapon's Creek. He visited the Palatines twice a year and received for his services thirty cheepels of wheat. During his administration the Palatines built their church—an edifice about twenty feet square, with a roof running up from the four sides, and reaching a point in the middle where a cupola, or belfry, was constructed to receive the bell—the gift of Queene Anne, which had been loaned to the church in New York. The building had neither floor nor chimney but there was an opening beneath the cupola where smoke and foul air could escape.

The Palatines were mostly farmers, and in their native land they had tilled better lands than the sterile Quassaick hills, and they became dissatisfied with the location. Some sold their lots and went to Pennsylvania, and sent back reports that they had found rich and fertile lands. George Lockstedt and Michael Weigand sold Lot No. 1 and half of No. 2 to Nathan Smith. Michael Weigand sold the other half of Lot No. 2 to William Brown. Herman Schuneman sold Lot No. 3 to James Alexander. Christian Heuneche sold Lot No. 4 to William Brown. Mrs. Kockerthal's children sold Lot No. 5 to James Smith. Burger Mynders sold Lot No. 6 to Burras Holmes. Lots 7, 8, and 9 were sold by their owners to Zacharias Hofman.

By the year 1743, Quassaick, which in 1709 was a German settlement, had passed to the control of the Scotch and English. The lots had been divided into smaller parcels, and a larger number of families occupied the territory. The original inhabitants had largely moved away, but some remained, and also their descendants, and occupied smaller areas of the original territory.

Rev. Mr. Knoll continued to perform his duties as pastor of the congregation. In 1744, Zacharias Hofman, one of the Trus-

tees, died, and his place was filled by Burger Mynders, Jr., a son of one of the immigrants, and the trusteeship of Tobias Weigand, a descendant of one of the original lot owners, was anew confirmed as a Trustee of the glebe land, according to the charter. The church record says that at this election, "none of the English and Dutch new inhabitants appearing, although they were knowing to our election."

These "new inhabitants" were looking with a covetous eye upon this glebe of 500 acres, which had been granted by royal letters patent, sealed with the Great Seal of the Province of New York and "*set apart and appropriated toward the maintenance of a Lutheran Minister and his successors forever.*"

On the 2nd of July, 1747, the "new inhabitants" held a meeting and ignoring the election held by the Lutherans, and the trusteeship of Burger Mynders, Jr., and Tobias Weigand, they elected Alexander Colden and Richard Albertson as Trustees, who at once assumed charge of the church and took immediate steps to have its pulpit occupied by Rev. Hezekiah Watkins, a minister of the church of England, who was stationed in the district.

This was a sharp practice on the poor Lutherans by the "new inhabitants"—a most inexcusable outrage. The church record says, "anno 1747, the 2nd of July, the now being inhabitants, assembling did elect, by their own authority, in the absence of the minister, Alexander Colden, Esq., and Richard Albertson for their Trustees; taking possession of the tenants and the church. Our minister coming there did preach the 12th of July in his church without speaking with the new Trustees. Hearing that they would make use of our church with force, our minister did write to Mr. Colden and Mr. Albertson, to know by what authority they had proceeded in the manner, with protest against their doings."

"Sunday the 19th of July the church was full of people, taken out of the country from both sides of the river. Some Justices of the Peace and some with swords and sticks were there in the church in presence of the English minister, Mr. Watkins, who was come there to preach the first time the same Sunday. Our minister, after oral and public protest at the door of the church

went into a private house upon the glebe, to do divine worship for the Lutherans."

The tradition is that the Lutherans attempted the forcible ejection of the "new inhabitants" from the church, but failed—that in the encounter the door of the church was forced from its hinges and buried one stalwart Lutheran beneath it as it fell, but that he escaped without serious injury. Thus the "new inhabitants" became masters of the situation.

The church record says "in the year 1748, July 2nd, our minister was by Mr. Albertson to ask if they have received authority for their pretended possession and also by Mr. Colden too. Upon their negative he did protest again and preached in the church the 3rd of July, which Mr. Albertson did consent, because the English minister was not to come there that Sunday, but Mr. Colden did prohibit the church, not being willing to allow preaching."

On the 2nd of October, 1748, Mr. Knoll preached in the church without asking the new Trustees. In 1749 the church was locked against the Lutheran minister and he did not go on shore in his passage up and down the river. The last visit of Rev. Michael Christian Knoll, in his capacity as pastor of the church, appears to have been on the 2nd of October, 1748.

This wrongful action of the "new inhabitants," in depriving the Lutherans of their church and the income of their glebe did not pass without protest on the part of the oppressed. On the 12th of May, 1749, Rev. Mr. Knoll and the officers of the Lutheran church in New York, signed a petition, which was presented to Gov. George Clinton and read in council. The petition is entitled, "The petition of Michael Christian Knoll, Minister of the Lutheran Protestant Congregation in the city of New York and the Consistory of the said Church."

In this petition they recite the facts of the persecutions of the Palatines in their native land—their refuge in England—the kindness of Queen Anne—the letters patent of King George I. granting them 2190 acres of land, at a place called Quassaick, in Ulster county, of which 500 acres were granted to Trustees for the use, behoof and benefit of a Lutheran minister forever—that the grantees entered upon their lands—that for many years

on account of their poverty, they could make little improvement upon the glebe, and contribute but little for the support of religion and the public worship of God—that during these years the Lutheran congregation at New York, at their sole expense supplied them twice a year by their minister, who at stated seasons attended upon them to preach and administer the holy sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper—that no profits could arise from the glebe until within about sixteen years, last past—that for thirty years the Lutheran ministers of New York had not received more than five hundred sheepels of wheat—that in 1727 the patentees became incorporated with the Lutheran congregation of New York by contract mutually executed—that the Lutherans had built a small church upon the glebe—that the Lutherans living upon the lands had been reduced in number, having sold their lands and bought elsewhere—that the present inhabitants had deprived the petitioners “of the said church and glebe, and have lately hindered your petitioner, Michael Christian Knoll from performing divine service in it, and forbade the tenants from paying the rent to your said petitioner, pretending that the said glebe and church had reverted to the crown for want of Lutheran inhabitants to enjoy them, notwithstanding your petitioners do aver, that within a convenient distance from the said lands as great a number of Lutheran families and persons are living as are sufficient to make a congregation for divine service, at those times when your petitioner, Michael Christian Knoll is called to preach at that place.”

This petition was signed by Michael Christian Knoll, Charel Beekman, Laurens Van Boskerk, George Peterson, Johann David Wolff, and Jacobus Van Boskerk.

Gov. Clinton having intimated that more points should be laid before him, on the 5th of October, 1749, Mr. Knoll, and the officers of the New York church, sent another petition accompanied by documents. These included (1) the letters patent issued to the Lutherans for the glebe in 1719. (2) The manner in which the ministers of New York had observed the service of worship from time to time. (3) The authority by which the Lutheran Ministers had served at Quassaick, viz., by indulgence of the Governors of the Province, and by request of the Trus-

tees of the glebe and contract with the church in New York.

(4) An extract of the circumstances in which the inhabitants living there, English Presbyterians and Dutch Reformed, have taken possession of the church and church land there.

The petition says, "whereof it appears that Burger Mynders, our one Trustee, having sold his land too, he being the last of they, there settled Lutheran inhabitants on the 2190 acres, and he being removed at the Walenkill, and our second Lutheran Trustee, being one of the tenants upon the glebe; the new inhabitants think to be master of the glebe and have locked up the church there, meaning that your most humble petitioner, nor the said old Trustees, not have any right at the glebe, for want of Lutheran settled inhabitants upon the 2190 acres, although there live as tenants upon the glebe and there about, on both sides of the river more than thirty families of our Protestant Confession, and higher at Bachwaik thirty families more. Therefore, as in the former petition, your excellency's ordering and will is humbly prayed for, that the said 500 acres of land may be granted unto our church in New York, for the use, benefit and behoof of the families round about Quassaick, though they are not settled inhabitants upon the 2190 acres, that they may there congregate at Quassaick glebeland or upon any convenient place, and may have their own, and old Trustees under them, in corporation with the church in New York, to the end that they may perform their sacred service without envy, hatred and scandal."

This petition was read before the Governor and Council on the 29th of October, 1749, and the entry was made, "read and Council of opinion that nothing can be done on this petition."

Thus the Lutherans failed to get the redress to which they were equitably entitled from the state. In the charter it was provided, "but to and for the sole and only proper use, benefit, and behoof of a Lutheran Minister to serve and have care of the inhabitants of the same 2190 acres of land, their successors forever."

The "new inhabitants" getting the majority, ignored the Trustees and elected Colden and Albertson, who shut the church against the Lutheran Minister, collected rent from the tenants

of the glebe, and put an Episcopal Minister in charge, of the church although there were Lutheran tenants upon the glebe lands, and sixty Lutheran families within a reasonable distance of the church. An appeal from this usurpation to the Governor and Council of State failed to bring redress, and there does not appear to have been any appeal to the courts. If the charter had directed *the church* to choose Trustees for the glebe land, instead of making the inhabitants of the patent the electors, this state of things would not have occurred and these wanton and unconscionable proceedings would not have succeeded. But under the technicality of the letters patent, the conspiring against the rights of the Lutherans was formed and carried to a successful issue, and they were ousted from a glebe given in perpetuity for the support of a Lutheran minister, and the lands were seized and occupied by parties who were never contemplated by the original conveyance. Had there been a resort to the courts they might have ordered that in conformity with the charter, the Trustees, whoever they might be, should devote the income of the glebe to the support of a Lutheran minister, and that the church be maintained as a Lutheran church. But litigations are costly, and these poor colonists were probably not able to prosecute their rights in the tribunals of the Province, and so the gift they had secured and enjoyed for thirty years, was wrested from their hands by overpowering force, under the forms of law.

Colden and Albertson, the pretended Trustees of the glebe, Sept. 6th, 1751, petitioned the Governor and Council to grant the glebe land, of which they assumed to be the Trustees, for the support of a minister of the Church of England, and the support of a schoolmaster. In this petition, a number of other persons united, and they represented that the Palatines had moved into the county of Albany and other parts. They requested that 200 acres be reserved for the use of a minister and schoolmaster, and that 300 acres be divided into one acre lots and leased in perpetuity, instead of being limited to a term of seven years as heretofore; and that they have the privilege of holding a Fair on the lands on the second Tuesdays of April and October annually.

Notwithstanding the earnest remonstrances of the Lutherans,

the Governor ordered the Attorney General, William Smith, Esq., to draft letters patent to Alexander Colden and Richard Albertson for the glebe lands, in accordance with the terms of the petition, "said Alexander Colden and Richard Albertson, as first Trustees, during their natural lives and to their successors forever, for the sole use and behoof of a minister of the Church of England, as by law established, and a schoolmaster, to have the care of souls and the instruction of the children of the neighboring inhabitants."

On the 26th of March, 1752, these letters patent were issued to Alexander Colden and Richard Albertson, and they made a legal surrender of the lands they held as Trustees, under what was known as the German patent, and thus the glebe lands of the Lutherans, held by them under letters patent under the Great Seal of the Province of New York, passed by sharp practice and legerdemain into the hands of the Episcopalians.

Here endeth the first lesson.

The Lutheran "Palatine Parish by Quassaick" had under the new charter become the Episcopal "Parish of Newburgh." Rev. Mr. Watkins was assigned the use of 100 acres of the glebe land and the schoolmaster 100 acres. The remaining 300 acres were divided into lots of one acre each, and rented in perpetuity, at an annual rent of five shillings each. In course of time, Rev. Mr. Hawkins was succeeded by Rev. John Sayer, who resigned in 1775, and during the revolutionary war the church had no pastor. In 1785, Rev. George H. Spierin became rector and schoolmaster, and officiated until 1793.

In the meantime other "new inhabitants," who were not Episcopalians had become owners of part of the 2190 acres of the patent. The charter granted to Colden and Albertson in 1752 had the same provision as the first patent, that in case of a vacancy in the trusteeship the male inhabitants, twenty-one years of age and upwards, should elect a successor or successors. An opposition to the Episcopal church developed itself among the "new inhabitants." In the meantime the membership of the Episcopal church dwindled away until few of that denomination remained. The public demanded that the in-

come of the glebe be devoted entirely to the support of schools, and that it be no longer divided between them and the Episcopal minister. This the old Trustees refused to do, whereupon the "new inhabitants" called a meeting and elected new Trustees. These new Trustees had an act passed by the Legislature on the 6th of April, 1803, entitled, "an act to alter and amend the charter of the glebe land in the *German* patent in the village of Newburgh," which provided for the election of three Trustees annually, to be chosen by persons who have the right to vote at the annual town meetings in the village of Newburgh, and that all the money arising from the annual income of the glebe be appropriated solely to the support of schools. Two hundred dollars were to be paid annually to the Newburg Academy. After providing that the income of the glebe shall be appropriated *solely* for the support of schools on said glebe, the act says, that, "if at any time hereafter a minister of the Episcopal church shall be inducted on said patent, as nearly in conformity to said charter as may be, then it shall and may be lawful for the said Trustees of the glebe to pay annually for the support of said minister, such proportion of the monies aforesaid, as shall be reasonable, according to the true intent and meaning of said charter."

It appears that the Trustees obeyed the first part of the act, and did not use the privilege of the closing sentences. The "new inhabitants" took the same advantage of the Episcopalians that they had taken of the Lutherans. In an action at law subsequently brought by the Episcopalians, and to which we shall refer later in this article, Thomas Addis Emmet, the celebrated Irish lawyer, in his points for the defense said, "The Episcopalians in 1752 acted in the same manner toward the Lutherans, as the Presbyterians in 1803 acted towards the Episcopalians."

Mr. Ruttenber in his History of Orange County says: "In this way the revenues of the glebe passed from the control of the Episcopal Church. History repeated itself. The very means—the elective franchise conferred on the inhabitants by the charter—which the Episcopalians had employed to wrest the privileges of the patent from the Lutherans, had been successfully used for their own overthrow in the hour of similar

numerical weakness. The glebe passed now wholly into the hands of the people, and its limited but useful system of free education was divested of sectarian control."

Here endeth the second lesson.

On the 4th of November, 1805, Rev. Cave Jones, a regular clergyman of the Episcopal Church was chosen, called and inducted to serve as a minister and officiate on the glebe. He was called by persons claiming to be the Trustees of the "Parish of Newburgh," with the consent of all the Episcopalians residing on the patent. On the same day all the males twenty-one years of age residing upon the glebe were notified of an election for Trustees of the "Parish of Newburgh," but those conducting the election would not allow any but Episcopalians to vote, although they comprised less than one-tenth of the inhabitants.

Rev. Cave Jones demanded the possession of the parsonage lot or glebe which was then occupied by Michael Nestles as tenant of the Trustees elected under the act of the Legislature of 1803. He refused to yield the possession and an action in ejectment was brought in the name of the Rector, Church Wardens, &c., of St. George's church in the Parish of Newburgh: The Trustees of St. George's church in said Parish: The Trustees of the Parish of Newburgh and Cave Jones.

The action came to trial at the Orange County Circuit on the 26th of November, 1806. The plaintiffs claimed that the possession of the premises belonged to Rev. Cave Jones, an Episcopal minister duly inducted, as rector of St. George's church in the parish of Newburgh. On the trial they produced the charter granted by George II., dated March 26, 1752, to Alexander Colden and Richard Albertson. They alleged that 100 acres of the glebe had been set off for the use of Rev. Mr. Watkins, and that it had been in possession of his successors until 1793. They also alleged that on the 4th of Nov., 1805, notice of an election for trustees of the glebe had been given to all the male inhabitants of the glebe twenty-one years of age and upwards, and that the trustees represented as plaintiffs in the action had been chosen. Upon this statement they demanded the possession of the premises.

On the part of the defence the act of the Legislature of 1803

was presented, providing for an election of three trustees and the appropriation of the income of the glebe to school purposes. It was also alleged that, at the election mentioned, none but Episcopalians were allowed to vote, although the charter gave that right to all the male inhabitants of full age residing upon the glebe lands. It was also stated that the defendant, Michael Nestles, held his possession by authority of the three trustees chosen in pursuance of the act of the Legislature. The defendant, on this state of facts, moved for and obtained a non-suit.

The case was appealed to the Supreme Court and a motion made to set aside the non-suit on the ground, 1. That by the charter of 1752 none but Episcopalians were qualified to vote or eligible as Trustees of the Parish of Newburgh. 2. That by the constitution of the State, none but Episcopalians could vote for or be elected as Trustees under the said charter. 3. That the act of the Legislature altering the charter was unconstitutional. 4. That the Episcopalians residing on the patent not having united in petition to the Legislature for such act, nor acquiesced in it or acted under it, could not be affected by it. 5. That the 100 acres having been set apart for the use of an Episcopal minister, Rev. Cave Jones was entitled to the possession. 6. That if Rev. Cave Jones as such rector was not entitled to the premises, the Trustees of the Parish of Newburgh were so entitled.

On the argument the attorney of the Episcopalians urged that if every male inhabitant of the age of twenty one, without regard to his religious profession be entitled to vote, then the church could be kept vacant forever and the intention of the charter be defeated.

Mr. Emmet for the defense said, "If none but persons of the same religious denomination with those named in the original grant had a right to vote, then the Episcopalians in 1752 had no right to elect Trustees."

In the opinion delivered by Judge Van Ness he said,* "The defendant is in possession under the Trustees elected pursuant

* 3 Johnson's Reports, 115.

to the act of 1803. I intend that he is in possession under a lease, sealed with the corporate seal; and those Trustees as it respects this portion at least of the lands belonging to the corporation must be regarded as the Trustees *de facto*. They were elected *before* the other set of Trustees under an existing law of the Legislature and until they are ousted the court is bound to protect the possession of their tenant."

Many of the questions raised were not passed upon by the court, including the constitutionality of the act of the Legislature, but the action of the court below in ordering a non-suit was affirmed.

As the Episcopalians had meted to the Lutherans so it was measured to them.

Here endeth the third lesson.

ARTICLE VIII.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL.—*The Longer Epistles of Paul*, Romans, 1 Corinthians, and 2 Corinthians, by Rev. H. Cowles; *Life and Writings of St. John*, by Jas. M. Macdonald, D. D., edited with Introduction by Rev. J. S. Howson, new edition; *Discussions in History and Theology*, by George P. Fisher, D. D.; *The Saviour's Converts*, by Rev. Wm. Scribner; *The Origin and Growth of the Psalms*, by Prof. T. C. Murray; *Jesus of Nazareth*, embracing a brief sketch of Jewish History to the time of His birth, by E. Clodd; *Fragments, Religious and Theological*, collection of independent papers relating to various points of Christian life and doctrine, by D. Curry, D. D.; *The Old Testament with Brief Commentary*, by various authors—Prophetical Books, Isaiah to Malachi; *The True Story of the Exodus of Israel*, with brief history of Monumental Egypt, compiled from the work of Dr. H. Brugsch-Bey, edited with introduction and notes by Francis H. Underwood; *Six Addresses on the being of God*, by C. J. Ellicott, D. D.; *Origin and Growth of Religion* as illustrated in the religion of ancient Egypt (Hibbert Lectures) by P. le Page Renouff; *The Gospel according to St. Luke*, by E. H. Plumptre, Handy Commentary edited by C. J. Ellicott, D. D.; *The Gospel according to St. Luke*, with notes and introduction by F. W. Farrar, the eleventh book of the Cambridge Bible, J. J. S. Perowne, D. D., general editor; *Titus to Revelation*, vol. 5. of Commentary on N. T., for popular use, by D. D. Whedon; *Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion*, by J. Caird; *The Gospel Mir-*

acles in their relation to Christ and Christianity, by W. M. Taylor, D. D.; *Sabbath Essays*, papers and addresses presented at Massachusetts Sabbath Conventions, Boston and Springfield, edited by Rev. W. C. Wood; *The Immortal Life*, by John Weiss; *The Foundation of Faith* considered in Eight Sermons preached before the University of Oxford, in the year 1879, on the lecture foundation by John Bampton, by Henry Wace, M. A., chaplain of Lincoln's Inn, and Prof. of Eccl. Hist. in King's College.

SCIENTIFIC AND PHILOSOPHICAL.—*Fundamental Concepts* of modern philosophic thought, critically and historically considered, by Rudolph Eucken, translated by M. Stuart Phelps, with additions and corrections by author, and introduction by Noah Porter; *Socialism*, with Preludes on Current Events, Boston Monday Lectures, by Joseph Cook.

HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL.—*Lord Beaconsfield*, his Life, Character and Works, by George Brandes, translated by Mrs. George Sturge, *Germany, Past and Present*, by S. Baring-Gould; *Life and Writings of H. T. Buckle*, by Alfred H. Huth; *Memories of My Exile*, by Louis Kosuth; *Life and Work of W. A. Muhlenberg*, by Anne Ayres; *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, by S. Baring-Gould; *Life of H. R. H. the Prince Consort*, by Theodore Martin, vol. 5. completing the work; *Life of Mozart*, by Ludwig Nohl, tr. from the German, by J. J. Lalor; *Bonaparte's Park and the Murats*, by E. M. Woodward; *An Outline of the Public Life and Services of Thomas F. Bayard*, Senator of U. S. from the State of Delaware, 1869–1880, with extracts from his speeches and the Debates of Congress, by Edward Spener; *The Congregationalism of the last 300 years as seen in its Literature*, with special reference to certain recondite, neglected or disputed passages, in 12 lectures delivered on the Southworth Foundation in the Theol. Seminary, Andover, Mass., in 1876–1879, with a biographical appendix, by Henry Martin Dexter; *Life and Letters of Horace Bushnell*; *A History of Classical Greek Literature*, by the Rev. J. P. Mahaffy, M. A., fellow and professor of ancient history, Trinity College, Dublin; *The Witness of the Heart to Christ*, being the Hulsean Lectures preached before the University of Cambridge in the year 1878, by the Rev. W. Boyd Carpenter, M. A., Vicar of Christ Church, Lancaster Gate, and Hon. Chaplain to the Queen; *The Pulpit Commentary*, edited by Rev. Canon H. D. M. Spence and Rev. Jos. X. Exell,—Ruth—Exposition and Homiletics by Rev. Jas. Morrison, D. D., homilies by various authors.

MISCELLANEOUS.—*Fallacies about Total Abstinence* considered, Speech before the Church of England Temperance Association in Liverpool, Feb. 13, 1880, by F. W. Farrar; *Our Common School System*, by M. Abigail Dodge ("Gail Hamilton"); *The Watering Places and Mineral Springs of Germany, Austria and Switzerland*, with notes on Climatic Resorts and Sanitariums, Peat, Mud and Sand Baths, Whey and Grape Cures, etc., with maps and illustrations, by Edward Gutman, M. D.; *The State of Prisons and of Child-Saving Institutions in the Civilized World*, by E. C.

Wines, D. D.; *Homer*, Phæacian an episode of the Odyssey as comprised in the 6th, 7th, 8th, 11th, and 13th books, with introduction, notes and appendix, by Prof. A. C. Merriam; "*Ein Feste Burg*," in 19 languages, by B. Pick; *Protestant Foreign Missions*, Present State, a Universal Survey, by Theo. Christlieb, D. D., Ph. D., Prof. of Theology and University Preacher, Bonn, Prussia, authorized translation from the German, by David Croom, M. A.

ARTICLE IX.

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

S. C. GRIGGS & CO., CHICAGO.

Preadamites, or a Demonstration of the Existence of Men before Adam, together with a Study of their Condition, Antiquity, Racial Affinities and Progressive Dispersion over the Earth, with Charts and other Illustrations, by Alexander Winchell, LL. D., Professor of Geology and Palæontology in the University of Michigan; Author of "Sketches of Creation," "The Doctrine of Evolution," "The Reconciliation of Science and Religion," "A Geological Chart," etc. pp. 500. 1880.

The purpose of this large and attractive volume is well set forth in the title thus given. Its chief design is to prove the existence of men on the earth before Adam. Though this idea has been at different times brought forward by others, Prof. Winchell has so elaborated it and given it such systematic form that the volume may be looked upon as maintaining a new view of the human race. It is a book to make an impression, both by the revolutionary character of its positions and by the earnest ability of the writer. His earnestness, here and there, shows the heat of a polemic discussion. This may be due to the collisions into which he has been drawn through controversies called forth by some earlier publications of his views. This polemic warmth, however, is not suited to inspire confidence in the exact impartiality of his treatment of the subject. For with the utmost honesty, and without at all meaning it, writers become biased and one-sided through the conflicts of controversy.

The views here put forward will doubtless attract considerable attention, especially among such as feel an interest in anthropological and Biblical discussions. Only a brief statement of them can be given in this notice. The central idea of the whole work is preadamitism, and all other views presented are subsidiary or collateral. It is maintained that the Biblical Adam, instead of being the first human being, was simply the progenitor of the particular race whose history was meant to be brought into the purview of the sacred narratives and concerned in the development of the scheme of revelation; that this is the conception in which we are to understand all that the writer of Genesis and other sacred writers after him

say of Adam and his relations to the race. The support of this position is brought from ethnological facts and the statements of Scripture. Prof. Winchell maintains that in the migrations of the descendants of Noah after the flood, in their Hamitic, Semitic, and Japhetic dispersions, they found in every direction a population of men before them. In summing up the results of inquiry on this point, as to Asia, he says: "From many and various indications, therefore, it appears that the greater part of the continent of Asia has been overspread by a primitive Mongolian race, of which the historical and now dominant races—not less the Chinese and Japanese than the Noachites—are the successors." As to Africa: "Evidences exist of a pre-Hamitic population in the valley of the Nile. The Egyptian language is neither Hamitic nor Semitic. It is regarded by some as representing a transition from Turanian to Semitic." In regard to Europe he says: "History, tradition, linguistics and ethnology conspire to fortify the conclusion that in prehistoric times all Europe was overspread by the Mongoloid race, of which remnants have survived to our times in the persons of the Basques, Finns, Esths, Lapps, and some smaller tribes." These, he claims, are all pre-Noachites. Confirmation of this claim is sought in the study of human skulls of the prehistoric period, and especially in the demands of chronology which allows no sufficient time to account for these wide dispersions of men between the deluge and the date at which such peoples are found. "The descendants of Noah found them in every new country, and could give no account of their origin. They were in existence at an epoch too remote to allow the suggestion of a postdiluvian origin. They belong to a different race from the posterity of Noah." As a corollary of this, the deluge is viewed as not universal or as not destroying all human beings, but only all the people that fell within the purview of Semitic history and tradition; and no difficulty should be felt if it be found that the Brown races, as for instance the Chinese, should be found to run back to a period more remote than the accepted epoch of the flood.

In like way, Prof. Winchell, pursuing the line of regressive investigation, maintains that the Bible implies and develops the existence of other men before and in the days of Adam. He finds it in Cain's fear that some one might slay him, in his going eastward of Eden and marrying, his building a city, in the marriage of Seth, in Lamech's polygamy, in the marriage of the "Sons of God" with "the daughters of men," &c. The narration is looked upon as implying the existence of other people at the time of Adam who is put down as probably springing from the Dravidian race. The Black races certainly, and the Brown races probably, are all to be accounted as pre-Adamite. This point, too, is thought to be sustained by chronological necessities and by both physiological and psychical characteristics of the races.

Prof. Winchell defends his position as involving no theological relations or consequences inconsistent with the Christian system, and asserts that it does not exclude the current conception of Adamic creation, or the

specific unity of the race, and leaves all the facts concerning the atonement and salvation untouched.

We cannot regard Prof. Winchell's proposed "demonstration" as accomplished. Though he reasons earnestly and believes his conclusions, in the main, as sure to be established, these conclusions will certainly have to wait on more assured Biblical interpretation and more established historical and scientific data than he has presented us in this volume. He has been far too ready to give to some widely circulated opinions in speculative science the character of settled and final truth. Many of the data from which he argues are drawn from departments of inquiry in which investigation has just begun its work, and in which little has as yet been settled. This is so whether the data are drawn from chronology, philology, or ethnology. Anthropologists are by no means agreed as to the classification of the races. Philologists are waiting for further light before settling even the question of the original unity or diversity of human language. Dr. Winchell himself, as is easy to do, puts the chronologists to fight among themselves, and shows the distressing confusion that appears in their periods; and yet it is largely on this shifting quicksand that he rests some of his conclusions. He has proceeded too much on the dangerous principle which he, in one place, asserts to be valid—"to base conclusions on facts which we *expect* to discover." There is entirely too much of this kind of conclusion put forth in these days, and there will necessarily be much waiting in vain for the expected facts. The author's zeal for his views has apparently led him sometimes to forget his own statements and unconsciously throw his facts in conflicting bearings. On p. 153, he asserts of the Mongoloid and Mediterranean races: "They manifest socially a total repugnance to each other. We do not discover the least tendency to coalesce. Their racial distinctness has been equally great from the remotest historical times." And yet, in many pages both before and after, he both quotes others and speaks himself of the mixture and blending or amalgamation of these races. The Mongoloids "have infused their blood into a third of the populations of Europe," p. 154. "The tribes of Madagascar are a recognized Malay race, mixed with Negroes and Arabs," p. 238. Indeed he represents the Hamitic and Negro blood as mixed in many of the African tribes, p. 239.

Though not an essential feature of it, Prof. Winchell's view is developed in accordance with the hypothesis of evolution and the derivative theory of specific origins and much of his reasoning rests upon them. As to the antiquity of man, he believes that the pre-Adamites were geologically preglacial, and their origin may reach back perhaps a hundred thousand years, but that prehistoric Europeans were postglacial and their antiquity cannot be carried, on archæological and ethnological grounds, beyond 5,000 or 6,000 B. C. He deals very severely with the data which many scientists have accepted as proofs of an immense antiquity for fossil man in Europe.

The Spell-bound Fiddler: A Norse Romance. By Kristofer Janson. Translated from the original by Auber Forestier. With an Introduction by Rasmus B. Anderson. pp. 161. 1880.

This is one of the latest works of the Norwegian, Kristofer Janson, who is now visiting his countrymen in our northwestern States. The author is "one of the most noted poets, novelists and public speakers of Norway," and is using all his energies towards establishing an independent and national language in his native land. The introduction by Mr. Anderson occupies about fifty pages and is largely historical and biographical. The short story itself is about Torgeir, the "Miller Boy," a most skillful violinist, many of whose compositions have been published, having been written, while he was playing them, by Ole Bull and other Norse musicians. The prejudice still existing in Norway against the violin and secular music is gradually weakening, and this book, if widely read there, will do much towards causing it to disappear. The attachment of Torgeir for his fiddle is, in many instances, touching, and the influence it had on him and his audience while playing is wonderful. The story is interesting and gives a very satisfactory view of Norse life, manners and prejudices—especially in the line of the pleasures connected with the kind of music spoken of throughout the book.

ANSON D. RANDOLPH & CO., NEW YORK.

The Gospel Miracles in their Relation to Christ and Christianity. By Wm. M. Taylor, D. D., Pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle, New York. pp. 249.

We desire to recommend this book. It consists of seven lectures, on "the L. P. Stone foundation," before the students of Princeton Theological Seminary, this last winter. The lectures discuss the Nature and Possibility of Miracles, the Supernatural in Christ, the Credibility of Miracles, the Testimony for them, the Mythical Theory, the Evidential Value of Miracles, and their Spiritual Significance. They, therefore, cover in brief way the chief questions that modern skeptical thought has raised on this subject. The field is one in which we can look for little that is new, but Dr. Taylor's mind works vigorously and freshly in presenting the truth as developed and emphasized in the best recent discussions. With his clear and strong mental grasp of the subject and his style so terse and direct, he has given us a volume of much interest and value. It is quickening and assuring to Christian faith. Books like this should go into the hands of the people. In these days of infidel activity in popularizing skeptical teachings and thrusting them into men's minds, such books as this ought to be put into every reading Christian family.

The author has done well to add, in the Appendix, his letter to the New York *Tribune* on Huxley's lectures on evolution in that city four years ago. It was one of the best exposures of the bad logic of those lectures, and worthy of preservation in this permanent form.

J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO., PHILADELPHIA.

The Reader's Handbook of Allusions, References, Plots, and Stories, with two Appendices. By the Rev. E. Cobham Brewer, LL. D., Trinity Hall, Cambridge, author of "Dictionary of Phrase and Fable," and "Guide to Science." pp. 1170. 1880.

This volume belongs to the class of useful books. It is meant to supply readers and speakers with a lucid, but brief account of such names and words as occur in allusions and references found either in poetic or prose literature, and to furnish the plots of dramas and popular tales, and the stories of epic and other poems. It is just the book that has been needed. The amount of ready information here supplied is immense, and of the highest value to the general reader of our English literature. When we once get possession of such a work—a thesaurus of such varied and needed information—we wonder how we ever could have done without it. It is impossible, in a brief space, to give an adequate conception of the comprehensive scope and variety of the words, phrases, allusions, legends, stories, literary characters, &c., concerning which the author has thus presented a short but helpful account.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, NEW YORK.

For sale by J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia.

Old Faiths in New Light. By Newman Smyth. 12mo. pp, 391. 1879.

Mr. Smyth's book belongs to the department of Apologetics; not however to that class of works which treat of Christianity as though it were something for which apologies must be made in the popular sense of that word. Mr. Smyth does not think it necessary to apologize for the hope that is in him. Christianity to his mind justifies itself to thought; to the deepest thought; and as the course of human thinking deepens and widens with the access of new knowledge, that justification becomes more profound, more completely satisfying. The book before us is the endeavor to show how as man's thought of the universe deepens and grows richer, the revelation of Scripture with equal progress deepens its meaning and grows more profoundly true.

To characterize his work as briefly as possible, we may call it the application of the idea of evolution to Divine Revelation. Whatever we may think of the varying theories of evolution that are struggling to establish themselves as true, it will hardly be doubted that the doctrine that the universe has come to be what it is by a process of development, is now firmly established as a settled belief. Very few thinkers believe any more that all the forms of life were made what they are by an instantaneous act of creation from nothing; there has been an ascent, an unfolding, a passing from the less to the more perfect. That, we say, is the idea of the creation of the universe which now possesses the human mind. This idea our author applies to the discussion of the truth of revealed religion.

He shows first that the revelation of the Scriptures were given historically, not by a single act of supernatural communication from heaven to men, but by a succession of divine manifestations stretching through long periods of time ; and that these revelations were not made in an isolated way, as, for instance, in the revelation professed to be given to Mahomet, in which the whole communication was made to one man and apart from any special occasion or particular history. On the contrary, the revelation of the Bible comes, not only through many different and far separated minds, each advancing a step beyond his predecessor, but through the unfolding progress of a nation's history, so that each item and step of the revelation is part and instrument of that historical progress and development. It is Israel that reveals God, Israel and its history, as well as Moses and David and Isaiah.

He shows also that revelation has been a progressive moral education of mankind ; that each great doctrine has been unfolded gradually through the progress of revelation just as man has become capable of receiving it. This is illustrated by the rise and growth of the names of God in the Old Testament ; by the growth and unfolding of the doctrine of sacrifice ; by the gradual growth of the hope of immortality. In all these evidence is found, in the course of revelation, of a supernatural evolution.

All this, however, is more or less old ground ; those lines of thought have been opened before. But now we come to a section in which our author strikes out in a new path. He proposes to show that the same educational method is followed in the scientific teaching of the Bible. He refuses to take refuge in the convenient evasion of the difficulty that the Bible does not undertake to teach science. Some science, he says, it does teach ; it tells us of the creation of the world ; and in doing that it evinces its deep educational truth. He then proceeds to make what we cannot refuse to consider as good points on this subject : that the biblical view of nature is utterly free from mythology and all nature-myths ; that it has a clear conception of the reign of law ; that it affirms the spiritual origin of all material phenomena ; that it specially singles out the divine acts in the origination of matter, life and soul, as defining the three great divisions of existence ; and that it reveals the fact of a continuous creative process, and so implies a law of development. Here, says, our author is the ground-work of science, to be built upon, to be expanded and filled up in detail as man shall master the language of the stars and the strata, but never to be altered or found false. It is an outline map sketched on the thumb-nail, a mnemonic alphabet of science.

Then he passes to the advent of Christ : in the uniqueness of that historical figure, which he treats in its moral features at some length, and in the naturalness of his history combined, he finds an irrefutable argument for the truth of revelation. That one so transcending all that had gone before, and yet fulfilling all the wishes, aspirations, moral prophecies and tendencies of the race, and specially of Israel up to that time, should

come into the world and reveal in Himself the next step in the progress of a moral kingdom, is to our author a truth of supernatural evolution. Christ is the step by which God has led the race one stage further on in the development of His divine kingdom.

In the unfinished world, so full of problems, failures, incompleteness, he finds a prophecy of the unseen world that is to complete this. And here, too, the Bible, with its revelation of that unseen and eternal state does fit in to the prophecy and hope that the heart makes for the future.

The last chapter treats of the resurrection as the continuity of the life of the individual. He endeavors to define what the resurrection body is to be ; not the material body which the apostle has in view when he says "flesh and blood can not inherit the kingdom of God," nor the mere spiritual body which in the Swedenborgian conception is only a finer effervescence of matter ;—neither of these, but a change into a new type of existence, "the assimilation by the living energy or soul of the material of the unseen Universe." This is rather vague, as indeed our author confesses, but it shadows forth an idea. Here, we think, is the weakest part of the book: the chain breaks at the last link.

We have tried to outline the author's train of thought. It will be seen to be in some respects original. He acknowledges his obligations to such writers as Dorner, Ewald and Lotze ; and he has evidently caught up ideas to weave into his fabric wherever they have come to hand. But by the use he has made of them they become rightly his own. We can commend it as a book of grand power of suggestion ; it starts trains of thought on every page that run branching off in all directions. It is a seed-bed of thought.

As for the general line of argument that Divine Revelation is a development keeping step with the history of man, using that history as the organ of its manifestation, growing in definiteness and complexity and richness as the mind it comes to illuminate grows deeper and more perfect, in all this there is a deep truth. The history of man *is* a development, and the revelation of God *is* the pillar of cloud and fire that has gone before it stage by stage over the desert of its travel : if the great discussion of evolution when it has subsided shall leave us no other solid gain than this, it will have done a great service that it has made us see more clearly the wonderful line of advance by which the Bible led first Israel, and then the new Israel, on and on from light to light. But whether all the stages of the progress are those exactly that Mr. Smyth indicates, we cannot yet be sure ; perhaps he himself would hesitate to say he has fixed the several periods of the movement. At any rate he has made us feel that there is a line of advance : we see how the great drama unfolds, and we anticipate how it is to go on unfolding.

Mr. Smyth's style is curiously bad : clumsy in structure, slipshod in movement, and depends for light and impressiveness on certain glaring, sometimes striking figures, that appear as so much distinct ornamentation

laid on after the body of the work was finished. If we might be allowed to say so, we are conscious of a flavor of the flamboyant manner of Joseph Cook. But Mr. Smyth will say, 'the thought is weighty enough to carry the style and its imperfections with it.' Well, perhaps it is; but it is just that inequality and awkwardness which robs Mr. Smyth's work of greatness. Such thoughts ought to impress one with the grand air; but they do not. The thoughts are great and rich; but somehow after Mr. Smyth has uttered them they do not seem great at all until we have disengaged them from his words and taken them out of sight of him; then they are great once more. It is a bad thing when a writer handles great matter in such a way that he and it leave the impression of pettiness. It is just the opposite of what Boswell, or was it Goldsmith, said of Dr. Johnson: "Doctor," said his admirer, "you make your little minnows talk like whales." Mr. Smyth unfortunately makes his whales talk like little minnows.

C. A. S.

The Origin and Growth of Religion as Illustrated by the Religion of Ancient Egypt. By P. Le Page Renouf. (The Hibbert Lectures for 1879). pp. 270. 1880.

This scholarly volume is published without preface, or any other word of explanation than that which marks it on the title page as "Hibbert Lectures for 1879." But this will itself need explanation to a large number of readers. For the public has not yet become familiar with the Hibbert foundation. For though the fund that supports it was bequeathed in 1849 for purposes "most conducive to the spread of Christianity in its most simple and intelligible form, and to the unfettered exercise of private judgment in matters of religion," the Trustees, who were freely allowed to decide on the method of accomplishing this design, and for many years appropriated the funds almost entirely to the higher culture of students for the Christian ministry, inaugurated this lectureship only in 1878. This was done at the petition of Dr. James Martineau, Dean Stanley, Max Müller, Wm. B. Carpenter, M. D., Dr. Tulloch, and others, who allege that theological inquiries and discussions are "under traditional restraint" in all the chief divinity schools of England. The lectureship is, therefore, under the auspices of those who seem to feel that the truth can best be found in breaking over the lines of accepted orthodoxy, but who maintain a pledged devotion to Christianity. The first series of lectures was delivered by Prof. Max Müller on the "Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated by the Religions of India," and they constitute a volume of high value. For the second series, the Trustees secured the services of M. le Page Renouf, Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools, whose lectures are given in the book before us.

M. Renouf has given us a volume of much interest on a subject that is attracting increased attention among scholars. He first traces the sources of information respecting the ancient Egyptian religion. He cautions against accepting the notions of it found in ancient writers of other nations,

who have presented it in terms that degrade it very deeply ; and reminds us how even Christianity has been falsely defamed by some pagan writers of high name. The antiquity and characteristics of Egyptian civilization are discussed in the second lecture. Some of the author's data for fixing the prehistoric antiquity of the human race in that country, are much more uncertain than he counts them to be. This is followed by an inquiry into the gods of the Egyptians, their communion with the unseen world, their religious books, their hymns, henotheism, pantheism and materialism.

The author shows that their multitudinous polytheism consists rather in a multiplication of *names* than of gods. "The whole mythology of Egypt may be said to turn upon the histories of Ra and Osiris, and these histories, run into each other, sometimes in inextricable confusion, which ceases to be wonderful when texts are discovered which simply identify Osiris and Ra. And, finally, other texts are known, wherein Ra, Osiris, Amon and all other gods disappeared, except as *names*, and the unity of God is asserted in the noblest language of monotheistic religion." He explains their gods as but mythical personifications of the powers and forces of nature as manifestations of one everliving, active Intelligence. "The gods of Egypt are the 'mighty ones,' the forces acting throughout the universe, in heaven and on earth, according to fixed and unchangeable laws, forever and forever." Mr. Renouf believes that the early form of Egyptian religion was not Fetichism, nor "propitiation of dead ancestors," nor Polytheism, but Monotheism of partheistic conception. "The sublimer portions are demonstrably ancient, and the last stage of the Egyptian religion, that known to the Greek and Latin writers, heathen or Christian, was by far the grossest and most corrupt." It included the doctrine of a future existence. "The word *anchiu*, which literally signifies the 'living,' is in innumerable places used emphatically for the 'departed,' who are enjoying an everlasting life."

In his statement that the opinion which holds Moses to be the author of the Pentateuch "must assuredly be abandoned," Renouf does not represent the judgment of the best critical scholarship. There are some other views from which many will dissent. But he has given us a volume of discussion that will help toward a right understanding of the religion of the wonderful people whose beliefs it investigates.

The Saviour's Converts. What we owe to them, and How we may aid them. By the Rev. William Scribner, author of "Pray for the Holy Spirit," "These Little Ones," etc. pp. 174. 1880.

This is an earnest plea for intelligent and faithful effort on the part of Christians to encourage and help those who are entering the Church or beginning the life of faith. The nature of conversion, the considerations that should stimulate endeavor to aid new believers, the doctrinal truths most serviceable for them, their difficulties, duties, privileges and proper activities, are presented clearly and impressively. The last chapter, on catechization, presents a point of special importance.

Discussions in History and Theology, by George P. Fisher, D. D., LL. D., Titus Street Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Yale College. pp. 555. 1880.

It seems superfluous to commend a volume from the pen of Dr. Fisher. His works have made him so well and favorably known that his name itself attracts attention for whatever he publishes. As an independent and vigorous thinker, he is among the foremost of our American historico-theological writers.

The volume before us, though of somewhat diversified contents, is composed of discussions which are in the line of the author's best abilities. They are ripe fruit from ground he has most thoroughly cultivated. Sixteen essays are given, collected from the *New Englander*, *Princeton Review*, and other journals in which they first appeared; and all of them are worthy of preservation and enlarged circulation in this permanent form. With several exceptions they fall into three groups. The first group, beginning with the second paper, consists of discussions of the history, polity and dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church, especially in view of the new aspects of the papacy under its loss of temporal power and as its rights and jurisdiction have been settled by the conciliar decree of infallibility. The second group of essays relates to New England theology and the modifications of Calvinistic philosophy involved in it. The third division pertains to Theism and Christian evidences. Besides the papers included in these groups, there is an essay on the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Eve, one giving an historical view of the Doctrine of Future Punishment, and another presenting the Relations of the Church of England to other Protestant bodies. The volume thus includes an exposition of some of the most important of recent movements in theological thought, and discusses some of the most interesting of the living questions of the day. The paper on the Old Roman spirit and Religion in Latin Christianity, is full of truth that needs to be considered in estimating the forms of our modern church life. Though but incidentally discussed, the views presented on Christian symbolism and art are at once so philosophical and healthy as to commend themselves strongly to all who are seeking correct principles on that subject. We are glad to see the brief "Review of 'Supernatural Religion,'" first published in the *New York Independent*, included in the volume. Though short, it is a sufficient reply to the extended work which it criticises.

The Life and Writings of St. John, by James M. Macdonald, D. D., Princeton, New Jersey. Edited with an introduction by the Very Reverend J. S. Howson, D. D., Dean of Chester. pp. xxxvi.; 436. 1880.

As soon as students of the Bible had learned the value of Conybeare and Howson's "Life and Epistles of St. Paul," there was felt a general and urgent desire that some one competent for the task should furnish a similar volume on the life and writings of St. John. This desire has been met

in the present volume of Dr. James M. Macdonald, late of Princeton, N. J., a fitting companion to the "Life and Epistles of Paul," one of whose authors, Dean Howson, has written an excellent introduction to the work and has edited it, the author having died while its pages were passing through the press.

It is doubtless the presence of Dr. Howson in our country at this time, that stimulated the publishers to call attention anew to this estimable volume with which the name of this eminent divine is so closely connected, and we are glad of an opportunity of commending it to the religious public. It must certainly prove a great aid in the study of that most precious part of the Bible which the beloved disciple, who leaned so tenderly upon the Master, and who drank so deeply of His spirit, has bequeathed to the Christian Church.

"The plan" of the work "is to present in one view all parts of St. John's life in their connection with one another and with his writings, and also in their connection with the life of Christ and the founding of His Church."

The method of presenting the personal character and career of a writer in close combination with his writings, has peculiar advantages in profane literature, the exact truth and precise sense, the full bearing of many utterances is thus brought to view with a distinctness, a certainty and a satisfaction which could not possibly be realized, were the readers ignorant of the characteristic personality of the author. In the volumes of inspired literature these advantages are equally obvious and important. So far as we can ascertain the personal history of David and Isaiah, or trace the presence and movements of John and of Paul, there is thrown over all their utterances a stream of light, which gives to them a clearness and a charm of inestimable value to the studious readers of the Bible. It is in fact incomparably more easy and more interesting to get the truth from a living personality, in immediate connection with the well-known history of a fellow-being, than to spell it out from abstract propositions or gather it from sources that are isolated from personal life and inaccessible to our view. This book of Dr. Macdonald will be of service to Pastors, but it will be especially helpful to Sunday School teachers and other intelligent laymen, who ought by all means to have more reading of this kind. The more learned biblical student will likely be disappointed. The author was not a Princeton Professor, but the Pastor of the Princeton Presbyterian church, and he seems to have written not with a view to advance the scientific and critical study of the Scriptures, but to promote a popular knowledge of the sacred authors and their inspired teachings. On that very account the work will be more readable and more profitable to a large class in the Church. Pastors can write better for pastors and lay readers than others who may indeed enter more deeply into Biblical science and conduct the reader through controversial labyrinths of Biblical difficulties, but they very often fail to appreciate the wants, capacities and tastes of those who are most in need of help to Scripture study.

Unlike the similar work of Conybeare and Howson this volume makes no pretense to a revision or improvement of the King James' version. The whole of the Apocalypse, the Epistles and the Gospel are given just as we have them in our English Bibles, with only here and there a suggestion of an improved translation. One might indeed, with propriety ask, what is the use of occupying nearly half the space of 200 octavo pages with a literal copy of the common English text of the New Testament?

The criticism of the original text receives a little more attention. 1 Jno. 5 : 7, 8, "in heaven, the Father, the Word and the Holy Ghost," &c., is of course surrendered, "the historical evidence against its genuineness being so conclusive that it is dismissed without further discussion." Jno. 5, last clause of v. 3, to the end of v. 4, "waiting for the water," &c., fares likewise, while with reference to the account of the woman taken in adultery, Jno. 8, the author states: "The evidence for its genuineness seems to outweigh the objections to it."

The foot-notes accompanying the sacred text, in keeping with the evident design of the whole work, are of a popular and practical nature, far from voluminous, and those having a geographical or historical reference are especially valuable.

We have of course no right to look for an acknowledgment of Lutheran doctrine in a production of Presbyterian origin, but it is not often that one sees so monstrous a wresting of Scripture passages from their plain intent, as is witnessed here in the comments on Jno. 3 : 5 : "The Sacrament of Christian Baptism, not then instituted as a Christian rite, cannot be alluded to, though it is understood by Lutherans as well as Romanists. The divine Teacher meant by being born of water that we must be born again by the word of God ; in complete harmony with which we find the Apostle Paul, when describing the same great change, saying that we must be sanctified and cleansed "with the washing of water by the word." This last clause accordingly means simply that we are to be cleansed by the washing of the word by the word, which, to say the least, is charging St. Paul with very stupid rhetoric. When the author, further on, verses 16, 17, says with regard to the world, "It is the whole world which God loved, and for which He gave His Son, the only limitation of the gift of everlasting life, through this love of God, is found in the words, 'whosoever believeth in Him,' " it is quite evident that he did not train indiscriminately with the Calvinists. In his exposition of this latter passage he would probably have found himself, as well as the Lutherans, in the company of the Catholics, much more than in harmony with Calvin their most radical assailant.

The question of the authorship of the writings bearing the name of John is barely alluded to. With reference to the Gospel, a single extract from Liddon's Bampton Lectures is made to do duty for the whole controversy on this great subject, but the paragraph is so happy and conclusive that it will serve most readers a better purpose than would an extensive dis-

cussion embracing all the objections and all the arguments for the Johannean authorship.

As to the Apocalypse the internal evidence is relied on as sufficient alone, over against what external evidence there may be to the contrary, to determine not only its canonical character, but the early date of its composition, before the destruction of Jerusalem and during the persecution of Nero. Scenes existing at the time furnish the starting point for the book, and many of these have direct relation to Jerusalem, as still standing, while its destruction was near at hand. According to chap. 6, the temple and altar were still the seat of worship and the greatest woes were yet in store for the devoted city, "which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where also our Lord was crucified." In fact while the Seer in his exile under Nero, was having his tremendous visions, "the 1260 days were very soon to commence, and on his lonely rock in the Ægean the banished Apostle could see the lightnings flash, and hear the thunders roll and the trumpets of the armies resound, gathering for the overthrow of the devoted city he loved so well."

LEE & SHEPARD, BOSTON.

For sale by J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia.

The True Story of the Exodus of Israel, together with a Brief View of the History of Monumental Egypt, compiled from the work of Dr. Henry Brugsch-Bey. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Francis H. Underwood. pp. 260. 1880.

Dr. Brugsch is a very prominent German Egyptologist, and his long-continued original investigations have gained high consideration for his views. Under the patronage of the Egyptian government, he spent thirty years in exploration and study of monumental inscriptions, mostly in company with the distinguished French *savant*, M. Mariette. This volume contains so much of Dr. Brugsch's "Egypt under the Pharaohs" as concerns the settlement of the family of Jacob and their Exodus as a people under Moses. To enable the reader to understand the historic connection, the editor has made a brief summary of leading events and given an account of the most prominent of the Pharaohs. Some account is given of the early races, of the royal residences, and of the Hyksos, under the last of whom Joseph was the favorite minister. As far as consistent with fluent narration, all these topics are presented in the author's own words.

Dr. Brugsch finds in Egypt the source of written language and of art and architecture. He believes that the Hebrews derived from it most of their religious ideas and rites, and that their sacred literature is modeled, as to tone of thought and style, upon the writings preserved in Egyptian papyrus rolls and temple inscriptions. Though Egyptian history is silent as to the Hebrews and their miraculous escape, the Scripture narrative is found to accord with known events and dates and with the permanent facts of geography. Dr. Brugsch holds that the time of Joseph must have

fallen in the time of the Hypsos' dominion, (the Shepherd Kings), and finds in one of the monuments, at the tomb of Baba, mention of a famine lasting many years, and of the issuing of corn for the necessity, corresponding to the seven years of famine in Joseph's day. But the chief purpose of the book is to present a new view as to the route of the exodus of the Israelites. This is a theory which Dr. Brugsch has adopted from Dr. Unruh and Dr. Schleiden, and which represents the journey of the children of Israel as not at all across the Red Sea, but by a northern way through the Sirbonian bog near the Mediterranean. He believes that the evidence from the geography of the country and the study of the monuments requires a different route from the commonly accepted one through the Red Sea, and claims that the Scripture statements, correctly interpreted, fully agree with this. "Far from lessening the authority and weight of the Books on which our holy religion is founded, the results at which the author of this memoir has arrived, will serve, on the contrary, as testimonies to establish the supreme veracity of the sacred Scriptures."

This theory, however, though supported recently by Prof. Sayce, of Oxford, is not likely to be sustained. Discussion of it, since this volume has appeared, has already gone far to show its untenability. The theory rests essentially on the "identification of Ramses, Pithom, Succoth and other places in Goshen," but this identification is not fully accepted by able Egyptologists. The argument for the new route, from *Yâm Suph* as meaning "sea of marsh-reeds," is valueless. The rendering "*Red Sea*," as in our authorized version of the Bible, is sustained by abundant evidence that in ancient times, if not now, sea-weeds were found on its shores, and by the various connections which show that *yâm suph* must undoubtedly be the Red Sea. In Num. 33 : 10, for instance, it is said : "They removed from Elim and encamped by the Red Sea (*Yam Suph*)."
Did the Israelites go back across the isthmus of Suez, from Elim to the Sirbonian bog? 1 Kings 9 : 26; Num. 21 : 4, &c., are decisive against Dr. Brugsch's route.

Though the author's theory of the exodus cannot be accepted, this volume is both interesting and instructive, and shows how recent research among the monumental wonders of Egypt has been throwing illustrative light on the records of the Pentateuch.

PHILLIPS & HUNT, NEW YORK.

For sale by J. B. Lippincott & Co., Phila.

Commentary on the New Testament. By D. D. Whedon, LL. D., Vol. V. Titus to Revelation. pp. 483. 1880.

This volume completes the valuable Commentary of Dr. Whedon on the New Testament. Its general excellence has been more than once acknowledged in this *QUARTERLY*, and it is gratifying to note that this final volume of the New Testament series falls in no respect below the merits of the four preceding volumes.

The Old Testament portion of this admirable work will consist of eight

volumes, only two of which, vol. III., Joshua to 2 Samuel, and vol. IV., Kings to Esther, have thus far appeared. The other six volumes are announced "in preparation."

On the title page of this volume we read, "Intended for popular use," and on every page Dr. W. gives abundant evidence of his purpose in this respect and of his ability to carry it out. A chief excellence of the work consists in its clear and practical exposition of the divine word. The Bible students who most need the aid of commentaries need as a rule to have something of this kind. And the more "popular" will it prove to the ever-growing body of intelligent Christians. It is indeed high time that American scholarship should contribute more largely to the critical literature and scientific exegesis of the Scriptures, yet with the ever-increasing interest among the laity in Bible study, such commentaries for the people are to be cordially welcomed, especially when coming from a master in this department like Dr. Whedon.

In his "Introduction" to the different Epistles that constitute respectively the subject of this volume, the author is less happy than in his elucidation of the text. He holds, for instance, St. Paul to be the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews; a view which, notwithstanding the fact of many elements of likeness and of "close connexion of faith and feeling" with the other writings of the Apostle to the Gentiles, is now regarded by a majority of the ablest biblical scholars as utterly untenable. Dr. W. must himself have been at one time close on to that conviction, and must even now feel hard pressed to maintain a contrary position, else how are we to account for his desperate recourse to an ingenious suggestion of the fanciful Delitzsch in order to prop up Pauline authorship. An insuperable barrier to this theory, it is well known, is the absence of Paul's name from the head of the Epistle. Since, however, each of the Greek words, *πολυμερῶς και πολυτρόπως*, with which the Epistle opens, begins with *πολ*, this is interpreted as an intentional "hint of Paul's own name." Thus "Paul's name twice written, does stand occultly at the head of the Epistle; a secret guarantee, perhaps, to his friends, but invisible to the eyes of his opponents!" After that any one refusing to be convinced of the Pauline authorship of this grand epistle must be chargeable with — no lack of honest capacity.

Fragments: Religious and Theological. A Collection of Independent Papers relating to various points of Christian Life and Doctrine. By Daniel Curry. pp. 375. 1880.

This collection of papers has been made by Dr. Curry from the miscellaneous articles he has contributed from time to time to various magazines and reviews. There are nineteen of these articles, and among the subjects are, "Sin a Fact in the Spiritual Cosmos;" "The Doctrine of Condemnation;" "Righteousness through Faith;" "Arminian vs. Calvinian Justification;" "Prayer—Its Nature and Potency;" "Faith and Science;"

"The Humanity of Christ," &c. The author's treatment of these subjects is clear and interesting, and we take little exception to the views expressed. The line drawn between justification and sanctification is much more clearly marked than we usually find in the writings of Methodist divines, and the two papers on "Faith and Science" will be found of special value. All the papers are suggestive, and the volume, although made up of "fragments" covering many years, is in line with the fresh thought of to-day.

Dio the Athenian; or from Olympus to Calvary. By Rev. E. F. Burr, D. D., author of "Eccé Cœlum," "Pater Mundi," etc. Four Illustrations. pp. 498. 1880.

Dr. Burr, in the Preface, states his purpose in writing this volume, as follows: "The object of this work is to illustrate the natural progress of a cultivated Greek of the first century from the best form of classical paganism, through the various philosophical schools most akin to those of our time, to theoretical and practical Christianity." The author skillfully transfers the reader to the Athens of eighteen centuries ago, places him among the scenes and reveals to him the character and general line of thought of the Athenians of that period, and gives him a view of their worship and sacrifices to their gods. We get a better view than we have ever had of the newsy and gossipy character of the "agora," where the people "spent their time in nothing else, but either to tell or hear some new thing," Acts 17: 21. The "agora" was the substitute for the newspaper of the present day. Dio, before he was twenty years of age, spent some time in the Roman army, and during that period had his faith in the Grecian gods weakened and began to question their power, etc. He learns of the God of the Hebrews, and eventually attains to faith in Him and the Saviour whom Paul on Mars' Hill declared should "judge the world in righteousness." On pages 239-244 will be found a discussion, between Dio and an Athenian philosopher, on a phase of materialism, revealing views much like those held in our day. The father of Dio is Dionysius the Areopagite of Acts xvii., and Damaris of the same chapter becomes betrothed to Dio. Their relations to each other give the book somewhat the nature of a novel, but the whole drift of the volume is much higher and will be found very attractive to the intelligent Christian reader who has an acquaintance with classical literature.

A Concordance to the Hymnal of the Methodist Episcopal Church, to which are added several important Indexes. By William Codville, member of the Faculty of the McKeesport (Pa.) Academy. pp. 205. 1880.

We are not aware that a complete Concordance to a Hymnal, such as that here given of the Methodist Book, has ever been published before. The author has done for the Hymnal what Cruden did for the Bible. It must have cost an immense amount of labor, but it will certainly prove a very great convenience to the ministers of the Methodist Church.

THE
QUARTERLY REVIEW
OF
THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH.
OCTOBER, 1880.

ARTICLE I.

MARTIN LUTHER'S TABLE TALK.

By JOHN G. MORRIS, D. D. LL. D., Baltimore, Md.

Luther's sociable disposition, ardent attachments and great conversational powers, rendered him a universal favorite. Those whom he entertained at his own table, or who met him at the tables of others, found in him a most agreeable associate. His talk sparkled with wit and abounded with amusing and instructive anecdotes. His mind bubbled over with aphorisms, facts and fancies. He was the life of every company when in good health, and found no trouble in entertaining every circle of friends with wise utterances, pious observations, quaint Scripture illustrations, strange historical incidents, striking similes and piquant allegories as well as with humorous stories. It was his habit not only to season the dishes of the social table with wit and sentiment, but he loved to mingle this cheerful entertainment with the reading of favorite passages of Scripture. Matthesius in his sermons on the Life of Luther, tells us "that these *condimenta mensæ*, as his friends called them, were more highly prized than the most sumptuous fare upon the table." He was for many years an inmate of Luther's house, and he says that during all the social festivals, he never heard Luther utter a word that was not strictly proper and becoming a gentleman.

Many of his sayings, sentiments and stories were preserved by his friends, of whom S. Antony Lauterbach and John Aurifaber undertook the work of collecting and publishing them after Luther's death. Many warm admirers of great men think that almost every thing they utter should be preserved, and hence, many things get into print which should have been omitted. This is true of all distinguished characters whose Table Talks have been published. Good talkers often narrate stories, perpetrate puns, throw off witty speeches, or say smart things which are neither profitable nor edifying and which they would not like to see in print, but which their too admiring friends give to the public without stint or reason. Modern literature furnishes not a few examples of this friendly editorial partiality. Thus precisely, was Luther treated. Posterity does not care about hearing every thing he thought or said upon every conceivable subject, nor every witticism he dashed off, nor every pun he made, nor every jocund story he told, even if it had been possible to write them all down as soon as they escaped from him. Hence, it is likely that many of these sayings and stories in the books which are attributed to Luther, do not owe their authorship to him. No doubt many a good story or piquant saying afloat in the community was attributed to Luther, because it was Luther-like, and hence put down as his without discrimination or research. It is so in every age, and readers are aware that the same story or sentiment has been credited to half a dozen different men. It is not possible that all the Table Talk, collected by Aurifaber and published by him, could have been reported, even had he and his collaborators in this work been always furnished with pen, ink, paper, lead pencil and tablet, so that they could take down on the spot whatever fell from the mouth of Luther. This would have been contrary to all propriety, and it would not have been permitted by Luther that every word he spoke at table or in private social intercourse, or on other occasions, should be reported and often incorrectly. He was too modest a man to allow this, and they had too much reverence for him to attempt it. He was too keenly aware of the fact that the omission or addition of a single word may change the meaning of a whole

sentence. Hazlitt in the Introduction to his edition of the Table Talk seems to think that all these discourses are authentic and says, "The reporters were brim full of zeal; whatever the 'man of God' uttered was forthwith entered upon their tablets. They were with him at his up-rising and his down-lying; they looked over his shoulder as he read or wrote his letters; did he utter an exclamation of pain or of pleasure, of joy or of sorrow, down it went; did he aspirate a thought above breath, it was caught by the intent ear of one or the other of the listeners and committed to paper. An anecdote told by Luther himself to Dr. Zincgreff amusingly illustrates the assiduity of these German Boswells. During a colloquy in which Dominus Martinus was exhibiting his wonted energetic vivacity, he observed a disciple hard at work with pencil and paper. The Doctor slyly filling his huge wooden spoon with the gruel he was discussing by way of supper, rose and going up to the absorbed note-taker, threw the gruel in his face, and said, laughing lustily: "Put that down too." There can be as little doubt of the completeness as of the authenticity of their notes. Filled with the most profound respect for the 'venerable man of God,' they would have deemed it sacrilege to omit or alter or modify, aught that fell from his lips. The oracle had spoken; it was their pride and glory to repeat his words with the most scrupulous fidelity."

This must be regarded as an exaggerated account. Luther knew well enough that Table Talks are not sermons, lectures or public orations which a man carefully studies beforehand and which are fit for print as delivered, and it is very improbable that he would have sanctioned the reporting of every thing he said in the company of his friends. He was well aware that a good talker, in a full flow of hilarity, in the midst of a cheerful circle, "in the elasticity of post prandial converse," in the rapidity of unpremeditated conversation, when wit, repartee, pun and anecdote are sparkling all round, often says something which he would rather not see in print and which his friends after him should not publish. No man was more sensible of his own human infirmity in this respect, than Luther himself. "In the books of St. Augustine," he writes, "we find many expressions

which were uttered by flesh and blood, and I must confess of myself that I say many things which are not God's words outside of my sermons, when I am at table, at home, or elsewhere in society."

There is no doubt that this book contains many things which Luther never uttered.

Among others, Dannhauer, as quoted by Fab. Centifol. Luth. p. 306, says of the book, "It is a copious collection of farfetched slanders, stupidly described, frivolously set forth, which were never uttered by Luther." Schelwig (Ibid) says, "It is a book never seen, read, or approved by the sainted Luther, but compiled twenty years after his death without proper circumspection and judgment by different persons who have not always comprehended the mind of the blessed man. Hence in controversies upon the Faith, no testimony from this book is important unless it is established by other genuine writings of Luther." In an edition of *Scaligerana*, Bayle (art. Luther) has seen the following, which he quoted as applicable to the compilers of what is called Luther's Table Talk. "Such for the most part is the ridiculous veneration and almost idolatrous regard which the vulgar pay to those heroes in literature, that they cannot allow so much as a word to escape them without speedily seizing it and laying it up among their most precious curiosities, as our modern Saint Servers preserve the ashes, nails, hairs, pieces of bone, hems or bits of garment and whatever else goes under the name of relics with the highest reverence."

He then proceeds to give some curious instances of this hero-worship so common in all ages.

From the Life and Character of Luther by J. G. Burckhardt, prefixed to his edition of Bell's Translation of Luther's Table Talk, Lond. 2nd, 8vo. 1840, I copy the following :

"Luther's *Colloquia Mensalia* made a great noise at their first appearance in Germany in the year 1569. Some indeed have called their authenticity in question, but there is no reason to doubt of the testimony of Dr. Aurifaber which he gives at the end of the preface. * * There are indeed many things which might have been left out. But then it must be considered that such discourses must not be brought to the test of our present

refined age, that all what a man of Luther's name and character spoke particularly at the latter part of his life, was thought by his friends worth the press, though himself meant it only for the recreation of the company and that he altered many opinions in the progress from darkness to light. It is, however, with a work of this kind as it is with the publishing of letters which were never intended for the press; the author speaks his sentiments more freely and you are able to form a true idea of his character by looking, as it were, into his heart."

Lindner, in the preface to his edition of the *Tisch Reden* Salfeld, 2nd 12mo 1745, says: "I will not enter upon an extended discussion of the question whether it would not have been better to leave unpublished these conversations which Luther held with intimate friends, who did not in all cases properly understand or correctly report them. The numerous offences, and calumnies against the holy man which they have occasioned, have established the judgment of many learned men who have wished that they had never appeared. And yet it is not to be denied that the majority of these discourses deserve to be imparted to the world on account of their impressive and edifying character."

He quotes Rechenburg, who has written upon this subject, as saying, "The same reason holds good for not publishing without the consent of the author his familiar conversation, as of his familiar letters. Friends, in their letters speak of their domestic affairs or private business or indulge in pleasantries or freely say what they think of the manners or actions of others, which they do not wish should be made public. In private conversation or in letters to intimate friends, a man may freely say what he thinks, but unless under very rare circumstances, is it proper to let the world know it."—"The collectors of these discourses would have acted more wisely if they had separated the more grave expressions from the trifling which are often uttered in the joyous circle of friends at table or in society and not have put them in print and thus have given occasion for calumny to a crowd of bad men who cordially hated Luther."

I here copy from Morhofi Polyhist. Lib. i. cap. xvii., iv. § 4, a quotation he takes from Camerarius, who in his *Life of Me-*

lanchthon, speaks of a man who had collected all the sayings of Melanchthon which he uttered at table, in his class room and in company, and then thus proceeds, "What shall I say of those persons who collect his sayings and familiar conversations and then dare to publish them with their own comments? They gather them neither with care nor judgment, nor taste, not having heard them from his own lips but pick them up by chance from others and then in their thoughtless rashness make them known to the world. By aspersing the name of Philip Melanchthon and of many other good men by relating everything trifling or inconsiderate or unworthy of mention, they excite indignation by their unjustifiable offense. But in the impudent license of this age, this is to be added to innumerable other evils and it is to be imputed to the foolish vanity of men and to their eager desire of reputation or gain." * * Then Morhof adds, "The same may be said concerning Luther's Discourses, which some persons have published without his knowledge or consent."

Müller in his *Defensio Lutheri Defensi*, p. 12, says: "Luther never saw the book and he never requested that it should be printed; he never desired that what he said at table or in company should be regarded as divine teaching. * * Pistorius, one of his bitterest enemies, had the candor to say that he would not quote anything from the Table Talk against Luther, because the Lutherans do not recognize that as an authentic book of Luther"——"If the Table Talk of popes, cardinals and other prelates were written down there would be found things which would lead men soon to forget what is given out as Luther's. Even if there were found in these Talks some things that could not be defended, it would still not follow that he was not God's instrument in the work of the Reformation."

The following extract from Hase's *Vindication of Luther*, p. 217, London 1855, is relevant: "Precious as that book (The Table Talk) is both for the body of truths contained in it and for its vivid portraiture of Luther's character and familiar habits, we are not entitled to regard it as a sufficient authority for Luther's opinions, except so far as it is confirmed by his acknowledged writings. At least, we certainly have no right to make it the ground of accusation against him. For in all

conversation, there is much that is prompted and it may be exaggerated by casual impulses of the moment, much that, at the time of utterance, is limited by previous or subsequent remarks, and so cannot be rightly understood without these. Besides, even the best hearers will often misapprehend and misconceive, the best reporters will often misstate, especially when the report is not committed to writing for hours, it may be for days or weeks after. * * The only safe rule is, to ascribe whatever we find that is wise or ingenious or instructive to the speaker, * * while the blunders, the absurdities, the extravagances, should be overlooked, from the probability that they may be the scribe's interpolations or perversions. * * * These remarks apply with double force to Luther's Table Talk, which is compiled from the manuscripts of a dozen of his friends."

Aurifaber's testimony concerning Luther's Divine Discourses, I here give in an old English translation in preference to my own, for its quaintness. It is copied from Burckhardt's edition. "And whereas hitherto I have caused certain tomes of the Books, Sermons, Writings and Missives of Luther to be printed at Eisleben, so have I also now finished this tome of his discourses and have ordered the same to be printed which at the first were collected together out of the manuscripts of those Divine Discourses which that Rev. Father Anthony Lauterbach himself noted and wrote out of the holy mouth of Luther, and afterwards the same by me were collected into sure and certain Loci Communes or Common Places and distributed. And whereas I, J. G. Aurifaber, (in the years 1545 and 1546, before the death of that most famous Divine, Luther), was much with and about him and with all diligence writ and noted down many most excellent Histories and Acts and other most useful and necessary things which he related; I have therefore set in order and brought the same also into this Tome. * * For these most profitable Discourses of Luther containing such high spiritual things we should in no wise suffer to be lost but worthily esteem thereof, whereout all manner of learning, joy and comfort may be had and received." Given at Eisleben July 7th, 1569.

The title of Aurifaber's edition is, "Tischreden oder Colloquia so er in vielen Jaren gegen gelarten Leuten auch frembden

Gesten und Seinen Tischgesellen geführt, &c., Eislèben, von Gaubish, 1566, fol.* Lauterbach deserves the credit of having made the collection which Aurifaber concedes to him.

This edition was reprinted twice in 1567, and a fourth time in 1568. In 1569 a new edition appeared in Frankfort, with an Appendix of prophecies which the venerable man of God, just before his holy death, delivered unto divers learned theologians and ecclesiastics, with many consolatory letters, opinions, narratives, replies, &c., which never before were made public.

According to Hazlitt in his Introduction to his edition, Andrew Stangwald was the next editor. He complains of the previous editions as very defective in their matter and full of flagrant errors of typography. He states that his own corrected and enlarged edition had been prepared from various manuscript conversations in his possession, aided by ample marginal notes to a copy of the original edition, formerly belonging to one of Luther's intimate associates, Dr. Joachim Merlinus. Stangwald's compilation which appeared in 1571, (Frankfort) was reprinted in 1590, * * in the preface of which he announces a supplementary volume of Colloquies and Sayings, which was, however, never produced. The same text, but with Aurifaber's preface in lieu of Stangwald's, was reprinted in 1603, (Jena) and again in 1620, (Leipzig) and once more after an interval of 80 years, in 1700, (Leipzig) when Stangwald's preface was given as well as Aurifaber's and Walther's collection of prophecies appended. This arrangement was reproduced in 1723, (Dresden and Leipzig).

Nicolas Selnecker, a cotemporary of Luther, also arranged an edition, prefaced by a life of the Reformer, which appeared in 1577, and again in 1580, fol.

The Tischreden were included in Walch's edition of Luther's German Works, Halle, 1743. An epitome of them in Latin, prepared by Dr. Erius, appeared in 1566, (Frankfort) soon after their first publication in German. The title is, *Silvula Sententiarum, exemplarum, Historiarum, allegoriarum, similitudinum, facetiarum, partim ex reverendi viri D. Martini Lutheri*

*Twenty years after Luther's death.

ac Philippi Melanchthonis cum privatis tum publicis relationibus, partim ex aliorum veterum atque recentium doctorum monumentis observata. The editor adds a number of articles omitted by the German editor. Dr. Henry Peter Rebenstock issued two volumes in 1558-71 (Frankfort) entitled, *Colloquia, Meditationes, Consolationes, Consilia, judicia, sententiæ, narrationes, responsa, facetiæ, D. Mart. Lutheri, piæ et sanctæ memoriæ in mens prandiis et cænæ et in peregrationibus observata et fideliter transcripta.* Any one curious in such lore, may see an account of this edition, which is very rare, in *The Analecta-Biblion* of the Marquis du Roure, if they have access to it.

A French abridgment was published by Gustavus Bronet in 1844.

Fabricius, in his *Centifolium Lutheranium*, p. 300, cap. 88, gives the bibliography of the *Colloquia Mensalia*, up to his day (1728), and after giving a description of the various editions of the whole work, enumerates more than forty other authors who have written upon it to a greater or less extent, quoting the opinions of some of them, part of which have been incorporated in this article. Many of these, judging from the titles, must be very interesting and curious, but there is access to very few of them in this country.

The first English translation was made and published by Captain Henry Bell, in London, 1652, fol. The history of this book is singular, and those who are interested in bibliographical curiosities, may see it in the original preface, or, if they have no access to it, they will find it in the Introduction to Hazlitt's edition, Philadelphia, 1868.

Captain Bell informs us that he was employed on the continent of Europe in "State affairs divers," and there became acquainted with a gentleman in 1626, who on digging deep into the ground upon the foundation of an old house upon which he was building a new dwelling, found, "lying in a deep obscure hole, being wrapped in a strong linen cloth, which was waxed all over with beeswax," a copy of Luther's Last Divine Discourses. The emperor Rudolph, at the instigation of Pope Gregory XIII., had issued an edict that all copies of this book

should be burned. This copy was concealed and afterwards thus fortunately brought to light. The discoverer of the lost treasure knowing that Captain Bell "had the High Dutch tongue very perfect," sent it to him in England and begged him to translate it into English.

The Captain tells us "that many times he began to translate the same," but that his other engagements interfered, until he was admonished in a vision to prosecute the work, all of which he relates very particularly. He was then cast into prison because, as Hazlitt says, he too severely pressed Lord Chancellor for arrears of pay. He was "kept ten whole years prisoner," five of which he spent in translating this book. Archbishop Laud sent for it and did not return it for two years and then only upon threat of a complaint to Parliament. His Grace however mollified the feelings of the Captain by a present of fifty livres in gold.

The House of Commons having heard of this translation, sent for the Captain. They appointed a committee to examine the work and also submitted it to the inspection of a German clergyman of the church of England, who reported favorably, and on Feb. 24, 1646, just a hundred years after Luther's death, the House of Commons did give the order for the printing thereof."

The full title of the book is,

CAPTAIN HENRY BELL'S NARRATIVE ;

Or, Relation of the miraculous preserving of Dr. Martin Luther's book, entitled 'Colloquia Mensalia,' or his Divine Discourses at his Table, held with divers learned Men and pious Divines ; such as Philip Melanchthon, Caspar Cruciger, Justus Jonas, Vitus Dietrich, John Bugenhagen, John Forster, &c. ; containing Divers Discourses touching Religion and other main Points of Doctrine ; as also many notable Histories, and all sorts of Learning, Comforts, Advices, Prophecies, Admonitions, Directions and Instructions. London, 1652, fol.

Fabricius says that it differs from the German in not a few things (*in non paucis*), so that Møeller, in a dissertation upon the subject, is faint in his praise of it and "annotated it in many

places." Theodore Crusius doubts the vision by which Captain Bell was incited to prosecute the version.

W. Hazlitt's English edition which is republished in this country by the Lutheran Board of Publication, 8vo., 1868, gives "not merely the contents of Aurifaber's collection, but large additions from various other editors. The chapters, in particular of Antichrist, of the Devil and his works, and of the Turks (which Michelet specifies as peculiarly interesting) have all been materially enlarged in this way." Hazlitt's ample index deserves special commendation.

This Table Talk of Luther has been a fruitful source of Romish calumnies against him. Nearly every one of his opponents since the publication of the book, has liberally availed himself of extracts from it to besmirch the name of the illustrious reformer. Now, it is admitted by his most ardent admirers that it contains some expressions and sentiments which had better been omitted, but before they can be employed against Luther, his enemies must first prove that these offensive parts really proceeded from his lips. The bare fact of their occurrence in the book does not show that he uttered them, as has been demonstrated in this article. Many objectionable sayings were attributed to him which were not his, and as Aurifaber's first edition (1566) was not printed until twenty years after Luther's death (1546), we may well conceive what diligence was employed to gather up everything afloat in the community that would add piquancy to the book, or swell its pages to the desired voluminous extent.

ARTICLE II.

GOD'S SOVEREIGNTY.

By Rev. L. A. Fox, A. M., Waynesboro', Va.

God's sovereignty and human responsibility are opposite truths, belonging to the sphere of speculative theology. Many efforts have been made to reconcile them, and there have been many failures. One or the other of two methods has generally been employed in theodicies. One, like that of Leibnitz, exalts God's agency to the destruction of human responsibility and the denial of moral evil. The other, like that of Bledsoe, exalts the sphere of human ability and liberty to the virtual denial of God's sovereignty. So numerous have been the unsuccessful attempts that many great theologians have concluded that in our present condition they are irreconcilable, and the language of Pollok expresses a very common opinion among educated people :

"Where'er the eye could turn, whatever tract
Of moral thought it took, by reason's torch,
Or Scriptures led, before it still this mount
Sprung up, imperious, insurmountable,
Above the human stature rising far ;
Horizon of the mind, surrounding still
The vision of the soul with clouds and gloom."

Faith may, and does hold these as both true, even when it cannot explain, but the spirit which prompted Anselm's effort to demonstrate truths that he never doubted lives still, and even Christians seek for a clearer understanding. Reflecting, or seriously thoughtful minds without the treasure of faith will not rest satisfied with the indeterminate position of many Christians, but struggle after conclusions concerning both that are reconcilable. The more sober part of the unchristian world will not stop with the declaration of theologians that they cannot be harmonized. The tendency of thought with this class

is toward the denial of God's sovereignty. A new study of the subject will assist in correcting that tendency.

If the seeming antagonism between these two truths has never been removed, it only proves, at most, that their reconciliation is not probable; it does not prove that it is impossible. Because the key to the harmony has not been found, it does not necessarily follow that it cannot be. The two propositions, that God is sovereign and that man is free, are not contradictory. Outside of a pantheistic school no one would attempt to maintain that both are false. They are not contraries. If there is no human responsibility God must be sovereign, whether He is a person or a mere force; but if God is sovereign it does not follow that man is not accountable, and therefore not free. We cannot deny human responsibility without denying human liberty, but we cannot deny human liberty without contradicting one of the best established facts of ethics, without denying one of the facts of common consciousness. All men are conscious of sin to some extent, but sin to any extent implies accountability. These are the rocks upon which every necessitarian scheme must split. But, admitting human responsibility, we are forced to admit the existence of some government to which we are responsible. Moral responsibility implies a moral order as much as civil responsibility a civil order. Our moral nature manifesting itself through conscience, is an unmeaning fact without a divine government to which we are responsible. We cannot hold these truths, then, either as both false or as one false and the other true. Both must be accepted. All truth is in harmony, and these truths are not essentially contradictory. We may fail to reconcile two truths when one or both lie in whole or in part, beyond the limits of our knowledge. We may also fail when one or both have been confusedly or falsely conceived. If the difficulty in the reconciliation of these two truths may be found in the last cause, as is not improbable, the further study of God's sovereignty even for practical rather than speculative purposes, may contribute a little to the removal of that seeming antagonism.

God's sovereignty is a chapter that belongs to Theistic theology. Theistic theologians are entitled to their own language,

and this expression, introduced by them, assumes that God is a person, and is neither withdrawn from nor absorbed by the world. As used by them it means that God is an intelligent and free Spirit, having purposes deliberately formed, employing selected means and exercising an independent dominion over the universe. This is held in opposition to the Fate of the heathen Stoic which bound the gods as well as men. It is held in opposition to the god of materialism whom Herbert Spencer calls Force. It is held in opposition to Pantheism whose God is identified with the world, alternately All and Nothing, Substance and Thought, but never a Person. It is held in opposition to Deism, whose God having created the world either bound Himself by His own laws, selling Himself a slave to His own work, or withdrew from all care of the world. If the Theistic view is true, these are all necessarily false, and those who reject that view of God have no right to use this theistic language.

It has a place in theology based upon revelation that is not given it in any philosophy, heathen or Christian, though it is not peculiar to it. The idea cannot be ranked among the primary ones, as the idea of God cannot, but it takes rank immediately after them. It has, therefore, a history. Religion is the acknowledgment of a divine government, and wherever there has been a worship there has been some idea of God's sovereignty. The almost universal prevalence of worship proves the almost universal existence of the idea. Polytheism was a confession of the reign of many gods, but beyond the public religion we find the idea of one Supreme Being manifesting itself not only in the Platonic philosophy but also in the common language of every day, a fact that led Tertullian to appeal to the *testimonium animæ naturaliter Christianæ*. Varro, quoted by Neander, believed in a Mind governing the world: *Anima motu ac ratione mundum gubernans*. A Christian may adopt the sentiment of the lines which Augustine in his City of God ascribes to Annæus Seneca:

"Father supreme, Thou ruler of the lofty heavens,
Lead me where'er it is Thy pleasure ; I will give
A prompt obedience, making no delay,

Lo here I am. Promptly I come to do Thy sovereign will.
If Thy command shall thwart my inclination, I will still
Follow Thee groaning, and the work assigned,
With all the suffering of a mind repugnant,
Will perform, being evil ; which had I been good,
I should have undertaken and performed, though hard,
With virtuous cheerfulness.
The Fates do lead the man that follows willingly ;
But the man that is unwilling, him they drag."

There were many causes which prevented this idea from exerting a controlling influence over the heathen mind, and it was not only obscured but often positively rejected, as even by Cicero when attempting to refute the Stoics. We need not expect to find it clearly grasped except by those taught through revelation. It seems to have been beyond the common minds of antiquity to obtain a definite conception of it, for though plainly and repeatedly asserted in his Sacred Scriptures, the ordinary Jew never rose above the idea that God was sovereign only over his own country. Christianity gave breadth and depth of thought, and making popular the profound principles of the schools, setting them forth with divine authority, this truth along with many others obtained a greater currency and new force. The Apostles found it necessary to make it prominent in order to break down the Jewish bigotry, and they often announced that God is God of the Gentile as well as Jew. The Apostolic Fathers kept it prominent in combatting the heathen ideas of fate and the world. Among the very first doctrines more clearly defined were those of creation and the attributes of God, and in these they had the material for constructing a clearly defined doctrine concerning His sovereignty. They did very frequently discuss the subject of the divine government, but with more direct reference to providence. The truth in this, as in many other subjects, lay in the Christian consciousness and expressed itself in various ways, but it did not have a clear outline. The Alexandrians were too much afraid of anthropopathism to become definite in their opinion even of God's justice. We may form a general estimate of this doctrine as held during the first four centuries from two prominent writers. Arnobius, of the fourth century, said in reply to the

heathen, "Why should God rule over the pleasant, and not over gourds, turnips, cunila, cresses, figs, beets, and cabbage? Why should bones alone receive protection and not nails, hair and other things placed in less conspicuous parts of the body?" The true meaning of this is understood when we have the fact that he did not admit that God had created the lower animals. Jerome in the beginning of the fifth century said, "We know from the word of God that the providence of God extends to individuals among men, and to the general arrangement and disposition of classes among animals, but it is absurd to refer to the majesty of God a knowledge in every moment of the number of gnats that are brought forth, and of the number that perish, of bugs, fleas, and flies upon the earth, and of the fish swimming in the sea, and [the number] of which among the smaller that ought to become the prey of the larger. We are not such foolish adulators of God that, while trying to magnify His power in ascribing a care for the lowest, we become unfaithful to ourselves by saying, that there is the same providence for irrational as for rational beings." With well defined ideas of God's sovereignty generally prevalent such men would not have written such sentiments. With Augustine commenced a new period in the history of this doctrine, as well as in those of sin and grace. His nine years' novitiate among the Manicheans made him, after his return to the Church, their special opponent. Controverting the doctrine of Dualism gave him his profounder and clearer view of God as supreme ruler, and upon this subject he writes with a vigor, decision and consistency not always found in his works. His influence is seen in all succeeding theology, as may be seen, for instance, in Gregory the Great, called the last of the Church Fathers, who gave it a more practical turn: "In proportion to the incomprehensibility of the divine judgments should be our humility." *Quanto obscuritale nequeunt conspici, tanto debent humilitate.* (Given by Neander). The Schoolmen assumed this doctrine as one incontrovertibly true, and by it proved and explained the divine attributes. Abelard argued that as nothing could exist without the preserving agency of God, so God must exist and act everywhere. So Aquinas reasoned: "God, giving being and

power and activity to those things which fill all places, must Himself be everywhere." So settled was this conviction of God's sovereignty over all being, that, after Augustine, evil was regarded as a negation of being. In this form the doctrine passed over to the Reformers. They were all Augustinians. All of them entertained very high views of God's sovereign dominion, and at first all believed in the doctrine of unconditional election. At the Marburg conference Zwingli preached. Met for the purpose of harmony, he very naturally sought for the pulpit a subject upon which there was no dispute. He selected that of Providence, treating it as a sovereign rule over all. Luther thought the preacher used too much Hebrew and Greek for a popular discourse, but found no fault with the subject matter. Calvin carried it further than any of them. He made it, what justification by faith was to Luther, the corner-stone of his theology. It was the starting point of all his thinking and the rule by which to test every theological system. In its influence upon his religious experience it overshadowed every other truth and gave his character a kind of cold rigidity, and his system of doctrines a frigid intellectuality. Modified as that system has been, we see the same sort of coldness, resembling somewhat stoicism, in all strictly Calvinistic churches. In New England, largely through the influence of Samuel Hopkins, it was carried to the remorseless extent of demanding from the Christian a joyful acquiescence in his own damnation, if God required it for the good of others—an opinion which President Dwight, with many expressions of regard for those who supported it, found necessary to controvert at the conclusion of his discourse on resignation. In Calvinistic systems it has held a more prominent position than in the Lutheran. A number of Calvinistic theologians give it a separate *locus*, while Lutherans with very few, if any, exceptions, treat it in connection with the subject of the divine decrees and election, and give it a separate place only in the sphere of providence. In this they may have been driven by the one-sided view of Calvinism too far towards the other side.

In systematic theology, where this subject is treated separ-

ately, its place is not at the end of the chapter on the Divine Attributes, the one commonly assigned it, but next after Creation. It presupposes the existence of God as a personal being, of infinite perfections, and as the Creator of all things. It is only in the light of these facts that it can be clearly proven or understood. Assuming these as fully established truths we proceed to consider

I. GOD'S SOVEREIGNTY AS A FACT.

There are two methods of proof. The *first* is Scriptural. It is constantly implied in the history, doctrines, laws, promises and indeed in every subject treated in the Bible. The Scriptures claim to be the revelation of the will and word of the Supreme Ruler of the Universe. They teach this truth directly when they call Him the only Lord besides whom there is no God. They repeatedly assert that He is a great King, that His throne is in the heavens, and that His kingdom ruleth over all. The truth that "The Lord God Omnipotent reigneth" is found in some form upon every page of the inspired Word.

It is proved *secondly* by the testimony of nature. It follows necessarily from the fact of creation. Augustine was perhaps the first to distinctly announce the principle that God's continual support is necessary to the continued existence of the world. It has been denied by some, but from the time of its first announcement it has been accepted by the very large majority of the profoundest thinkers. It is a short argument drawn from nature by this principle, and may be easily thrown into a syllogistic form. That which has not the ground of existence in itself must be sustained by some power beyond it. Nothing is self-existent which commences to be. Therefore, the world, being created, must be upheld by some power above it. That power is God, for only the power which creates can preserve from annihilation. The continued existence of the world is proof that God exercises sovereignty over it so far at least as to uphold it.

This same argument may be presented in another form by making more prominent the contingency of the world. The argument, known as the cosmological, to prove the existence of

God involves His sovereignty. Everything is dependent and changeful. The plant and animals without any power to resist their fate, having filled out their brief periods, pass away. The adamantine rocks at length decay. We are painfully conscious of the fact that when the summons comes for us to die we must obey. But notwithstanding all this dependence and mutability the world stands, and through antagonisms and changes it has maintained a steady progress. There must be, therefore, a general sovereignty over the world. The materialist, however, escapes this conclusion by supposing that matter is eternal; that a blind force, excited no one knows how, began to form that matter according to laws, no one can tell whence; that for once an effect rose above its cause, and an unintelligent power wrought the wonders of supreme wisdom, and at last by a fortunate stroke it awoke a mind so far above itself that it can conceive and plan purposes, and attribute, though falsely, final causes to that force which formed the world. This is the way of escape from the conviction, forced upon us by a study of the world as a creation, that God is sovereign over His work. It may be a profound philosophy, but it strikes common minds as absurd, and reminds one of the lines of Horner :

“Let’s weigh the wisdom of reputed fools
Against the follies of the wise,
’Twill take the shrewdest doctor of the schools
To tell which way the balance lies.”

The difficulties of this subject do not lie in the fact of a sovereignty but in

II. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF GOD’S SOVEREIGNTY.

I. It is absolute. This is the term generally used and is therefore retained, but in what sense will hereafter appear. The Scriptures testify to a sovereignty in some sense absolute. “I know that the Lord is great, and that our Lord is above all gods. Whatsoever the Lord pleased, that did He in heaven and in earth, in the seas and all deep places,” Ps. 135 : 5, 6. “Thine, O Lord, is the greatness, and the power, and the glory, and the victory, and the majesty; for all that is in the heaven and in the earth is Thine; Thine is the kingdom, O Lord, and

Thou art exalted as head above all," 1 Chron. 29 : 11. "For Thou, Lord, art high above all the earth, Thou art exalted far above all gods," Ps. 97 : 9. "Our God is in the heavens and He hath done whatsoever He hath pleased," Ps. 115 : 3. "I blessed the Most High, and I praised and honored Him that liveth forever, whose dominion is an everlasting dominion, and His kingdom is from generation to generation : and all the inhabitants of the earth are reputed as nothing : and He doeth according to His own will in the army of heaven and among the inhabitants of earth and none can stay his hand, or say unto Him, 'What doest Thou?' " Dan. 4 : 34, 35. "But the Lord is the true God, He is the living God, and an everlasting King : at His wrath the earth shall tremble, and the nations shall not be able to abide His indignation," Jer. 10 : 10. "I will work, and who shall hinder it," Isaiah 43 : 13. "Behold He taketh away, who can hinder Him? who will say unto Him, 'What doest Thou?'" Job 9 : 12. "Woe unto him that striveth with his Maker! Let the potsherd strive with the potsherds of the earth. Shall the clay say to him that fashioneth it, 'what makest thou?' or Thy works, 'He hath no hands?'" Isaiah 45 : 9. "Then the word of the Lord came unto me, saying, 'O house of Israel, cannot I do with you as this potter? Behold, as the clay is in the potter's hands, so are ye in My hand, O house of Israel,'" Jer. 18 : 5, 6. "Nay but, O man, who art thou that repliest against God? Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, 'Why hast thou made me thus?' Hath not the potter power over the clay of the same lump to make one vessel unto honor and another unto dishonor?" Rom. 9 : 20, 21. "Who worketh all things after the counsel of His own will," Eph. 1 : 11. "Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with mine own?" Mat. 20 : 15.

If we take these passages together, gathered from various parts of the Bible, on the one hand, we may draw from them an idea of absoluteness not warranted by the contexts, but we cannot on the other, deny that the Scriptures teach that God has the power, and has exercised the rights of an absolute sovereignty.

The creation gave Him an unlimited power over creatures.

No being can manifest a tendency to the surprise of God. He brought the things that are out of nothing, and they have no other capacities than those He gave them. He understands perfectly every possibility in them. If He were the fashioner only of material already existing, there would be a limitation of His power over it, and there might be developments for which He was not prepared, but as He is the author of the very material out of which He built the worlds, no such supposition is for a moment entertainable. Then, He has the reserved power of annihilation. If anything proves too stubborn for management He can destroy it. There can be no question as to the most unlimited sovereignty over the world, if God chooses to exercise it.

If we think only of this absolute power, there is something very fearful in the idea of God's sovereignty. If the Scriptural doctrine of that sovereignty is that of absolute power, then it is an exceedingly grim, and, we cannot disguise it from ourselves, a horrible one, as Calvin said of certain decrees. If this be the truth, we can only shut our eyes and hide our faces and await the blows whatever they may be. The old Stoic was, in that case, the wisest of philosophers, and when he bared his back to the strokes of fate, with proverbial apathy, he had reached the highest attainable virtue. But, the Scriptures do not teach an absolutely unlimited sovereignty.

a.) God is not the sole agent. This proposition is not denied by any except the materialist, who knows no God but the forces of matter, and the pantheist, who identifies God with nature. All theists agree that God has given to matter certain activities and to mind conscious self-movement. This concession is weakened, on the one hand, by making, as some do, the laws of nature to be simply the uniform modes of the operation of God's power in the sphere of matter, and, on the other, by making, as extreme Calvinists logically do, man a mere tool in the hands of God. The Scriptures teach a power over men's minds. "The king's heart is in the hands of the Lord as the rivers of water; He turneth it whithersoever He will," Prov. 21 : 1. But they recognize also the self-action of men. "How often would I but ye would not,"

Mat. 23 : 37. It is assumed in every command, promise and threatening in the Bible. The Scriptures are the richest field for proof and illustration of the fact that men have the power of going against God's will. God would be a strange being if He turned men's hearts to do those things he hates. There is nothing of which we are more fully conscious than that we have and exercise continually a power to think and will, that we are not mere organs through which higher powers operate, but that we have a constitutional self-activity. It is this that fills us with sorrow when we do wrong and self-complacency when we do right. If we make God the all-moving agent of the world, then we must hold that either there is no such thing as sin or that he alone is responsible. When He gave existence to rational agents capable of doing wrong, He set a limit to His own power. Those passages of Scripture which teach a controlling power over men's minds must be understood in harmony with the general scriptural doctrine and the testimony of our own consciousness. God's sovereignty is not absolute in the sense that His is the sole agency. He rules each thing according to its own nature, matter as matter and mind as mind.

b.) His power is limited by the attributes which are often called moral. God is holy, wise, just and good as well as omnipotent. It is not said that He is power, but "God is love." His power is directed in its exertion by these attributes. He can do everything that He wills, but He cannot will to contradict Himself. The Scriptures say that it is impossible for Him to lie, and we may say with equal truth that He cannot do anything unjust or cruel. When we are told that He acts according to His will we are not to think of that will as caprice. He is not a whimsical monarch, the sport of varying feelings, but a perfect being who has His holy, wise and good purposes and has chosen His means in holiness, wisdom, justice and love. "Shall not the judge of all the earth do right?" The Scriptures presuppose this perfection of character whenever they say that He works all things after the counsel of His will. It is the capriciousness of human wills that gives us the same impression concerning all wills, but after reflection it is not absolute monarchy in itself

that makes us shudder, but the unlimited, unregulated power of weak and imperfect beings.

There is no dispute concerning this limitation of His power by His own nature when the subject is taken alone, but that which was granted is often forgotten when considering the decrees of God or election. In more than one discussion all the attributes are reduced to power. The sum of the argument is this: "God made us as well as the worm. The worm dares not find fault with Him for making it what it is. He had the right and power to make us to suffer eternally. If some are created for the purpose of being the vessels of wrath, they have no more right to reply to God than the worm." But in this argument power and right are confounded. God has not the right to do everything for which He has the power. He has the power to violate a solemn obligation, but He has no right to do it. The argument, furthermore, deals with mere possibilities, not with facts. If He might have made us to suffer torture all our life, He did not. If He might have left us heathen, as He has some of our race, He did not. If He might have made some of us simply for eternal misery, there is no proof that He did. We are not called to consider what might have been, but facts as they are. The fundamental assumption in this whole class of reasoning, no matter what the steps by which it proceeds, is, that God is such an absolute sovereign that He is above all law, and, therefore, no matter what He might do, it would be equally right. But we are not so constituted as to think certain things right even if done by the Almighty. If He were to violate a pledge, or misrepresent a fact, we could not, with our present constitution, but regard it as falsehood. If He were to call black white, we must think it black still, and if He were to call good evil, we must hold it as good still. God gave us this constitution, and we know that He would have us think of Him in this way. A thing is not just simply because God does it, but He is just and, therefore, whatever He does is just. A thing is not true simply because God says it, but He is truth, and, therefore, whatever He says is true. It has been said, and sometimes with a lurking sneer, that this would imply an established order outside of and independent of God. The contrary

is for this reason assumed and sometimes openly maintained. God's will is made the ultimate principle of right, and everything would be equally right which God might arbitrarily will. But if this is true there are no such things as eternal principles of right and wrong; nor is God holy, but is so far above all relations that He is in a state of moral indifference and has formed us to think of things as right and wrong which in reality are neither one nor the other. While denying an order independent of God, or some sort of law outside of Himself, we may be at some loss in determining the ultimate principles of ethics, but we must not overthrow all holiness by placing them in an abstract will. The Scriptures everywhere speak of God as holy and of His will as determined in its actions by the holiness of His nature. Holiness and truth are most closely connected. A holy deed is a truth carried into action. A holy life is truth exemplified. A holy character is regulated by truth. But it does not belong to will to create a truth. His will brought into existence empirical facts, but we cannot conceive of the will of God as creating the eternal principles of truth. If God's will is the foundation of moral truth, it is conceivable that He might have reversed the order and laws of morality, and then what we hold as right now would have been wrong, and our wrong would have been right. We can no more think this than we can that there may be an effect without a cause, or that things equal to the same thing may not be equal to each other. If these views of God's character are only regulative, they are such as are imposed upon us by our nature, and they are for us the highest truth. If any one desires to get beyond, that he may enjoy alone the cold, barren region of skepticism—we have no disposition to follow him. God's will is for us the highest law, we want no other authority for the correctness and duty of an act than that God desires it; but this unreserved submission to His will rests upon the fact that God's nature is holy, and therefore whatever He wills is right. We must not so exalt His sovereignty as to destroy the idea of His holiness.

c.) His power is limited by the rights of His creatures. It has been denied that a creature has rights. Assuredly it has no others than those with which it has been invested by its Crea-

tor. But God has given to some persons at least certain claims upon Himself, and therefore, to the extent of the claims, certain rights. When He has made a promise, He certainly has given those to whom He has made it a right to expect its fulfilment, and should He fail, while all the conditions remain intact, they would have a right to charge Him with bad faith. If He does not bind Himself by His promises and thus limit Himself, there is no force in them. He has not only made promises, but confirmed them with oaths, thus binding Himself more firmly and giving a stronger claim upon Him. He has the power to refuse to meet these engagements, but not the right. He has limited Himself, then, by conferring certain rights upon His creatures. It is not an unscriptural representation, nor such a daring assertion as first strikes one, to say that the creature may have rights which God respects.

His promises do not put Him under any new obligation. He was as much bound to do these things before He promised as He is afterwards. The things promised are good and holy, and as such His own nature requires them, and even if He had never promised, He would have been under obligation to do them. His own acts in bringing such beings into existence had placed Him under the obligations. The obligation is primarily to His own nature, but embraces the condition of the creature, and so far as the result is concerned, it is the same as if directly under obligation to the creature. He limits Himself by His acts as fully as by His words, for His promises are the recognition of obligations already existing. Certain rights belong to rational creatures by virtue of their constitution, and it is because of these natural rights that He put Himself under verbal obligations.

If creatures have no rights whatever, then God cannot be just toward them. Justice "is rendering to every one his due rights, or desert." If creatures have no rights, justice in God pertains simply to the intercourse of the persons of the Trinity and in no way concerns us; the repeated declarations of the Scriptures concerning the justice of God are supererogatory and really deceive us in leading us to expect to receive justice from God when in

fact there can, in the very nature of the case, be none ; and justice, so far as we have any interest in it, is remanded to our association with men. Personality involves rights. Brutes have no rights because they are not persons. When God made us persons He gave rights, and when He treats us as persons He acknowledges these rights. When He inflicts punishment, it is upon us as persons, and not as things, and there is justice in it because we have rights. If we had no rights, God could not be said to be just in punishment, but He would use His power to impose suffering, and our pains from His hands would be our misfortune, but not our punishment.

We may not be able to determine the extent of these rights, but rights certainly belong to us. We may, by sin, forfeit these rights, except that of being punished. Many of our rights, by virtue of our original constitution, have already been lost. As sensitive beings, capable of rational pleasure, we had the right at our creation to expect the means of gratifying this nature. As intelligent beings, capable of knowing truth, we had the right to expect truth at His hands. As moral beings, capable of appreciating justice, we had the right to expect to receive justice from Him. Wherever He gave a capacity, there He gave a right to look for the means of meeting it. These rights were not all forfeited by the fall of Adam. Man, the sinner, has the right to expect truth and justice from God. The redemption reinstated him in some of these forfeited rights, until he loses them again by willful rejection or sinful neglect.

God has always respected these rights. He takes pains to explain many of His actions that might appear unjust, leaving only enough unexplained to exercise our faith. We may not understand always how His providential dealings are wise and just and good, but we never can say of any act, "This is certainly unjust ;" and if we carefully consider all of the accessible circumstances, we can always find probable reasons by which to explain the justice. There is no one who can say of any providential event in his own life, that it was in disregard of his rights. It was a regard for the rights of His creatures that opened the door for sin. He had the absolute power to prevent, but He could not without trampling upon the rights of free-

agents to act according to the motives lying within their sphere, and rather than interfere with those rights He endures sin in His kingdom, hateful as it is to Him.

Now, we can understand those declarations of the Scriptures employing the figure of the potter. The potter has power and the right to fashion the clay into vessels of honor and dishonor, because the clay is senseless matter and can have no rights. If he had power to make it sensitive, he would not have the right to give it feeling and torture it simply to witness its miseries. His right over it would be limited by the nature given it. A father has no right to sell, or kill, or maim, or abuse a child. Isaiah in using this illustration says, "Now, O Lord, Thou art our Father; we are the clay, and Thou our potter." God did not intend that we should draw from this figure any inference inconsistent with His justice and love. To say that He could have made us, much more that He did make us, to suffer eternally, is derogatory to His perfect character. God is our Father, as well as our potter, and not a cruel monarch, like Moloch was supposed to be, delighting in the miseries of creatures for which he had formed them.

God's sovereignty is, therefore, absolute but not in the sense of absolutely unlimited power. It is absolute because He has a purpose and nothing can prevent the accomplishment of it. The limitations are self-imposed and those fully understood in establishing the kingdom. There are no limits except those He freely wills. If John VIII. had given at Runnymede Magna Charta spontaneously it would have been no curtailment of his power. So when God of His own free choice gave existence to beings whose very natures involve rights, it was not a boundary set to the sovereignty which He desired to exercise. It is absolute, because it is all He intended it to be.

2. It is universal. It includes all things, visible, and invisible, in heaven and in earth, small and great, matter and spirit.

The Scriptures teach this in general language. "He doeth according to His will in the army of heaven and among the inhabitants of earth," Dan. 4 : 35. "Thou, even Thou, art Lord alone : Thou hast made heaven, the heaven of heavens with all their hosts, the earth and all things that are therein, the seas,

and all that is therein and Thou preservest them all ; and the host of heaven worshipeth Thee," Neh. 9 : 6. "Whatsoever the Lord pleased, that did He in heaven and in earth, in the seas and all deep places," Ps. 135 : 6. "All that is in the heavens and in the earth is Thine. Thine is the kingdom and Thou art exalted as head above all," 1 Chron. 29 : 11. "He maketh wars to cease unto the end of the earth ; He breaketh the bow, and cutteth the spear in sunder ; He burneth the chariot in fire. Be still and know that I am God," Ps. 46 : 9, 10. "God is King of all the earth," Ps. 47 : 7. "He maketh lightnings with rain and bringeth forth the wind out of his treasures," Jer. 10 : 13.

This universality may be seen from the fact of creation. He constituted everything what it is and gave it its properties and assigned it its place in the universe. If He ceased to uphold anything and thus keep it in its original purpose, it would cease to exist. If there is a sovereignty at all it must be universal. "He upholdeth," and therefore governs "all things by the word of His power," Heb. 1 : 3.

It embraces matter. Its chemical affinities and properties and all its operations are what He intended. The upheaval of mountains and depression of valleys, the changes of coast lines, climatic variations, and the countless mutations that have taken place in the history of the world and are still going on are directed by Him. There is not an atom lost to view or fails to do its work. Earthquakes, tempests and pestilences, as well as the shining of the sun and the falling of the rain, are all represented in the Scriptures as under His direct control.

It embraces the vegetable world. "If God so clothe the grass of the field which to-day is and to-morrow is cast into the oven," &c., Mat. 6 : 30. "Nevertheless He left Himself not without a witness in that He did good and gave us rain from heaven and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness," Act. 14 : 17.

It embraces the animal world. "Behold the fowls of the air : for they sow not, neither do they reap nor gather into barns yet your heavenly Father feedeth them," Mat. 6 : 26. "These wait all upon Thee that Thou mayest give them their meat in due season. That Thou givest them they gather : Thou open-

est Thine hand and they are filled with good. Thou hidest Thy face, they are troubled: Thou takest away their breath, they die and return to their dust. Thou sendest forth Thy spirit, they are created; and Thou renewedst the face of the earth," Ps. 104 : 27-30. This is not a mere general providence and government of classes, but it extends to individuals. "Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and one of them shall not fall to the ground without your Father," Mat. 10 : 29.

It embraces men, as gathered into nations. "The Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever He will," Dan. 4 : 25. "All nations whom Thou hast made shall come and worship before Thee," Ps. 86 : 9. "He removeth kings and setteth up kings," Dan. 2 : 21. "This is the purpose that is purposed upon the whole earth; and this is the hand that is stretched out upon all the nations. For the Lord of host hath purposed and who shall disannul it?" Is. 14 : 26. He appointed kings not only for the Hebrews but for the Heathen. He raised up Pharaoh. He "annointed" Cyrus. He fitted Alexander for his conquests. Every king that has occupied a throne has been under God's direction. Without this fact history is a riddle, but with it we can trace the regular progress through the rise and fall of nations, over battlefields, and through periods of great darkness like that of Middle Ages. Despite the innate tendency through depravity to barbarism, the debasing effect of wars, the demoralizing influence of luxury and the antagonisms in the world, the star of civilization has never gone backward. Despite the cry raised in every age that the world is growing worse, it has been slowly getting better. Individuals, selfishly seeking their own ends, bear their tribute to the general good, and out of all this conflict there is general advancement. The hand of God in these things is unmistakable.

It embraces men as individuals. "My times are in Thy hands," Ps. 31 : 15. "A man's heart deviseth his way; but the Lord directeth his steps," Prov. 16 : 9. "The steps of a good man are ordered by the Lord, and He delighteth in his way. Though he fall he shall not be utterly cast down, for the Lord upholdeth him with His hand," Ps. 37 : 23, 24. If not one

sparrow falls without God's permission much more are the lives of individual men under His direction. "The very hairs of your head are all numbered," Mat. 10 : 30. "God is judge : He putteth down one and setteth up another," Ps. 75 : 7. "I girded thee though thou hast not known Me," Is. 45 : 5.

These Scriptural citations might easily be multiplied. This sovereignty over individuals is implied in the whole of religion. The gospel is addressed to individuals. The Sacraments are the Gospel applied to individuals. The truth must be individually appropriated. At last every man must "give an account of himself to God." This individuality is implied also in conscience. In the present stage of science, at least, an argument may be drawn from the proportion of the sexes. There is no known natural law determining the sex of the foetus, yet in every age there is a proper division. So far as we know there is a direct intervention in every instance of conception that determines the whole future of the new being. It may be made probable, also, in the appearance of men properly endowed in every period. Men with great endowments are ready for great exigencies, men adapted to the work to be done, while men with common capacities and various tastes are never wanting to carry forward the ordinary work of society.

To this universality of God's sovereignty the will seems to be an exception. Admitting a providence at all we must admit some control over the will. God gave the mental powers and determined the circumstances of our birth and location. Many of the things which influence the will are in His hands. God gave man at first a holy nature, and that had a controlling power over his will. He gives new hearts in regeneration, and this governs the will. The Scriptures teach that God has such power. "The king's heart is in the hand of the Lord as the rivers of waters : He turneth it whithersoever He will," Prov. 21 : 1. "The preparations of the heart in man and the answer of the tongue is from the Lord," Prov. 16 : 1. This power is implied in every prayer to cleanse, renew, or sanctify the heart. It is implied in all those passages which teach salvation by grace. The will must, therefore, to some extent be embraced in the sovereignty of God.

It is not necessary to that sovereignty that it have the finally determining power in the acts of the will. If this were true, the creature's will would be no more than the organ of the divine will. It would be a higher, but as completely the bare instrument in the hand of God as matter. He gave to the mind the power of self-activity. God no more wills in our willing than He thinks in our thinking. We are conscious, in every movement of the will, that the act is our own, and if consciousness deludes us in this we cannot trust it in anything. When we sin we know that God does not move us thereto, and if He did, we know that we would not be personally guilty. When we become Christians we know that we have the power to resist His grace. If it be necessary to the idea of the universality of God's sovereignty to hold that He has an absolutely unlimited control of our wills, then we must give up that idea. But there is no such necessity, and those scripture passages asserting the divine power over the heart may be interpreted in harmony with these facts.

He maintains a sovereignty over the freest acts of the will in this, that He holds the creature accountable for them, and, if sinful, punishes him for them. A monarch is a ruler, though some violate his laws, as long as he has power to punish disobedience. God knows every act of the will and has power to govern the execution of the purpose without interfering with the will itself. As long as a thought or a purpose remains in the mind it affects God's kingdom only so far as it exists in the individual. If sinful, it destroys the harmony only between him and the King. The formation of these purposes is his own, and his relation to God is the same whether he executes them or not. The act following a purpose is in itself good or evil according to its results upon others, but it neither increases nor diminishes the guilt or virtue of him who formed the purpose. God has supreme direction of outward circumstances, and He can permit or prevent the acts, and, while leaving us personally free, can control us so far as our influence reaches other portions of His kingdom. God's sovereignty is the controlling of all to the accomplishment of His own ends. The acts of the freest wills cannot interfere with those ends, and if free agents refuse

to contribute by a willing service He compels them to do it by undergoing unwilling punishment. The wills of creatures are not, therefore, an exception to the universality of His sovereignty.

Moral evil appears to be another exception to this universality. But to universality it is necessary that it should embrace only all beings. Moral evil is not a being but an abnormal condition of being, or a quality of actions. It has no independent existence, and when by philosophical inconsistency we speak of evil principles anterior to the sin of any creature, we mean nothing more than that it was possible for him to place himself in opposition to God's will. Before any being fell moral evil was only an abstract possibility. In exercising sovereignty over those in whom sin exists, He has a sovereignty over it.

He maintains a sovereignty more directly over it in making it the means of good. "Surely the wrath of man shall praise Thee: the remainder of wrath will Thou restrain," Ps. 76 : 10. The Scriptures give many instances in which He brought good out of evil, and notably the wickedness of Joseph's brethren, and the crucifixion of our Lord. History affords many illustrations. Wars are evil, yet they have spread civilization. Ambition is sin, but the ambition of men like Alexander and Cæsar prepared the heathen world for the coming of Christ. Persecution is sin, yet it extended the Church. The Pope is "the man of sin, the son of perdition," yet the Papacy was of incalculable benefit to Europe in the Middle Ages. Moral evil is made to contribute to carrying forward God's great purposes, and it is not, therefore, an exception to the universality of His sovereignty.

3. It is immutable. The Scriptures thus testify: "The counsel of the Lord standeth forever; the thoughts of His heart to all generations," Ps. 33 : 11. "He is in one mind, and who can turn Him? and what His soul desireth even that He doeth," Job 23 : 13. "The Lord of hosts hath sworn, saying, 'Surely as I have thought so shall it come to pass; and as I have purposed so shall it stand.'" The Lord of hosts hath purposed and who shall disannul it? and His hand is stretched out and who

shall turn it back?" Is. 14 : 24, 27. "My counsel shall stand, and I will do all my pleasure : I have spoken, I will also bring it to pass ; I have purposed, I will also do it," Is. 46 : 10, 11.

It is not immutable to such a degree that it allows absolutely no changes. There have been changes of means. The rocks bear witness that many species of animals and plants have become extinct. They testify to the introduction of new species. The face of the earth has undergone great changes. Science does not say that new laws may not be introduced, nor that those now existing may not be annulled. It teaches us to believe that certain worlds have, most probably, been destroyed, and if this be true the laws that formed and maintained them were so changed as to bring about destruction. To what extent an Almighty Ruler may vary His means, we cannot tell. The known changes of the past would make us cautious to set limits.

But it is immutable in its ends. God is not "the son of man that He should repent." Those ends were chosen with infinite wisdom, and a change would be for the worse. The principles of His government are as inflexible as His will, which is without "the shadow of turning." They are founded upon His attributes, and are as indestructible as the nature of God. The characteristics of His sovereignty will change only when God does, but as long as He is perfect His rule will be wise, good, holy and just. Aside from the temporary means called into existence to serve the work at certain stages and then abandoned, like the scaffolding of a great temple, God's sovereignty will remain forever what it is now.

These views of its characteristics are illustrated and confirmed by considering,

III. GOD'S SOVEREIGNTY AS EXERCISED.

1. It was exercised in establishing the constitution of the world. We may consider that constitution

a.) In its *facts*. Whether we hold that God created organized beings and fitted up the world as the Church believes the Bible to represent, or that He created germs only from which the cosmos was developed, the conclusion as to His absolute sover-

eignty is the same. If He created the world as it now is, He made it what He desired, and if He created only germs, He gave them all these capacities, and in their development they became what He intended. A world differently constituted was possible. He might have made it one mass of iron, or a vast and barren rock, or one huge pile of gold. The materials of the sun and of the moon have properties in common with the earth, but in other respects they differ from it. Why He made the earth, or any world, as it is, can be best told by saying, God willed it. Among the objects of the world, some are sentient and others senseless; some, with sense, grope out a dark existence in a low grade of feeling, and others are full of life and glee, some fly through the balmy sky and others crawl among cold rocks or hide in the dark earth. We embrace the whole truth when we say, "God made all things as it hath pleased Him." Here is absolute sovereignty, but absoluteness exercised in wisdom and love. There is a correlation of all the parts, and everything, while it is perfectly adapted to its place in the general plan, is fitted to take in all the pleasure of which it can conceive. The insect has as perfect an organization for its mission as the bird for its, and if it has not the same measure of enjoyment it sustains no loss; for it has no conception of any degree above its own. "He hath made the earth by His power; He hath established the world by His wisdom and hath stretched out the heaven by His understanding." Though His sovereignty was absolute, there is not one class of beings that can with the least show of truth charge Him with injustice or cruelty in a single one of its original appointments.

We see here its universality. He gave to each thing its own peculiar nature." There is nothing out of place or wrongly constituted for its place. The animalcules bear marks of wisdom as well as the anatomy of men. Every member of organized beings shows adaptation to purpose. The only exceptions are some undeveloped ones in certain animals, but they are too inconsiderable to have any force against the otherwise universal fact, and even they may have a purpose which we do not yet understand. God's care is over all His works.

The history of the world, as gathered from the rocks and the

annals of men, shows the immutability of His sovereignty. There have been changes of means, but through all we trace one undeviating purpose. Before man appeared there was a steady development of a type of his physical nature. The history of the ancient world shows a system of grand preparations for the coming of Christ, and modern history points to some great event in the future. The ends and principles of God's government have never changed.

b. We may consider the world as regulated by *laws*. The materialist rests with these laws as ultimate, but reason demands that we believe that behind every law there must be a will. A law is only a rule for action and implies a purpose. It is absurd that this world, so full of wisdom, should be built up by blind forces. There was no absolute necessity, imposed by pre-existent material, that they should be what they are. If matter is not capable of doing the work of mind, if blind force cannot perform a work of wisdom above the power of the highest intelligence in the world, then beyond all these laws there is an intelligent Will, and they are what He determined. God made them what He willed. In this He exercised an absolute sovereignty, but one of wisdom and love. These laws are so adjusted to each other that the change of one from its general operation would necessitate the change of all or bring ruin. They show His love for they produce happiness, and misery results only from antagonizing them. His absolute power was exerted for the good of His creatures.

These laws extend to everything. Matter and mind show their presence and power. From the greatest bodies to the invisible elements, laws are in all things. This is an evidence of the universality of His sovereignty.

They show its immutability. From the very beginning these laws have been the same. They inexorably execute their own penalties. The deepest repentance does not release us from the consequences of broken laws. These laws stand aside for no one. Whoever is in harmony receives the good they bear, and he who violates must suffer.

This immutability of natural law has been turned into an argument against His sovereignty, and made the great objection

to miracles. God can suspend, or act above them, or even destroy them if He wills. There is nothing in science, or reason, or anywhere outside of a disordered imagination to warrant the assertion that He cannot. There is better ground for holding that He does not and will not act independently of them. There has been such uniformity and regularity through so long a period that a departure requires strong evidence to accredit it. This is the strength of Hume's argument. But uniformity, no matter if long continued, does not of itself prove an absolute necessity, and these laws having served their purpose may all be abolished. Many scientific men hold that some worlds have already been destroyed, and in these instances the laws that held them in existence were so changed that they were dissolved. God has not so enslaved Himself by these laws that He cannot act above them. Experience, Hume's own witness, may be summoned to testify that God has wrought miracles in the sense of having produced that which the laws of nature were not able to accomplish. New races of beings, and especially man, appear suddenly upon the records of geology having no traceable links with their predecessors. Science has its miracles as well as revelation. God shows His sovereignty by holding these laws in their general course, yet, when new stages arise in the development of His purpose, by acting above them. When they have served all their ends He may entirely abolish them, and yet, having the same grand aim, His sovereignty may be immutable.

2. It was exercised in the appointment of positive laws. The ceremonial laws of the Jews had no basis in nature. To those to whom they were first given, they seemed like mere arbitrary enactments. They were an exercise of absolute sovereignty, but, as we look back, we see both wisdom and love. The Sacraments of Christianity are of the same nature. In their elements and in their benefits we see very clearly the presence of will. He might have chosen others, or He might have attached less, or more blessings to their use. He shows us through them that "He is King in Zion," but in this choice we see nothing that throws the least suspicion upon His moral attributes.

3. It is exercised in directing the earthly destiny of men.

a.) God determines the life of individuals in its origin. Our birth was not an accident. The time, place, and circumstances were directed through natural laws, but under the immediate supervision of God. "Thine hands have made me and fashioned me together round about. Remember, I beseech Thee, that Thou hast clothed me with skin and flesh and hast fenced me with bones and sinews," Job 10 : 8, 9, 11. "Thou hast covered me in my mother's womb. I will praise Thee, for I am fearfully and wonderfully made. My substance was not hid from Thee when I was made in secret. Thine eyes did see my substance yet being unperfect; and in Thy book all my members were written which in continuance were fashioned when as yet there was none of them," Ps. 139 : 13-16.

He manifests His sovereignty in determining the sex and in bestowing constitutional gifts. Whether the creationist or traducianist be correct, there are facts that prove both the presence of means and direct divine intervention. Many mental traits are inherited, but others are not. Very often children are like neither parent. In many cases we might attribute this to the combined traits of the parents, but how, then, can we account for the great differences in the same family? We are left to account, too, for the appearance of great men with peculiarly adapted gifts in great emergencies.

b.) God determines the end of life. "Seeing his days are determined, the number of his months are with Thee. Thou hast appointed his bounds that he cannot pass," Job 14 : 5. "I know that Thou wilt bring me to death and to the house appointed for all the living," Job 30 : 23. The ninety-first psalm assumes that God controls all the sources of death. "A thousand shall fall at thy side and ten thousand at thy right hand, but it shall not come nigh thee." We cannot in the narrow range of our vision prove from observation that no one dies before his work is done, yet this is the scriptural teaching. We are not to believe that He ever suspends a natural law to prevent death, but His power over circumstances gives Him control of our relation to these laws.

c.) He determines, as far as He wills, our sphere in life. If

He fixes the place and circumstances of our birth, gives our mental and physical powers, and arranges our early associations, He shapes the general character and aim of life. Our own experience confirms the testimony of Jeremiah: "It is not in man that walketh to direct his steps." Shakespeare, the great interpreter of human life, said,

"There's a divinity that shapes our ends
Rough-hew them how we will."

The personal experience of most of us has been that the course we had marked out for ourselves we could not take, and our aims were never met. We are not what we thought we would be, yet we are not supposed by those who understand us best to be wholly out of our places. So true is this, in general, that Cowper, while he did not tell the whole truth in not allowing for the exception, did not get wide of the general fact when he said,

"God gives to ev'ry man
The nature, temper, understanding, taste,
That lifts him into life, and lets him fall
Just in the niche he was ordained to fill."

It is this general shaping of man's earthly destiny that the Scriptures teach in the peculiar language of proverbs when they say, "The king's heart is in the hand of the Lord as the rivers of waters," and not that rigidly literal interpretation very often given it.

In this we see absolute sovereignty, but one allowing free play for free-will. Men can break away from providential leadings. We see great gifts thrown away and great talents prostituted. We sometimes see men in the wrong pursuits. But as it is with the laws of nature, so it is with providence. There are some laws that hold us absolutely, while others we have the power to violate, but not to escape the penalty. The one class sets limits over which we cannot go; the other allows us liberty within those bounds. So with the divine government. We cannot change some of the boundaries fixed, and these keep us under His control, but others may be disregarded. In our freedom we may not do that special work for which we were best

qualified, yet in our restraint we are compelled to perform some service promotive of the interests of God's kingdom.

In looking at God's sovereignty in this light, we are not made to tremble in dread of an arbitrary power, but we are filled with profound reverence. It inspires us with the deepest regard for the divine will. It creates peace, joy, security. But it shows, too, the all-important necessity of being in harmony with His kingdom. That government will not step aside to meet our whims. In its grand movements those who resist are swept away as nothing. His holy character is too inflexible to spare those who oppose.

ARTICLE III.

CATECHIZATION.

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A time-honored and useful custom in the Lutheran Church of America has in many places fallen into neglect and disrepute. For some reason Catechization has been, to a great extent, abandoned. For many years our Church has been experimenting with the novelties of the age. "New Measure" Systems, *ad infinitum*, have been invented, adopted and rejected. All kinds of expedients have been tried, and their inadequacy proved. By such means the Lutheran Church has allowed herself to be cheated out of her royal heritage. We have almost entirely lost our Lutheran consciousness, and our distinctive church life has been largely swallowed up in the radicalism and sensationalism of the times. Indeed, so far have we in some places gone in our modification of methods and imitations of other denominations as to raise the question whether we should any longer maintain a separate ecclesiastical existence. But in the midst of this defection it is gratifying to see signs of improvement. The fact that we see our error is full of promise for the future. If I mistake not, there is all over the Church, in other denominations as well as our own, a growing

feeling of dissatisfaction and disgust with these so-called "new measures" in religion, and there is a gradually increasing demand for restoration of the "old ways."

There is a call throughout the Church for Catechization. Not long ago there was submitted to the Presbytery of Philadelphia a proposition that every fourth Sabbath the Sunday Schools connected with Presbyterian churches should substitute a lesson on "Our Catechism, Government, and Worship" for the regular Bible lessons of the International Series. A pamphlet written by Dr. Dorus Clarke on "Saying the Catechism Seventy-Five Years ago, and the Historical Results"—a treatise of rare value and most refreshing interest—has recently been published in Boston. In our own church papers during the last two years not less than six long articles on Catechization, treating the subject from various standpoints, have appeared, besides a large number of incidental references to the subject from all parts of the Church. One of our Synods ordered an address on Catechization to be prepared and delivered at its regular annual meeting.

The same address was afterwards requested and delivered at a meeting of Conference. Several of our Synodical Sunday School Conventions have discussed the question: what place and attention should be given to the Catechism in the Sunday School. These things show the growing interest which the Church is beginning again to feel in the matter of Catechization.

With the hope that still more attention may be given to this important subject the following thoughts are submitted.

I. THE PURPOSE OR END.

The End contemplated by catechization is threefold.

1. *Indoctrination in the truth.*

It has always been the genius of the Lutheran Church to thoroughly indoctrinate her baptized children in the truths of the Bible. This praise-worthy end she seeks to accomplish by her system of catechetical instruction. This method of religious instruction is not peculiar to the Lutheran Church, yet certainly in her fold it has had its fullest development and the best exemplification of its merits. To take this out of the history

of the Lutheran Church would be to remove the second pillar which upholds her superstructure.

Catechization is imparting religious instruction by questions and answers. It is this, and it is much more. This is only its external form: its heart, the secret spring of its life and power, remain yet to be seen. The instruction which it imparts is definite and clear, and has a definite end in view. This cannot be said of all methods now in popular use. It seeks to build up in the mind and heart of the young a connected system of divine truth—an harmonious and comprehensive outline of the great doctrines or teachings of the Holy Scriptures. It proceeds upon the plan that it is necessary for the applicant for full church-membership to have an intelligent realization of himself as a sinner in the sight of God; to possess correct knowledge of the plan of salvation; to know himself as a subject of grace through the merits of Christ's atoning blood; to have correct views of the nature of the Church, "the pillar and ground of the truth," of the conditions and responsibilities of membership in the "body of Christ," of saving faith and the ground for the hope of everlasting life. Catechetical instruction is held preparatory to admission to membership, and with us, it is inseparably connected, on the one hand, with baptism, and on the other, with confirmation. To indoctrinate is to train for the Church, and through the Church, for the kingdom of heaven.

Indoctrination means to impart to the learner a knowledge of the pure and uncorrupted teachings of the Holy Scriptures, which knowledge lies at the beginning of the divine life, and is the condition of perseverance in the same. But this is not all it implies. It is a process of edification. It is causing the child and youth to grow up into a knowledge of the truth as it is in Christ. It seeks to put the truth, which is "the power of God unto salvation," into living connection with the heart. The peculiar weakness, and, probably the most serious defect of our modern revivalistic and evangelistic movement is that it does not provide for thorough and systematic indoctrination of its converts. The divinely appointed means for making men wise unto salvation are too lightly regarded. The "sincere

milk of the word" and the "strong meat" are not duly administered. These new-fangled religious dainties which are wont to be served up in our Churches at the present day have little substance in them and can not make strong, healthy, steadfast Christians.

The times in which we live are times which try men's faith and hearts. In the midst of all the political, social and ecclesiastical commotions which are shaking the world to-day, how shall those stand fast who have no foundation to stand upon? In this agitation and unrest what are we doing for our young people to establish them upon a sure foundation which can not be moved? Is the Church doing her duty to her baptized children when she lets them grow up in ignorance of the truth, and sends them forth into the world's arena unarmed for the conflict? Infidelity, in some of its most subtle forms, is abroad in the land, unsettling the minds of the young, sweeping thousands of our precious youth into ruin; threatening the very body and life of society, and surging with satanic fury against the Church of Jesus Christ. The times of apostasy are at hand, and the Church must arm for the contest. *The truth*, THE TRUTH, is the only power given from above by which the Church shall be able to stem the assaults of hell, and stand secure. Our young people will overcome all the trials that confront them only as they are panoplied with the truth and intrenched behind the Everlasting Rock; or, in the language of St. Paul, as they are "rooted and built up in Him, and established in the faith." The young can be saved from the dreadful epidemic of skepticism, only by instilling into their tender minds and hearts the life-saving principles of the Gospel, and, under the fostering care of the Church, causing them to grow up into the truth. During the glacial epoch of rationalism in Germany, the common people never lost their simple child-like faith, because from childhood the principles of eternal truth had been laid deep in the heart by means of catechetical instruction. When again the sound of evangelical preaching was heard the hearts of the people all over that country responded joyfully to it. It is the privilege of the Church to train her children just as she wants them. It is as easy to make stead-

fast Christians as infidels and scoffers. Let the Church train up her children in the way of life, and God's promise for it, when they are old they will not depart from that way. This is the first great object of Catechization.

2. Now, starting with this thorough indoctrination of youth as a foundation upon which to rest its operations. this method proceeds to its higher aim, viz.: *to lead the learner to Christ*. It aims to make of its pupils genuine disciples of our Lord Jesus Christ. It might be supposed that in stating the matter thus I have inverted the true order of sequence. But not so. If I understand the teachings of the Scriptures, knowledge of the truth logically precedes regeneration. "*Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free.*" In our day there is a great deal of loose and random talk about conversion, but it does not always reveal accurate knowledge of the Scriptures. We are all agreed upon the necessity of a change of heart, but there is diversity of opinion respecting the *way* and the *means*. In this all-important matter of salvation the Lutheran Church does not make a secondary use of *the word*. She puts the word of God first and last. It is her distinctive teaching, handed down from her illustrious reformer, that the *simple word* is "*the principal means of grace.*" She recognizes the Gospel of Christ as "the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth." And she teaches that this faith unto salvation is wrought in the soul by the Holy Ghost operating through the instrumentality of the word of truth. By catechetical instruction we seek to put this living and organizing "power of God" into the heart of the catechumen, and then let the Holy Ghost do his wonder-working in his own way and time. Paul may plant and Apollas water but God must give the increase. The pastor seeks not only to acquaint the learner with the truths of the Bible, but also, in various ways, to impress them upon the heart. Having succeeded in fastening the truth in the mind by this simple method, he makes use of the knowledge thus acquired to reach and move the heart. The great purpose of catechetical instruction is to make the learner not only intellectually wise, but also wise unto salvation. And this blessed work of leading to Christ catechization seeks to perform when the heart is yet

tender and easily impressed. This method takes hold of the young, the children of the Church, before the evil days come or the years draw nigh when they shall say they have no pleasure in these things, before they are hardened in sin and set in the ways and thoughts of the sinful world. Certainly this must commend itself to every thoughtful mind. Is not this obeying the Master's command: "Feed my lambs," "Suffer the children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of heaven?" And is this not what we promise to do when we dedicate our children in baptism? Do we not vow before God to bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord? Infant baptism, certainly with us, looks to confirmation and confirmation properly implies catechization. How beautifully and completely these things harmonize, and how strong the evidence that this method, now so much neglected, is none other than God's own way of bringing souls into his kingdom. Catechization not only seeks to lead sinners to Christ, but especially to lead the children to the meek and lowly Jesus so that they may grow up into manhood and womanhood under the inspiration of his holy life and example, that, like Timothy, even from their earliest childhood, they may know the Scriptures which are able to make them wise unto salvation. Would it not be better to have our children grow up under the constantly transforming influence of the truth, so as never to need what is popularly called conversion? I believe that if it is possible to so train them in the divine life from their infancy that when grown up they can not recall the time when they did not love the Lord Jesus. It is a popular fallacy that there must be in every one's life a certain known point of time when he or she first believed. Believing in Christ should be our first conscious experience, as well as the last. It is the business of life, first and last, to believe in Christ and love God. If this is not realized, it is the fault of men, not of God.

3. *Fidelity to the Church*, is another important end contemplated in our system of catechetical instruction. It seeks not only to plant the precious truth into the minds of the young, and thereby secure their living union with Christ, but it does more: it seeks to put them in possession of certain privileges

and means of grace by which they may be able to sustain themselves in the new life and persevere in the purity of the faith; and at the same time afford them a channel through which the energies of their sanctified nature may flow out upon the world to bless the human race. To this end God has instituted His Church, and makes membership therein obligatory upon every child of His. The Church is the Christian's home where he may receive that sympathy and encouragement and spiritual edification so necessary to growth in the divine life. It is also his spiritual work-shop where he finds something to do for the Master which will keep his energies alive and his soul engaged. Here he learns and practices the heavenly art of doing well. Catechization aims early to introduce the young fully into the Church, the family of God's people, that they may find dear brethren who love them and sympathize with them, and extend a helping hand in time of need. And it aims to lay upon every member of this spiritual household a deep sense of responsibility and personal obligation, to make him true to the honor and sanctity of his spiritual home, to beget a genuine love and a warm attachment to the Church, so that every son and daughter of hers will say from the heart:

"Beyond my highest joy
I prize her heavenly ways,
Her sweet communion, solemn vows,
Her hymns of love and praise.

If e'er my heart forget
Her welfare or her woe,
Let ev'ry joy this heart forsake,
And every grief o'erflow.

For her my tears shall fall;
For her my prayers ascend;
To her my cares and toils be given,
Till toils and cares shall end."

There is a morbid sentiment prevalent, that the Church is an unnecessary appendage to Christianity. Why do our young people have such low and material views of her holy sacraments? Why so little allegiance shown our dear foster mother, why such reluctant obedience to her commands, why such in-

difference to her welfare on the part of her children? What is the cause of this selfish individualism—the bane of her peace and prosperity? These things have a cause. They are legitimate results of looseness of doctrine and methods of church work. I lay very much of this to the charge of our modern religious innovations in which the sphere and authority of the Church have been ignored. Is it any wonder our church members are irreverent towards the divine authority of the Church and disobedient to her laws and neglectful of her interests, when they have never been instructed in their relation and duties to the Church? There is no deep church love instilled and fostered in the young, and, therefore, we can not expect that high and heroic sense of honor, that deep-seated conviction of right and duty, that unswerving purpose, and that untiring activity in her hallowed sphere of labor which should characterize every follower of the Lord Jesus Christ. It is a mistaken policy, pursued by many parents, to let their children grow up to maturity, and then select the church of their own choice. We know the result. Nothing could be more short-sighted. The devil never invented a more cunning device. What is this but a shifting of a most solemn responsibility by the parents upon the children entrusted to them? Here we discover one reason why catechetical instruction is so much neglected, viz. the *laxity of our moral sense* which leads us to shift responsibility upon others which is imposed upon ourselves.

Catechization bears a direct relation to the Church: with us it stands inseparably connected with baptism, on the one hand, and on the other with confirmation as the formal induction to the full communion in the Church. No other system secures the end so well. The Sunday School with all of its excellent features can not take its place. Evangelistic and lay preaching, and all our 'new measures' fail, and necessarily so. The inadequacy of all these expedients has been demonstrated. I urge upon the Lutheran Church in America the necessity of returning again to this God-honored custom of our fathers. Our self-preservation and prosperity depend on it. These three objects of catechization which I have thus pointed out, all hang together, and in practice can not be separated. Any one of them

includes the rest. In the light of the three combined I ask my readers to consider this venerable and useful system of religious instruction. Subject it to any test you please, you will find it evangelical in its basis, philosophical in its method, rational in its process, harmonious alike with nature and the mind of man in its analogies, conservative in its practice, Christ-like in its spirit, and full of glory in its results.

II. ADAPTATION OF MEANS EMPLOYED.

Having set forth the end contemplated, I now proceed to consider the adaptation of the means employed to accomplish this end. Let us see how this system of Christian training is carried out. This appears,

1. In the *person* to whom this work is assigned. To the pastor, the shepherd of the flock, this work belongs. He must undertake it, nor can it be delegated to a subordinate. No one understands the needs of his flock, and no one sustains such an intimate and tender relation to them as he does. Besides, his office peculiarly fits him for the duty. He is the ambassador of Christ, whom the people are to hear as though God did beseech them through him. He is clothed with divine authority, which God demands shall be respected and heeded. No one else is so qualified for this work as he, by virtue of his office, his learning, his piety, his experience, and his interest in the flock.

2. A second mark of adaptation is in the fact that the *children* and *youth* are gathered together for instruction. Religion, in an important sense, is an education, a training up in the way of life. In our secular education we begin with the child and continue the rigid discipline until the age of maturity, and often far beyond. This is as it ought to be: in this we are only adapting our educational process to the requirements of the human mind. It takes years to develop the mind and make scholars. Now, the education of the heart is analogous to that of the mind. And should we give less time and attention to the religious culture of our children than to their secular culture? Is it of less practical importance? "Godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come." The child must be trained to "godliness"

as well as to scholarship. Solomon says: "Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it," Prov. 22 : 6. Examine this passage. In the margin of your Bible the words "train up" are rendered "*catechise*." Catechise, train up, discipline, initiate a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it. When these simple duties to our baptized children are faithfully attended to God gives us His promise that they will never depart from the way of life. Thus we see that our system of catechization is but carrying out the idea of the wise man; it is, therefore, eminently scriptural, and accords with God's plan of saving souls.

3. *The text-book used.* The teacher is in his place, the school gathered, now what is the text-book to be used? *The Catechism.* The Bible in reality is the only text-book. What need, then, of a catechism? What is a catechism? "An elementary book containing a summary of principles, especially of religious doctrine, reduced to the form of questions and answers." It is a text-book, properly so called, prepared for use in the school and the family for purposes of systematic instruction in the great fundamental truths of the Bible. An abstract of the Bible. Luther's Smaller Catechism has been called by some one a "Lay Bible." The Catechism is to the Bible what Dana's Text-Book of Geology is to his Manual. The latter contains all and a great deal more than the former: the former is prepared for the use of the learner, for the school. Luther says in his Catechism: "We have prepared this little work with no other view than to adapt it to the instruction of the young and illiterate. Hence among the ancients in the Greek language, such a book was called catechism, a word which signifies juvenile instruction." I know there is much prejudice against the catechism. Many people look upon it with grave suspicion. Even among some Lutherans the name has become a reproach. I have heard a Lutheran minister of high prominence apologize before a number of applicants for church-membership for using the term 'catechism,' as though it were something to be ashamed of. But it is refreshing to hear leading men of other denominations speak of the catechism in unqualified terms of

praise. In the "Sunday School Times" of May 11, 1878, Dr. Vincent says: "The wise, rich, and suggestive formulas of theological truth, the outgrowth of the scholarship and Christian experience of all the ages, every Christian man and woman ought to know something about. We speak disrespectfully sometimes of catechisms; but in the catechisms of the modern Protestant Churches there are definitions that have in a single sentence a whole volume of fundamental truth; and it is not wise to depreciate a definition which is the outgrowth of years of Christian experience, wide research, and profound Christian thought." Hear what theologians and scholars say about our own catechism. Matthesius says: "The world can never sufficiently thank and repay Luther for his little catechism." Justus Jonas: "It may be bought for six pence, but six thousand worlds would not pay for it." Andr. Fabricius: "A better book, next to the Bible, the sun never saw; it is the juice and the blood, the aim and the substance of the Bible." Seckendorf: "I have received more consolation and a firmer foundation for my salvation from Luther's little catechism than from the huge volumes of all the Latin and Greek fathers together." Löhe: "It is of all Confessions, that which is most suitable and best adapted to the people. It is a fact, which no one denies, that no other catechism in the world can be made a prayer of but this. But it is less known that it may be called a real marvel in respect of the extraordinary fullness and great abundance of knowledge expressed in it in so few words." Leopold Ranke: "The Catechism published by Luther in 1529, of which he himself says that, old a doctor as he was, he used it himself as a prayer, is as childlike as it is profound, as comprehensible as it is unfathomable, simple, and sublime. Happy he whose soul was fed by it, who clings to it. He possesses at all times an imperishable consolation: under a thin shell, a kernel of truth, sufficient for the wisest of the wise." To these valuable testimonies I will add that of Dr. C. P. Krauth. In his "Conservative Reformation," p. 285, he writes: "So truly did the Shorter Catechism embody the simple Christian faith, as to become, by the spontaneous acclamation of millions, a confession. It was

a private writing, and yet, beyond all the Confessions, the direct pulsation of the Church's whole heart is felt in it. It was written in the rapture of the purest catholicity, and nothing from Luther's pen presents him more perfectly simply as a Christian; not as the prince of theologians, but as a lowly believer among believers."

These are Lutheran testimonies, and may seem extravagant, especially to members of other denominations. I give the equally positive testimony of one who is not a Lutheran. Dr. Schaff says: "Luther's Small Catechism is truly a great little book, with as many thoughts as words, and every word telling and sticking to the heart as well as the memory. It bears the stamp of the religious genius of Luther, who was both its father and pupil. It exhibits his almost apostolic gift of expressing the deeping things in the plainest language for the common people. It is strong food for a man, and yet as simple as a child. It marks an epoch in the history of religious instruction: it purged it from popish superstitions, and brought it back to scriptural purity and simplicity. As it left far behind all former catechetical manuals, it has, in its own order of excellence and usefulness never been surpassed. To the age of the Reformation it was an incalculable blessing. Luther himself wrote no better book, excepting, of course, his translation of the Bible, and it alone would have immortalized him as one of the great benefactors of the human race."* If others think and say such things concerning our Catechism, is it any wonder we Lutherans should be enthusiastic in its praise? We need not be ashamed of it: let us own and use it. Let us be true to our colors. Let us stand on our own platform, broad, catholic and evangelical. A clearer and more positive Lutheran consciousness is what we need in our American Lutheran Church. We make ourselves supremely ridiculous when we ignore and repudiate our distinctive customs and practices, and ape other denominations. We have tried to accommodate ourselves to others, and conciliate differences, which will not be conciliated, until we have well nigh lost our distinctive character as a Church.

* Creeds of Christendom, Vol. II., p. 250.

If we would gain prestige and influence we must be *ourselves* and not somebody else. We shall make a sorry fight in Saul's armor.

4. *The method of teaching* claims our attention as another mark of adaptation. There are three principal methods of instruction: one is the lecture system, another is the text-book system, and a third is the two combined. By the first the pupils are not required to commit and recite any lessons, only hear lectures; by the second, the pupils hear no lectures, but only commit and recite lessons. Neither of these by itself is sufficient, but the two combined yield the best results. My experience as an educator is that children and youth must have specific tasks assigned them, and must be required to carefully learn and recite lessons. Any one who understands the philosophy of education will at once see the reason of this. Memorizing is the very first thing the child does in the process of education. The way to lay the foundation for scholarship is to give as much attention as possible to the minutiae of the rudiments, insisting upon perfect accuracy in every answer, frequent repetition and persistent drill. Now, this is equally true in respect to religious culture. During the formative period of youth, the young must be thoroughly drilled in the rudiments of our religion. For the purpose of this drill the Catechism is admirably adapted. It contains a complete outline of divinity, and the presentation of the subject is specific and systematic. By persistent drill, these questions and answers, these definitions so fraught with the fruits of ripe scholarship and Christian experience, and especially the *proof passages*, will be literally worn into the mind until they become second nature to it. Luther, in giving directions how to use the Catechism, sets forth the importance of adhering to one particular form of words in the statement and exposition of the several parts, in order that the minds of the young may not be confused by needless changes of phraseology. He insists upon uniformity even in the very smallest particulars. No one was ever better qualified to speak upon this point than Luther, for he was master of the subject; and his judgment is confirmed by the experience of all teachers and scholars.

Thus learning and reciting the Catechism is well adapted to the requirements of the youthful mind. This method has an educational and disciplinary value apart from other things more important. This can not be said, to the same degree, of any other system of religious instruction. Many practices now resorted to are actually dissipating and enervating in their effects.

5. *The Results.* After all, the best proof of adaptation of any agency to the end in view is *the testimony of its results*. To the fruits of catechization I appeal as a final and crucial test. What the Lutheran Church is in respect to her unrivaled history, her wide-spread and beneficent influence in the Christian world from the Reformation until now, and her conservatism which is the balance of power between extremes in religion, she owes largely to her catechism. Catechization is her life and her soul. Dr. Schaff says: "The strength and beauty of the Lutheran Church lies in its profound theology, rich hymnology, simple, childlike, trustful piety." Beautiful and glorious compliment from one who is outside of its ranks. The same author also says: "Lutheran piety has its peculiar charm, the charm of Mary, who sat at Jesus' feet and heard his word. If it is deficient in outward activity and practical zeal, and may learn much in this respect from the Reformed Communion, it makes up for it by a rich inward life. It excels in honesty, kindness, affection, cheerfulness, and that *Gemüthlichkeit*, for which other nations have not even a name. * * She has sung the most fervent hymns to the Saviour, and holds sweet, childlike intercourse with the Heavenly Father." Back of these precious and most enviable characteristics of our dear Zion is her catechism. If you would know the true inwardness of a man's mind, the type it is of, examine the books he has studied, especially during his younger days. If the piety of Lutherans is "simple, childlike, and trustful," it is because such is the character of the book which Lutheran children study. If her "strength and beauty lie in her profound theology," it is because her theologians have been nourished by the "sincere milk of the word" administered to them in early childhood through the catechism. By means of this "*great little book*" they have been able to discover depths and heights in theology which no

other class of scholars ever attained. We are proud of our theologians: we challenge Christendom to produce their equal. But the catechism, more than any one thing else, prepared the way to this high degree of excellence. Germany is the native home of the Lutheran Church: there we may look for some of the best fruits of her system of catechetical instruction. The catechism, more than anything else, made Germany what it is, the strongest, the most churchly, the simplest in manner and life, the most learned, the most invincible of all the nations on the face of the earth. We see the influence of the catechism penetrating through the woof and web of Germany's history, its private and public life, its schools, its theology. That sublime, unrivaled patriotism which Protestant Germany exhibited throughout the long and bloody struggle of the thirty years' war was begotten and fostered by the Divine word impressed upon every German heart in early childhood by means of the catechism. It was the bond of union that bound heart to heart: it was the talisman of their victory over the foe. Its faithful use secures to every Christian that power which overcomes the world, even our faith.

When speculative philosophy and rationalism spread their gloomy, somber cloud over that country the common people remained true to the faith because they were "rooted and grounded in the truth, and established in the faith." There was present in their hearts something deeper and stronger and more enduring than the sophisms of men. No other people hold their faith with such firmness as the Germans. We see it in Bismarck, that prince of diplomatists, during the Franco-German war, while at Versailles, Dr. Busch heard Bismarck say in a table-talk: "If I were no longer a Christian, I would remain not one hour at my post. * * The steadfastness which I have shown ten years long against all possible absurdities, I have only from my *fixed belief*. *Take away my belief, and you take away my fatherland*. Were I not a Christian of intense belief, had I not the wonderful foundation of religion, you would never have had me for Chancellor of the German Union. Find me a successor with that foundation and I go

upon the spot." And whence this "belief?" Examine the books he studied in childhood and his constant companions in maturer years, and the secret of his steadfastness will be seen.

The address delivered about two years ago by the Rev. Dr. Dorus Clarke before the Historic-Genealogical Society of New England, on "Saying the Catechism seventy-five years ago and its Historical Results," is an eloquent and powerful appeal to the Church in favor of catechization. He deals with nothing but historical facts. Of the catechism he says: "It has done more to form the New England character than any book except the Bible." In the town of Westhampton the catechism was as truly a classic as any other book. "It was taught everywhere,—in the family, in the school, and in the church,—indeed it was the principal intellectual and religious pabulum of the people. We had it for breakfast, and we had it for dinner, and we had it for supper. The entire town was *saturated* with its doctrines, and it is almost as much so at the present day."

Now, let us notice some of the mental and moral *effects* of this system of thorough religious training upon the people of Westhampton. Says Dr. Clarke, "It was continued through the lifetime of nearly two generations, and therefore long enough fairly to test its real influence upon human character and life, long enough to determine, historically, what were its legitimate effects upon individuals and upon society. * * The general result was, and still is, that sobriety, large intelligence, sound morality, and unfeigned piety exist there to a wider extent than in any other community of equal size within the limits of my acquaintance. * * *Nine-tenths* of the inhabitants are regular attendants on public worship. *Thirty-eight* of the young men have graduated from College, have entered the learned professions, and especially the Christian ministry; and several of them have risen to positions of the highest usefulness and honor. * * I have nowhere found such profound reverence for the name of Jehovah, the Infinite and Personal God; such unquestioning faith in the divine authority of the Holy Scriptures; such devout and conscientious observance of the Sabbath; such habitual practice of family prayer; such respect for an oath in a court of justice; such serious

determination to enter into the kingdom of heaven; and such deep conviction that it never can be reached, except by repentance for sin, and faith in a crucified Redeemer, as I have seen in that town. * * And if this be true, this superior Christian tone of society must have had an *adequate cause*. * * That cause is its more thorough indoctrination, from its settlement down to the present day, in the great truths of the Bible, creating public sentiment, permeating domestic life, giving vigor to conscience, converting men to Christ, and impregnating society, through all its ramifications, with a profounder sense of moral obligation. During my boyhood and youth, I never knew my father's house locked by any mechanical contrivance by day or night; but it was locked with a lock of very peculiar construction and strength. *The Bible and the Catechism were the combination lock.* * * You may as well attempt to 'enact the play of Hamlet with Hamlet all left out,' as to account for the intelligence, the good sense, the energy, the heroism, the piety, the self-sacrifice and the success of the sons and daughters of Westhampton, in their diversified forms of usefulness all over the world, by proposing any other solution of the problem than the great truths of the catechism wrought into the very texture of society there, and working out their legitimate results upon the intellects, the hearts, and the life of that community."

These are refreshing statements and reflections from one who is not a Lutheran.

Stern old Thomas Carlyle a few years ago said: "The older I grow,—and I now stand upon the brink of eternity,—the more comes back to me the sentence in the Catechism, which I learned when a child, and the fuller and deeper its meaning becomes,—'What is the great end of man? To glorify God, and enjoy Him forever.' No gospel of dirt, teaching that men have descended from frogs through monkeys, can ever set that aside." The truths and sharp definitions, and the proof passages which we learn from the catechism in our childhood and youthful days, how they stick to the heart and memory, and what a safeguard against error when we get older!

Our good old system of catechization has not outlived its

usefulness. It is as full of life and potency and promise of usefulness now as it ever was. It has been tried and proved adequate to the wants of the Church. It is as well adapted to the requirements of the Church in America as anywhere else. Its strength is not in local surroundings. Some would-be wise men of our fastidious age would have us believe that catechization is not adapted to the American mind and genius. The difficulties exist more in the imagination than in reality. Experience teaches us that nothing else answers the purpose so well. We Lutherans must not deny the distinctive traits of our ecclesiastical character. Let us again adhere to this custom of our fathers, let us use our catechism and teach it to our children, let us not deny the faith, let us be true to ourselves, and our Confessions, true to our convictions of right and duty in methods of church work, true to our fathers' God and our God, and the broken walls of our Lutheran Zion will be built again, her divisions healed, and her power and influence in the earth be magnified.

ARTICLE IV.

THE LUTHERAN JUBILEE.

By Rev. J. D. SEVERINGHAUS, A. M., Chicago, Ill.

INTRODUCTORY.

The year 1880 is one of those marked years which invite special attention. During its course far-reaching events crowd their memories upon us. In the month of May we were reminded of that famous "dark day," of 1780, which seemed then to be a foretoken of doom, but proved in reality the dividing line between our night of gloom and day of gladness, the point at which our colonial life-struggles began to develop into national prosperity. On the other side of the "great water" there transpired in the same year an event which at the time attracted no public attention whatever, but which has since grown into such beautiful proportions, that a large part of the religious world has deemed it proper to hold special services in commem-

oration of the same. It was the founding of Sunday Schools in their present form that afforded us a centenary celebration, during the month of June, and inspired the erection of a monument on the banks of the Thames in honor of Robert Raikes, the reputed originator of that form of Christian work which is dated back to the year 1780 and which has helped to characterize the present century as one of missionary zeal and enterprise, far beyond all that have gone before.

But back of modern Sunday School activity, and back of our revolutionary struggles for personal and civil liberty, back of modern missions, back of all Christian civilization as developed in Europe and America, there is an event especially remembered by *Lutherans*, but deservedly noticed by all who appreciate the onward march of *truth*, and *right*, and *courage* among men upon the earth. The 25th day of June, 1880, was a commemorative occasion of great significance. It marked a jubilee period of an event that has helped determinately to shapen the contour of modern history. In some countries, especially in Southern Germany, this day has been regularly celebrated in its annual return as a Reformation festival, and this year returning for the three hundred and fiftieth time since the memorable delivery of the Confession at Augsburg, it suggested a *jubilee celebration*.

WHAT WAS CELEBRATED.

The Lutheran confession of faith, known as the "Augsburg Confession" or "Augustana," was read before the Diet of Augsburg in the year 1530. The Emperor Charles V. had in the early part of that year yielded to the very general desire for a national assembly, at which all the religious questions disturbing the empire might be amicably settled. The convention of the previous year at Spire had proved unsatisfactory. Its deliberations had been hurried and unfair. The adherents of the Reformation could not submit to the forcible decisions of a majority, for the questions involved were to them questions of conscience, they related to things essential to salvation, and their agitation had brought about a crisis which could be disposed of only by honest discussion and not by parliamentary tactics. It

was because the Reformers protested against the decisions of this council that they were called Protestants, a title still very properly borne by all adherents of the Reformation, as they still protest against every species of human authority calculated to enslave the mind or burden the conscience. On the tenth day of October they met at Schwabach to deliberate on those points of doctrine which they could unitedly press as their ultimatum of peace, and it was in view of these points, that the emperor consented to appoint an assembly at which the whole empire should be represented, and of which he said in his call :

“Everybody’s opinion, view and belief should be heard and examined in love and kindness, and all such on both sides as had not been properly interpreted or disposed of should be considered, in order that, as we are all under Christ and fight in His cause, we may also live in one communion, church and unity, and concord and peace be thus preserved.”

The Protestants realized that now was their time to act. Very soon they rallied around certain doctrines of the word of God which they considered essential to Christian belief and eternal salvation. These doctrines took the shape of Seventeen Articles, which were presented to the Elector of Saxony at Torgau, in March, 1530, and which had been prepared by Luther, with the assistance of Bugenhagen, Justus Jonas and Philip Melanchthon, as the Elector had requested. It is not to be presumed that the learned Professors at Wittenberg, those representatives of the whole reformatory movement of Germany, regarded these Articles as a complete body of divinity, but they had succeeded in framing a platform on which they all could stand and from which they could successfully smite the opposing error. With these Torgau Articles they calmly and confidently awaited the opening of the Diet. Melanchthon was to have charge of them, to improve them and finish what seemed to him imperfect. To this end he examined the doctrinal statement of the other princes and theologians, who gathered at Augsburg long before the opening of the Diet; he collated, amplified and developed his materials until they resulted in the immortal “Augustana,” with its twenty-one articles on doctrine and seven on Romish abuses. Melanchthon wrote the

Augsburg Confession, as we now have it, but Luther may nevertheless be said to be its author. He had drawn up the initiatory articles, and he was moreover constantly consulted by his learned secretary and scribe, whilst he was watching and praying at his "Patmos," in Coburg, and he corresponded by letter, and advised with his colaborers and followers deliberating at Augsburg.

This Confession—"Apology" as it was first called—was read by Dr. Baier in the chapel of the Bishop's palace at Augsburg, where the Emperor had taken up his abode during the Diet. There was a trick in this arrangement. The papists feared the effects of the public reading of such a document. The Protestant preachers had already made quite an impression upon the excited populace. The Emperor, bigoted Romanist as he was, tried various expedients to prevent the reading entirely. He wanted to have it handed to him privately, and he would then look into it at his leisure, but to this the Protestants would not consent. After these manœuvres had failed, he demanded the reading of the Latin copy, as both were at hand, Dr. George Brueck standing there with the Latin and Dr. Christian Baier with the German copy before the assembled Diet. The Elector of Saxony, however, insisted upon it that as they were on German soil the German copy ought to be read, and the Emperor finally consented. It was three o'clock on a Saturday afternoon, and the reading lasted for nearly three hours. The hall contained some two hundred persons, composed of the nobility and leading representatives of both parties. But as the day was warm and all the windows were open, the multitude thronging around the palace in breathless silence could understand every word of the clear ringing voice of Dr. Baier, and truth found a hearing on that occasion such as it had probably never received since the day of Pentecost.

The effect of this bold stand for evangelical truth was immense. The Bishop of Augsburg declared: "All that has been read is pure and undisputable truth." Dr. Eck, one of the most determined opponents of the Reformation, answered to a question whether he could refute what had been read: "From the writings of the Fathers I would be willing to undertake it,

but not from the Scriptures.” “Then,” said the Duke, “I understand that the Lutherans are established in the Scriptures, and we stand outside of them.”

Both copies of the Confession were handed to the Emperor. He had translations of it made into French, Spanish and Italian, and sent copies to different princes, as also one to the Pope, with the special request that he would give him his opinion on it. This Confession has become the property and the exponent of the Lutheran Church.

It was attacked in the Romish “Confutation,” presented during the Diet, but again defended at length by Philip Melancthon in what is now known as the “Apology,” the second of the so-called Symbolical Books in the order in which they are usually enumerated. It was again unduly handled by Melancthon himself, who kept tinkering at it, still regarding it as his workmanship, modified some of its severer statements in the interests of peace, and published editions of it, in the year 1540, that have since received the title “Variata,” or Altered Augsburg Confession.

This act was a mistake, although the “variata” may suit some Lutherans better than the “invariata,” and although this altered edition was (by mistake) received into the first edition of the “Book of Concord,” published in 1580, it has no claim whatever upon the Church. We celebrate not the year 1540, but the year 1530, in which the Lutheran Church confessed her faith for the first time; in which she was acknowledged as a church party, having rights and privileges, and in which she commenced that career, which has given her a name and a history sufficient to entitle her without presumption to claim Revelation 14 : 6, 7, for her symbol: “And I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people, saying with a loud voice, Fear God, and give glory to him; for the hour of his judgment is come: and worship Him that made heaven and earth, and the sea, and the fountain of waters.”

Forty-seven years after the delivery of the Augsburg Confession, when Luther had been in his grave 31 years, there was

finished a theological document which was intended to become an olive branch between contending theologians of the Lutheran Reformation, and hence named: "Formula of Concord." In it the discussions of forty years duration were summed up and digested. It was the work of learned men—Jacob Andreae, Martin Chemnitz, David Chytraeus, Lucas Osiander, Balthaser Bidembach, Nicolaus Selnecker, Christoph Cornerus, and others—who acted under the authority of princes that had grown weary of the endless disturbances of the public mind. This production, together with the Augsburg Confession, the Apology, the Schmalkald Articles of 1537, and the two Catechisms of Luther, constitute the "Symbolical Books" of the Lutheran Church, all published together for the first time in the year 1580, under the title: "The Book of Concord, or Symbolical Books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church."

The more rigorous portion of our Church celebrated the year 1877 as the three hundredth anniversary of the finishing of the Formula of Concord. Services were held in their churches. A book called *Kern und Stern des Lutherischen Bekenntnisses*, together with numerous sermons delivered in commemoration of the event, was published and an interest developed for the general confessional writings of our Church that may be looked upon as preparatory to the present jubilee celebrations. Those who celebrated the year 1877 as a jubilee year, usually spoke of the present jubilee as that of the "Book of Concord," three hundred years having elapsed since that book was first published and presented to the Lutheran Church for acceptance.

We of the General Synod recognize nothing outside of the Augsburg Confession as having confessional authority and as entitled to any commemorative services. We paid no attention to the partial celebration of the year 1877. There was no sermon preached in any of our churches upon the subject that seemed to inspire some of our Lutheran brethren with jubilee-joy, and our General Synod, which met then at Carthage, would have deemed it a waste of time to entertain any reference to that event. So during the present year we have not spoken of the "Formula of Concord," nor yet of the "Book of Concord," but simply of the 350th anniversary of the Augsburg Confes-

sion. Not that we have any antipathy against the venerable documents produced by our Church during the different stages of her history, but because we could discover no element of a jubilee character in the *publication* of a book or set of books that were known and used years before in their separate forms. There was some significance in the 300th anniversary of the "Formula of Concord," three years ago, and in the 350th anniversary of the Catechism, one year ago, as also there will be in the 400th anniversary of Martin Luther's birthday, three years hence, but it did not seem proper to us to make jubilees out of all these events, every fiftieth or hundreth year of their return, and hence we celebrated during the present year simply the *seventh semi-centennial* of the Augsburg Confession.

HOW IT WAS CELEBRATED.

The seventh celebration of the semi-centennial of the Augsburg Confession has not been as general as that of Luther's nailing the 95 theses to the church door in Wittenberg, October 31st, 1517, which our Church commemorated in the year 1867-8. I have before me a medal of that year which looks like a silver dollar, with a Luther-bust on one side, surrounded by the words: "Nomen Domini Turris Fortissima, 1517;" and on the other, a beautiful laurel wreath, with the inscription: "Seventh Jubilee of the Great Reformation. A Memorial of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, 1867."

Dr. Morris has a list of 37 publications and mementoes, consisting of books, pamphlets, tracts, festival programmes and medals, which he called the "Literature of the Jubilee year." He expresses the opinion that his list "embraces every publication relating directly to the Reformation that appeared in our Church during the Jubilee year." But it is incomplete. There were no doubt many sermons, addresses and other memorials published, of which the argus-eyed Doctor did not get any glimpses, an evidence of which is the memorial certificate which the writer published and placed into the hands of every Sunday School scholar of his Church who attended the jubilee celebration.

Our General Synod met in Harrisburg, early in June, 1868.

The Jubilee year was then in progress. Much was said about it, and various propositions were offered respecting its appropriate celebration, the final outcome of which was that there should be much preaching upon the subject, and collections taken for the different objects of our church work. This action was followed by that of the district synods which convened from that time until the culminating point of the celebration on October 31st. The East Pennsylvania Synod even went so far as to resolve on raising \$100,000 for the different benevolent and missionary operations of the Church. In one of the local celebrations the speaker referring to the jubilee put the questions: *Shall we unite in this commemoration of the Reformation? Shall we signalize this occasion by trimming our Churches, having special services, and by asking a Grand Free Thank offering of our means to the Church?*

The response to these questions, Dr. Morris says, was a glorious one.

The action of our General Synod, followed by that of the district synods; the sermons preached upon this subject; the various publications having reference to the work of the Reformation; the inauguration of measures for the publication of a new German paper in the interests of the General Synod—all helped to prepare the way for the celebration of the present jubilee. There was a Lutheran sentiment under cultivation among us that is continually developing into clearer conceptions of our glorious heritage and our true position among the Churches of the land. Our General Synod did not meet this year, but it anticipated the jubilee celebration, by recommending to its pastors that they preach on the subject of the Augsburg Confession on or near the 25th day of June. Whether that recommendation, passed unanimously in open session at Wooster, 1879, has been complied with very generally, cannot be determined at present, but it may be presumed that a very large number of our Churches were reminded in one way or another of the Seventh Semi-Centennial of the Augsburg Confession. The *Lutheran Observer*, voicing the sentiments of the Church, did speak earnestly and repeatedly upon this subject, reminding pastors of the recommendation to preach on the

Augsburg Confession and referring to what was done in this respect by other Lutheran synods. We have also seen a notice of one of our pastors in Ohio who made the Confession the subject of his discourse on the Sunday following the 25th of June and had this sermon published entire in the *Lutheran Evangelist*. Our English speaking churches in Washington, D. C., united in a very pleasant union service on the 25th of June, and had different addresses suitable to the occasion.

If we fail to gather any more or all of the facts concerning the celebration of the jubilee, we would be unfair as a historian, to conclude that what has been here given is the extent of the celebration. It may also be expected that the synods which meet in the Fall will express a suitable recognition of the Lutheran jubilee, and that such churches and pastors, as are in the habit of observing the annual Reformation festival on some Sunday near the 31st day of October, will make the jubilee of the Augsburg Confession a special feature of this year's celebration.

But it is in point here to utter the apprehension that many have felt as though these outward demonstrations were overdone by some Lutherans and that their people would not sympathize with them in any effort to arrange for suitable festivities. We also looked in vain over the college and seminary programmes for this year to find any reference to the jubilee of the Church.* No graduating speech seems to have found its theme in a line of thought suggested by the subject of this discussion, although occasions of that kind are apt to become monotonous by reason of their sameness, and they afford opportunities for confessional demonstrations such as are seldom enjoyed.

It is gratifying on the other hand to note that our foreign brethren have not neglected to magnify their opportunities with reference to the Jubilee. In the assignment of subjects to the theological students of "Mission Seminary" at Chicago for their public addresses, there were two which had direct reference to the jubilee celebration. The "Wartburg Synod," meeting at

[*If the writer had examined the commencement programme of Pennsylvania College, for this year, he would have found more than one subject on it.—EDS.]

Chicago during the last week of June, had arranged for a special synodical celebration, consisting of a joint discussion upon the present condition of the Lutheran Church, on the basis of a carefully prepared essay, followed by suitable theses drawn therefrom, and a public service in the evening at which a very able address was delivered on Rev. 3 : 11 : "Hold that fast which thou hast." The Nebraska Synod, also largely German, will, at the approaching meeting at Ponca, give this subject special attention, as it has provided for an English and a German address on the same.

The Germans are more generally given to the observance of festival occasions, and hence they have embraced the opportunity this year of calling the attention of their people to the glorious Confession of our Church, not in proportion to their love for the same, but in accordance with their surroundings and abilities. In Chicago there was nothing seen or heard of the Lutheran Jubilee, other than the celebrations and reports of the two Lutheran churches belonging to the General Synod. Although there are thirty Lutheran churches here, sixteen of them being German, yet the great German daily *Staatzeitung* published only what was written upon the subject by General Synod hands. After giving a history of the Augsburg Confession and referring to the significance of the day, it added: "There will be jubilee services in St. Stephen's church, at which Rev. Kaersmann will deliver the address, and in Trinity church, at which Rev. Severinghaus will deliver the address. These were the only jubilee services held in Chicago on June 25th, so far as the writer knows, and they were both in General Synod churches. This definite statement is important, because some of the following reports, as also many public notices, make the impression that the parties outside of the General Synod had monopolized the Jubilee.

A few additional particulars will be of value as historic information.

One of our General Synod churches had a large pipe organ built as a jubilee offering, bearing the inscription :

1530.

June 25th.

1880.

This was dedicated, on the evening of June 25th, in connection with a solemn service, at which the pastor preached on Heb. 13 : 9, setting forth : *We rejoice over our Church Confession, the Augustana, because it is able to establish our hearts with grace ;* for, 1, it is a good thing that the heart be established ; and, 2, evangelical truth alone, as set forth in our confession of faith, is able to establish the human heart with grace. Let us therefore not be carried about with divers and strange doctrines, but hold fast the truth of our Confession.

Another one of our churches had a baptismal font carved for the occasion, inscribed : "One Lord, one Faith, one Baptism. 1880."

From Baltimore comes the report that our German church there held a very pleasant, although unostentatious service on the evening of the 25th of June, and that the people manifested much interest in the occasion.

A church in Illinois held a very elaborate service on Sunday July the 4th, with a sermon on Ps. ———, and a children's service in the afternoon, at which the Augsburg Confession was read, interspersed with explanatory remarks.

The Apollo charge of the Pittsburg Synod (General Synod) celebrated the semi-centennial of the Augsburg Confession on the 13th of August. The exercises were held in a grove. There were addresses on : "Influence of the Augsburg Confession on the Reformation ;" "Peculiar claims of the Augsburg Confession on Protestantism ;" and "Catholicity of the Augsburg Confession." At the close they sang : "A mighty fortress is our God," etc.

In Allegheny City our Church is preparing for a grand celebration of the Lutheran Jubilee on the 31st of October.

Very many of our churches found it necessary and, under the circumstances desirable, to combine the jubilee exercises with the ordinary Sunday service, contenting themselves with a sermon on some Lutheran subject, or simply alluding to the events that transpired three hundred and fifty years ago.

THE LITERATURE OF THE JUBILEE YEAR.

The Lutheran Observer and *Der Lutherische Kirchenfreund* have contained many historical articles in which the Augsburg Confes-

sion was referred to and held up before the Church as the great *Magna Charta*, well worthy of the honor bestowed upon it. The German Publication Board published the new edition of Luther's Catechism recommended by the General Synod, as a jubilee offering. It is a work of superior style and eminently useful contents, having in addition to the usual matter some eighty questions and answers on the Bible and the confessional standpoint of the Church in which our position with reference to the symbols is clearly defined.

This much has here been given about the celebration of our jubilee by the people and churches of the General Synod, partly because there are those whose shortcomings on this point are quite reprehensible and who may be stimulated to improve the opportunities yet remaining for making amends, but more especially to put it on record that there are those in our part of the house who appreciate the historic facts which gave position to the Lutheran Church, and that the General Synod is in entire harmony with the Church of our Lutheran fathers.

Yet a fair presentation of the question under consideration demands more than a report of the General Synod's doings. Unfortunately there are more Lutherans outside than there are inside of the General Synod. We number scarcely one-third of the Lutheranism of the United States, and those of the General Council and of the Synodical Conference have upon the whole a better showing with reference to the jubilee celebration than we have.

There does not seem to have been any general plan as to the celebration anywhere. That the multitude of church papers swarmed with notices and propositions pertaining to the jubilee, might have been expected, but so far as the recommendations went, they seemed to provide only for local demonstrations. A few ventured to write books and compose hymns for the occasion. There was a *Jubelfestbuechlein* published in Baltimore, a *Reformationsgeschichte* in New York, an Historic Introduction to the Augsb. Conf., called *Das Grundbekenntniss*, in St. Louis, a new edition of the *Book of Concord*, containing all the symbolical books, published by the Concordia-Verlag in St. Louis, and there are now medals being struck by the Pennsyl-

vania Synod, very similar to the one mentioned above, with the inscription: "Nomen Domini Turris Fortissima," on the one side, and on the other Luther's private seal with a suitable motto. The Missourians also report that they have a suitable medal in preparation at Baltimore.

The Canada Synod, belonging to the General Council, held a united service during its session in the middle of June, and recommended to its congregations the holding of similar services on Sunday June 27th.

The Old Pennsylvania Synod, meeting at Allentown, had an address upon the subject, "Concordia," in which the period between 1530 and 1580 was exhibited as the formative period of our Church, and the value of the Book of Concord was especially emphasized. That there was a due share of glorying in our confessional history, is not surprising in view of the late records of that body. They moreover resolved upon the raising of \$25,000 for a German professorship in Muhlenberg College.

Of the Lutheran congregation in Lüneberg county, New Foundland, the report comes, that the Augsburg Confession was read in Zion's church early in the morning of the 25th, and that they held a festive gathering under the pines upon the sea-coast during the rest of the day. There were other celebrations of a local character, in the Pittsburg and other Synods, but perhaps not much more numerous and hearty than those of the General Synod.

In the Synodical Conference the celebrations took on a more magnificent form than in the bodies mentioned, because of its large German representations in several of the leading cities. The Joint Synod of Ohio celebrated its 50th anniversary on the 24th of June, and on the 25th the four Lutheran congregations of Columbus united in the double jubilee of the Augsb. Conf. and the Book of Concord. Their solemn services of song and thanksgiving, were continued on June 27th, with addresses in German and in English.

In Milwaukee the five congregations of the Missouri Synod united to celebrate the 350th anniversary of the Augsb. Conf. and the 300th of the Book of Concord. There was a special

service for the children on Friday morning, June 25, with a sermon on the text, Matthew 13 : 15, 16. After service, the children, to the number of 1200, marched through the streets, led by music and singing : "Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott," and : "Lobe den Herren, den mächtigen Koenig der Ehren."

The Lutherans of Fort Wayne had a solemn service on Friday morning the anniversary day of the Augsburg Confession, and afterwards marched through the streets, being joined by the professors and 210 students of Concordia College, and by four of the country congregations belonging to the Missouri Synod. The procession required an hour to pass a given point. There were in it 418 children of Emanuel church, and 66 young men of the young people's society of the same.

The Missouri Lutherans of Baltimore, as those of other large cities, have *Posaunenchoere*, (Cornet Bands) and these trumpeted "Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott," from their church towers, early in the morning. There were festive services in the evening and on the next Sunday, and in the afternoon of Sunday one for the children in three different churches. On Monday the five congregations united in a Lutheran *Volksfest* in Druid Hill Park.

The grandest of all the jubilee celebrations was that at St. Louis. On Friday morning there was a solemn service in the splendidly decorated Dreieinigkeitskirche, (Church of the Trinity) at which Prof. Walther, D. D., preached on Ps. 119 : 106. This sermon has since been published. The service was largely attended from all parts of the city and from the country. In the evening there were services in all the Lutheran churches of the city, and all were handsomely decorated. On Saturday evening the students illuminated the buildings and grounds of the Seminary, entertaining the many visitors with a display of fire works, and in conclusion, with an English and a German address, interspersed with festive song. On Sunday morning there were services in all the churches, and in the afternoon similar ones for the children, all well attended, and with this preparation they entered upon the great demonstration on Monday morning. The whole city seemed to be astir. There were marshals and adjutants and mounted police, bands of music and banners, etc., as though there were to be a triumphal pro-

cession that interested all the people. Eight strong men carried the huge banner, measuring 5 by $7\frac{3}{4}$ feet and representing the Church as a ship in the storm, with the inscription: "God is in the midst of her; she shall not be moved." On the other side were the words: "Three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Augsburg Confession and three hundredth anniversary of the Christian Book of Concord, June 25th, 1880, at St. Louis, Mo., Math. 24 : 25 : 'Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.'"

This was followed by the students of the Seminary, then came those of the Academy, succeeded by about 800 young men from the different *Juenglingsvereine*, (Brotherhoods) and 13 Lutheran congregations, each carrying its own banner, making 18 divisions in all. Then there followed 76 large furniture wagons, mostly drawn by four horses and largely loaded with children. Prof. Walther rode in a carriage by himself, followed by his colleagues in ten equipages. Then there came 300 carriages, each carrying four young women dressed in white and all decorated with flowers. The procession passed five Lutheran churches at which there were triumphal arches erected with suitable inscriptions. In all there were counted 1500 men on foot, and 576 vehicles, the procession requiring one hour and 25 minutes to pass a given point. On reaching the fair grounds there was rejoicing and singing. Everything had been carried out in most splendid order. The hymn especially composed for this occasion by Prof. Schaller, and sung with immense effect, is worth preserving even in its German dress:

Mel. Lobe den Herren, den mächtigen Kœnig, etc.

Jauchze vole Freuden, o Christenheit, rühme die Werke,
Die Gott den Vætern erzeugt mit allmächtiger Stärke,
Er hat befreit Zion aus Jammer und Leid,
Dass seine Wunder man merke.

Lobe den Herren, der sein Wort sorein uns gegeben,
Lasst uns fuer Menschenstand predigen Christum, das Leben,
Der Glaube ruht in dem versœhnenden Blut,
Vor dem die Hœlle muss beben.

Lobe den Herren, der hiess in den heissesten Tagen
Seine Bekenner vor Kaiser und Reich nicht verzagen;

Gebe er Muth, Dass auch wir Leben und Gut,
Treu dem Bekenntnisse, wagen.

Singet dem Herren, der Himmel und Erde regieret,
Seine Gemeinde beschirmet und gnädiglich fuehret,
Sein ist das Reich, Seindie Kraft, Ihm auch zugleich
Herrlichkeit ewig gebuehret.

The rest of the day was spent in the German fashion. Many of the city officials including the mayor visited the *Volksfest*, and there were addresses in both languages explaining the meaning of all this ado.

Some of the texts preached on at the different jubilee services are as follows :

"That good thing which was committed unto thee keep by the Holy Ghost which dwelleth in us," 2 Tim. 1 : 14. (Milwaukee).

"I will speak of thy testimonies also before Kings, and will not be ashamed," etc., Ps. 119 : 46-50. (Greenville, N. J.)

"Thou has brought a vine out of Egypt: thou hast cast out the heathen and planted it," etc., Ps. 80 : 8-20. (New Hamburg, Ontario).

"Fight the good fight of faith, lay hold on eternal life wherunto thou art also called, and hast professed a good profession before many witnesses," 1 Tim. 6 : 12. The theme based on this was: *Our fathers, Timothy-like, professed a good confession, before many witnesses at Augsburg in 1530*; 1, in that they fought a good fight of faith; 2, in that they laid hold on eternal life. (Chicago).

One of our ministers preached at a synodical jubilee service on the *Fellowship of the Holy Spirit*, as becoming effectual by means of the evangelical truth which our fathers confessed at Augsburg over against the traditions and human ordinances of the Romish Church.

That there were many other celebrations public and private, either on the 25th of June, or on some Sunday near that date, of which there either has been no public report, or else it has escaped our notice, may be taken for granted. Thus we heard "Ein feste Burg is unser God," trumpeted by the Posaunenchor of the Missouri Lutheran church in our neighborhood, early in the morning on the Sunday previous to the great day, and it may be presumed that there was a sermon appropriate to the occasion during the hour of service, as on the Friday following several of these congregations united with the neighboring country congregations in a Lutheran Jubilee Pic Nic.

Even one of the churches of the "Evangelical Synod of North America," St. John's of St. Louis, celebrated the delivery of the Augsburg Confession on Sunday June 27th, the pastor delivering a discourse upon the subject, and in the afternoon there were festivities with the children of the parochial and of the Sunday School all having reference to the Jubilee of the Augsburg Confession.

In Berlin, Germany, there was no special demonstration, but the jubilee was referred to in different ecclesiastical circles and the "Evangelical-Kirchliche Anzeiger," of Berlin, issued on the 25th of June, contained a very earnest editorial on the value and significance of the Augsburg Confession.

It is also in point here to refer to another feature of Lutheran demonstrations during the present year. A pastor of the Synodical Conference, living at Oshkosh, Wis., published a pamphlet of some seventy pages on the ominous question: "Lutheranism or Calvinism?" with the sub-title: "Popular Exhibition of the doctrinal struggle which has broken out in the midst of the Synodical Conference, as an introduction to the three hundredth anniversary of the Book of Concord." For years the leaders of the Missouri Synod have been charged with Calvinistic tendencies in their doctrinal discussions. The author of this pamphlet was an ardent admirer of these leaders, but has now engaged with a few others in the publication of an opposition journal, called: *Altes und Neues*, and in combatting with zeal and bitterness the theologians of the Synodical Conference. The production in question is a jubilee document. It is very bold in its charges of serious heresies upon the Missourians, quoting largely from their public writings and exhibiting the danger to which the extreme Lutheranism of America is tending.

WHY IT SHOULD BE CELEBRATED.

We might here start in with a "why not?" God's word seems to have suggested jubilee celebrations. Read up Leviticus xxv., and kindred portions of Holy Writ. The Bible Dictionaries and religious encyclopædias contain very valuable information about the jubilee years of olden times. How the Church made use of jubilee celebrations, and how she abused them, is related

in our different church histories. Important events suggest a celebration of their anniversary days and years. Thus we had our Centennial of American Independence, a few years ago, and every fourth of July we commemorate its formal declaration. We have our annual Reformation day and our centennial and semi-centennial jubilee in church life.

In the year 1630 our fathers met in Leipzig, during the month of April, at the instance of the Elector, and arranged for a celebration of three days' continuance. On the Sunday previous it was announced. It commenced with the services of St. John's day (June 24th) and continued over Sunday (June 27th). The churches were decorated, the Augsburg Confession was read and the Lord's Supper was administered on every one of the three festival days. By various programmes and pastoral letters were the Lutherans called upon to make the occasion one of hearty thanksgiving for the blessings of the pure doctrine as exhibited in the Augsburg Confession.

In the year 1730, the 25th of June fell on a Sunday, yet in most parts of Germany the celebration was continued up to Wednesday. The programme had been arranged in the early part of the year. There was to be preaching and communion on Sunday, Monday and Tuesday, and two full services with preaching on each day, with the exception that on the third only one sermon might be allowed, in case the pastor had no assistant, but in that case there was to be a children's service in the afternoon. The Augsburg Confession was to be read plainly and solemnly, so that all might realize what the jubilee signified. The services were in many cases quite imposing. There were to be collections taken up for benevolent purposes, for Home and Foreign Missions.

Johann August Corvinus published an illustrated "*Evangelisches Eben Ezer* to the honor and praise of the Triune God and for a memorial to posterity." It contains among other things a hymn, founded on the eighty-seventh psalm, which, by the way, was sung at the recent celebration in both of our Chicago churches, as also at the opening of the Wartburg Synod, and a rhythmical presentation of the Augsburg Con-

fession, having a verse on each of the twenty-eight articles, with the subject of which it treats, and the appropriate Bible references.

The third centennial of the delivery of the Augsburg Confession fell in a period of Rationalism and Unionism, yet there were those who celebrated the jubilee with great festivity and hearty rejoicings. There are many records of the texts preached on, the prayers prescribed for the occasion, the hymns sung and the arrangements made to show that the Confession of the Church was still appreciated.

In view of these historic facts, and the fact that during the present year the jubilee was largely observed and heartily engaged in, and that those who lived before us one hundred, two hundred and three hundred years ago, deemed it proper to celebrate this great event, we might ask with emphasis: "*Why not also celebrate?*" The occasion is a glorious one. That which took place three hundred and fifty years ago is worthy of all remembrance.

The year 1530 marks an epoch in ecclesiastical history. We do not ignore the important events of the following years and the heroic endeavors to bring about peace and a definite understanding among all the adherents of the Reformation, but we do prefer to keep our eye fixed upon the first grand act, in the establishment of the Lutheran Church, and to emphasize the delivery of the Augsburg Confession as a genuine and sufficient cause for a jubilee celebration. It settled the fact that an evangelical party existed, made demands and insisted upon its rights, at the risk of worldly possessions and even life. The Papists could ignore them now no longer. They had thenceforth to do with a party, not of Protestants, as at Spire, but with princes and theologians who could stand up before all the world and say, as Luther had done at Worms: *Unless you can convince us with the undoubted testimony of God's word, we cannot recant: here we stand; we cannot do otherwise; God help us! Amen.*

The Evangelical party set up "an ensign for the people," and to *this* our anniversary days direct attention. There is a tendency to forget historic facts and to remove ancient landmarks. We are apt to consider ourselves wiser than our fathers, and to

throw overboard what we fail to appreciate as valuable. The "Augustana" is the groundwork of our Lutheran theology. It has been lost sight of at times and treated like some antiquated document that is pushed on the uppermost shelf of the library. But these jubilee festivities bring it into view again. They direct public attention to the fact that the Lutheran Church still exists and is putting all her evil-wishing prophets to shame. When Chancellor Brueck declared that the "gates of hell would never prevail against the truth taught in the Augsburg Confession," the Emperor is said to have smiled contemptuously, because he believed himself strong enough to quell the whole uprising against the Church of Rome. Erasmus declared in 1527 that the "Lutheran faction" would soon die out. In 1572 the astrologer Taisnier prophesied from the position of certain stars that Lutheranism would perish in 1575. Peter Carbonarius wrote in 1590: "Nothing is nearer its last end at this time than Lutheranism." In 1603 Paul Wendeck gave seventy-two reasons why Lutheranism would become extinct in a short time. Simon Schreiner publicly said in 1626 that the Lutheran Church is visibly declining every day. Thomas Heinricus said that the Lutheran *Jubilate* would soon be changed into *Ejaculate*. Cornelius á Lapide has quoted a number of papal prophecies, which confidently foretell the destruction of Lutheranism in one hundred and fifty years. One of the writers of that day said of the Form of Concord, that "in a few years its carcass would so decompose, that even the authors of it would not be able to endure the stench!" Dippel says: "The hour is approaching when the Lutheran Church shall be burned with fire;" and Cyprian writes "that a horrible destiny awaits the Lutheran Church."

Dr. Morris, to whom we are indebted for the collection of these oracular utterances respecting the downfall of Lutheranism, adds that numerous similar ones might be given. It must have been refreshing to those weighed down by the melancholy apprehension that at least some of these predictions were to be fulfilled, to witness the enthusiasm of Lutheran jubilee celebrations during the present year. We showed the world that we are still standing. Taking our position on the Confession sub-

scribed and delivered three hundred and fifty years ago at Augsburg, we say with Luther at the Diet of Worms: *HIER STEHE ICH*. Our Church has grown to the number of some 45,000,000 souls in the different parts of the world. She has indeed been under the cloud at times, and her people have wept, but God has been in the midst of her, so that she could not be removed from her foundations. The prophecies of her downfall have long since been put to shame; even the remotest period allowed for her continuance has been passed, and still she advances, "fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners."

As we usually sing a hymn at the close of a discourse, we here submit an appropriate Jubilee Hymn by Miss Harriet R. Krauth, which may be sung to a tune found in Endlich's Choral-Buch, No. 69, and which is headed: June 25th, 1530—1580—1880:

Arise our hearts, and welcome
 This holy, happy day;
 While Nature joins the triumph,
 In festival array:
 Her fairest works out-doing,
 The Earth doth stand, with lavish hand
 The Church's pathway strewing.

In midst of Summer beauty
 Our Christmas comes again:
 God's Truth, in human weakness,
 Is born anew to men.
 But, to the Augsburg manger,
 Wise man, or king, no gift doth bring,
 But strife, and snare, and danger.

And Easter joy is swelling
 In Christian hearts this day,
 Still living Faith ariseth,
 That long in darkness lay.
 The stone of superstition,
 By priest-craft sealed, at length must yield,
 In spite of man's derision.

In Pentecostal fullness,
 God's Spirit, then outpoured,
 Abideth still among us

In Sacrament and Word.
To-day the precious story,
In varying tongue, is gladly sung—
To God be all the glory !

We wait, with patient longing
That shall be satisfied,
The Church's great Ascension,
When Christ shall claim His Bride.
Lord grant us, we entreat Thee,
When Thou shalt come, to bring us home,
With all Thy saints to meet Thee.

ARTICLE V.

LIFE WITH A PURPOSE.*

By M. VALENTINE, D. D., President of Pennsylvania College,
Gettysburg, Pa.

"To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth," John 18 : 37.

With a graduating class College Commencement usually fixes some of the most abiding memories of the soul. Its few days are like a traveler's passage over the mountain summit, where the very air gives him feelings he never had before, where the ascent attained and the open vision reached put indestructible impressions into the mind. In it the student comes to a point to which his thoughts have for years been preceding him. It is a stadium for new departure. It is indeed a period of life by itself, unique and alone, but never to be forgotten. In all the progress of after years, in prosperity or sorrow, from the exhilarating heights of success or the shadowy lowlands of disappointment, till death closes the eye, the memory keeps an open, if not beaten, way back to the College Commencement that ended student tasks, and threw the golden gates open outward upon life under the world's broad sky.

The real importance of this period is not so much that college days are numbered by it, as that it pushes face to face with

*A Baccalaureate Discourse, delivered June 20, 1880.

the great questions and necessities of active life. Your future days and years are meeting you here, greeting your coming, opening their possibilities, pointing to work, lifting up their prizes, soliciting you with their pleasures. Among its memories for the future, I desire that the occasion may fix, if possible, in ineffaceable clearness, some of the chief principles for right, successful and happy life. These will appear, I trust, as, under direction of these words of the world's divine Teacher, we look at the subject they suggest to us—Life with a Purpose.

The pattern life presented in Christ has been teaching the centuries how to live. Age after age men have been studying it, ever finding some new richness, some new glory, some profounder lessons. The imperfect, but earnest humanity of thousands on thousands has been aspiring toward that perfect Example, and has made real progress only as it has grasped its inner principles and been moulded by them to its divine form. But one of the great facts connected with that life, conceded to be the only perfect life ever lived on earth, and the true model for all that is to be right, manly and successful, is that it was one which was lived with a purpose. It began with a purpose, it took up the purpose, it accomplished the purpose, and when it ended, "*I have finished the work,*" was the word that told of the earth made better and heaven open above it. This great fact in the life from which has come the power which is forming the purest, the sweetest, the noblest, the most progressive and blessed life of the world, has lessons, I think for us all, for you and for me; and for none *more* than for young men, who, as you do now, pass through the gates for the places you are to take. Let us give our attention, for awhile, to some of the things this subject covers.

I. It needs no proof that there *is* a purpose in each life. There is a design for every one. When we hear Christ declare that there was an end for *His* birth and coming, we may justly take it as clear statement of a truth that holds for all the humanity for which He is the Head and Pattern. Not that any of us can be in the world for precisely the same end as His; for *His* was, in many of its features, alone in the history of the earth; but we too, under Him and following Him, represent

and are to answer *a* purpose—one that, like His, is to justify our existence. No man is sent into the world either on a fool's errand or no errand. No one is like an arrow shot at random into the air to go nowhere and fall indifferently anywhere. A life whose powers and forces would carry no design would be an anomaly, a discord, a contradiction in the system of things. For design, plan, with adaptation, belongs everywhere, alike to atoms and to worlds. When Jesus lay in the manger, His life already wrapped up and signified all that we see accomplished when the ascension cloud above Olivet received Him out of sight. The manger pointed to the riven sky and the throne above the sky. This expresses how at its very start every life looks to its end. Just as truly as does the bud of the early spring, or the seed that you gather from the flower, or the acorn you take from the oak, so truly does each human life, from the first, contain a plan, an end, a complex of adaptations. Could you decipher the mystic inscriptions, the whole history of its career, if not perverted or defeated, might be found deeply written in its initial being. Each one of you is now here for something, complex and multiform it may be, but which fits into the system of things, the work needing to be done, and the welfare of all. The true and faithful life always represents a thought of God.

As to some men, it is not hard to believe and see that their birth and coming have carried and reflected a divine plan. They achieve a work for which a nation or the earth had been waiting. Their career is a forward movement for humanity. Sometimes God sends a great thinker among the race, and the intellectual light is brightened all around the horizon; sometimes a glowing worker, and the warmth of the human heart is raised from shore to shore. They live, and their grand career becomes progress for their country or the race. It is easy to see they were born for something. But not more truly than are other men. God's measure does not determine reality by size. The lowliest and smallest are, every one, for *their* work. The hyssop on the wall is for its place, as really as is the cedar of Lebanon—the lowly crocus not less than the grand magnolia. Each atom is a thought of God as truly as are the moun-

tains. He who cares for the falling sparrows and numbers the hairs of our heads, sends not only a Moses, a Paul, a Luther, a Newton, a Washington, an Agassiz into the world to accomplish a purpose, but the humblest man with his feeble life and single talent. He has a place for the grand poet who can sing for the ages, and the common man that can reflect happiness in listening to the song; for the sculptor who can make the marble speak, and the ordinary mind that can stand in blessed admiration before it. He has place for the brilliant leader who may command the armies of the world's advance, and for the humblest private that can fall into the ranks. You see a little child smitten by death and laid away in the grave, and you perhaps imagine it has existed in vain. But from its short stay in its earthly home, warming and binding to itself a mother or a father's love, it has drawn human hearts upward toward the skies. A few days may be enough to win heaven, and leave a blessed influence at work on earth. Let no one of you think there is no place for him. For *every* life there is definite import enough to justify the language: "For this end was I born, for this cause am I come."

This purpose must, of course, not be understood to mean anything so particular and fixed as to conflict with your true freedom and the full exercise of all your powers. It does not imply that there is necessarily one distinct avocation or business, which a man must follow, or miss the end for which he was born. It must lie in a range broad enough for the true play of your choices, faculties and multiform activities. The object, in its ultimate and general nature, is a moral one—the attainment of right character, in holy obedience to God and true service to man. It is not in one calling or pursuit alone that this may be done. A man's avocation or business expresses rather his *way* of accomplishing his purpose than the essence of it, and blends with the purpose only as it may be the *true* way.

In its aggregate and essence, the generic purpose which holds all specific purposes together is probably best seen as reflected in what Jesus declared to have been the all-inclusive import of His coming—bearing "witness to the truth." We know of nothing that may, better than this, be taken as summing up

the true office of every human life. Because He was born to testify to the truth, He had to say: "I am a King." And He *was* a King because One with the Eternal Truth. Every separate purpose of His life on earth was held together in His witness to this—a testimony constantly maintained in every word, act, and movement. To be a witness of the truth is no little thing, no restricted specialty of aim or occupation. Men may serve the truth in ten thousand ways. Though an infinite and eternal unity, truth is also an infinite variety, wider than "the wideness of the sea," filling all space and time, omnipresent for human discernment and fidelity, in the divine word, in nature, in providence. It is to be accepted, loved, lived, everywhere, in all things. Loyalty to it is to be the temper—must be—of every true man. It will throw his life under a perpetual illumination, open its eyes to see the divine meaning of things all around, make it rich in the pleasures and harmonies for which God has chorded His great universe.

There is no purpose meant for any of you on earth, outside of or apart from this love and fidelity to the truth. Men have often attempted aims regardless of this, and rejecting it. And their life has been a perversion, a failure. It has broken against bars and gone to pieces, or become a desert and a waste. Because they have not loved the truth, truth has hid itself away from their view, and they never find the path of life. "Having eyes, they see not." This point is of more consequence for your life-purpose than you may think. You may never have thought of it, but it is wonderful how in Jesus' love of the truth and absolute loyalty to it, or oneness with it, all things were open and clear to Him, all things turned their unveiled faces to Him, recognized Him, gave up their secrets, yielded up their treasures to Him. In this love, He stood in true and sympathetic relation and fellowship with all the pure realities of nature, providence, and life. The volume of revelation which the Jews could not understand, He understood. History laid down all its light and meaning at his feet. Nature, because He loved it, took Him, even as He was, into its deepest mysteries. Everthing—but sin—was ready to own Him. A living writer

has said : "The stones of the field are in league with the geologist, the trees and flowers with the botanist, the component parts of the earth and air with the chemist, just in so far as each, consciously or unconsciously, follows God's methods with them." So in every department. Loyalty to the truth, oneness of heart with it is the key into the treasures of knowledge. It is insight into all things. It is the power of telescope for range of vision, of microscope for thoroughest accuracy. Witnessing to the truth holds and accomplishes every true purpose of life. If it is wanting, it is not simply one good thing wanting, but the heart of all. It is the essential thing, the keystone without which no stone of the arch can keep place. The want becomes not mere weakness, defect, or one-sidedness, but fatal disorganization, the disorganization of the carriage when the axle is gone.

II. But another thing. The purpose must be distinctly and definitely *apprehended*. You must know what it is. He who stands as the model for the race knew precisely what He was born for—knew it clearly, felt it thoroughly. He could say : "For *this* end." So must every man who is to make life a triumphant success. The purpose *for* him must become a purpose *in* him, clearly seen and recognized.

Christ seems to have come gradually into clear consciousness of His mission. As "true man," He grew into mental maturity in all points as we do. When in the temple, twelve years old, answering to His parents : "Wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business?" He was manifestly in the dawn of conscious knowledge of Himself and His work. Afterwards the light brightened, and at length rose into full-orbed day. Thenceforth His life-work was all in His clear vision. Never was there a man who so thoroughly knew what he was in the world for, or one that carried an intenser purpose in his soul.

You need not live long, watching people around you, to be convinced that hundreds and thousands of them have never seriously raised the question, what they are here for. They seem not to care to know. Others, though they have considered it, have evidently mistaken the purpose. They have hardly a single

adaptation to the sphere they are trying to fill. If they have rightly conceived their end, they have at least blundered as to the way. Their place is forever disowning them. Nothing rightly succeeds. Their work drops like blossoms that never set in fruit. They are, at best, like fussy, noisy engines playing on a side-track, carrying no through freight. They have not found their purpose and place.

As you well know, there are some divine purposes that may go blindly and necessarily into effect. The seed of the flower or plant needs not consciously accept its design. The animal life and organization move toward their end without asking consent of will. Planets and stars go in their courses and make the music of the spheres unknowingly. But you must understand your purpose, and hold it in clear view and aspiration. It is no eyeless something. It is no force that can work its end without your will. Do not take the false sense instead of the true out of Shakespeare's words :

There's a divinity that shapes our ends,
Rough-hew them as we will."

You may rough-hew your true ends all away. Many do. You may do no intentional hewing, because you have not conceived your design. The sculptor's ideal must precede the strokes of his hammer. You must *see*, for the working out of the high and difficult things in the meaning of human existence. A sightless Samson may pull down a grand temple, but can build none. No random living will answer. Goethe has said : "No man in this world can safely live at random ; the ship that sails at random will be wrecked even in a calm, and the man who lives at random will be ruined without the help of any positive vices." Goethe's statement explains the failure of thousands on thousands of lives—the wreck and ruin of thousands more. Men have passed out into life without a fixed, noble, holy purpose, only to drift : and they *have* drifted, and gone where all drift goes.

The choice of your profession or calling comes in here. The great secret of this is to choose God's choice. How are you to know it ? You may read your calling in your capacities, pow-

ers, adaptations, the needs of the Church and society, the indications of Providence, and the pointings of conscience. The young man who takes the place for which his talents fit him, toward which a sanctified heart draws him, who falls into the service of truth where work needs to be done, has made a safe choice. In understanding himself, he has understood his work.

III. There is another thing. This purpose must be *turned into action*. There is always a difference between perceiving work and doing it. Often there have been men of brilliant endowments and varied culture, who have conceived life grandly, but being nerveless, irresolute and unpractical, the vision passed not into reality, the life has come into no success. The plan must go, not only into your understanding, but into your will, and kindle like fire in all your energies.

The best example, in all the ages, of straightforward doing is seen in Christ. When the time came—and He waited sublimely through the preparing stage—He went to the work with His whole nature. There was no flurry, no precipitancy, no noise. But without hesitation, and making no mistakes, with perfect prudence and untrembling nerve, He steadily carried His aim forward, every day witnessing the full day's advance. Such an illustration of calm, intelligent, earnest working and of practical power, the world has seen nowhere else. That the ideal was, hour after hour, turned into the actual, the golden conception into the golden deed, is seen in the fact that as life closed He could say of the work given Him: "It is done!" This was one of the sweet satisfactions of that bitter crucifixion-day.

This successful turning of life's purpose into achievement involves a few important conditions:

1. It requires full *self-possession*. You must own and have yourself, for your work. You must have your faculties and powers in true independence of both internal and external servitudes and disabling subjections. This is not always so. There are scores of men who never get possession of themselves, or of their nature and possibilities. The natural bondage of the human soul to the alien powers of sin, makes it impossible that an unregenerate, un-Christian man should ever be, or have his true

self. He is a slave, often a thorough chattel of satan ; and unless his chains are dissolved or smitten off, he can never get the true movment of his powers. "If the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free." But even Christian men often fail to take possession of themselves for their true lives. Some leave their talents undeveloped, in the thrall and possession of ignorance. Others, with cultured powers and garnered knowledge, surrender themselves to the grasp and bonds of surrounding treacheries. Many a young man, nerveless and indolent, never assumes his selfhood and independence, but like some weak students who depend on others for working out their student tasks, get only a parasite life, held and fed by others. It is strongly urged, these days, that through relics of legal barbarism among us, woman is left without full self-possession, deprived of her rights and possibilities. This may be so. But this evil is wider. Apart from laws, there are powers about us that seize and carry off the independent selfhood of both men and women. We hardly need an illustration of this in such extreme form as is seen in the victim of the wine-cup held fast like the possessed of Gadara, or the opium-eater grinding in the prison-mills of his sore subjection. We may say nothing of men whose self-sufficiency and independence have been surrendered to a milder usurpation, and who are nothing, if not chewing or smoking when the hours of the conqueror comes round, fit neither for society nor yet for solitude, for business nor yet for pleasure, except at the will of the habit to which they are in unresisting tribute. But aside from such things, possession of yourself may be badly damaged. When we remember the manifold thraldoms of ignorance, prejudice, circumstances, public opinion, the arbitrary demands of whimsical fashion or absurd custom, the usurpations of fear, partiality, partisanship, or ill-regulated passions, we see how hard it is to keep our individuality properly in our own hands. The empire of self is hard to keep intact. The lives of thousands of even gifted men are spent almost entirely in the service and at the bidding of unworthy influences that are playing upon them. Many men are "possessed" still, if not by demons, yet by influences that rule them as truly. There are some who happen to come under the shadow of some

stronger nature, and they are never seen or heard of afterward save as a reflection or echo of another's personality. One may sell himself to another in wrong compromises. David, in yielding to sin, took Joab into league, and could hardly ever afterward call his crown or himself his own.

I know that it is right and proper to be influenced by accepted customs, social laws, the views of others, and public opinion. The action of these things is wholesome, in its right degree. The man who would be wholly regardless of them, is either a fool or a knave. But the necessity is that you never allow them to interfere with a true, real, full command of yourself for your work and joy. No man who permits himself to be forever played upon by the vanities, prejudices, misconceptions and follies of society, or the arts, wiles and partisanships of designing men, is capable of fulfilling his true life-work. Be yourself. Own yourself. "Call no man master." Only Christ is your Master, and you have your work under Him. Here is one great meaning of your education. The training of the intellect, the culture of the heart, loosening the bonds of ignorance, error and sin, the widening of your horizon of thought and knowledge, is a coming into possession of yourselves for your place and duty. Maintain your self-possession, for your further cultivation, for your high loyalty to truth, for the work of God, for a growing noble manhood.

2. Another thing. You must have a modest self-confidence. Every man must have strong reliance on himself. Let no one be shocked at this, as a suggestion of impiety. God has given your endowments to be used confidently, even bravely. It is true, self-trust may be excessive, and, as empty conceit, rush to speedy disappointment. The excess in this direction is, indeed, sometimes ludicrous enough. Some young men, taking for granted, that they will be accepted at their own estimate of themselves, are found to fix that estimate surprisingly high. Some astonishing appraisements are thus made. On their standard, there are plenty of "mute, inglorious Miltons" kept out of their true eminence by want of appreciation, many an unrecognized Webster whose place in the high ranks is denied by invincible popular stupidity, many a Cæsar unemployed de-

spite his abilities for imperial command. Yet, while you are not to think of yourself more highly than you ought to think, you are not to think too meanly of yourself. Think soberly; and take a true, confident gauge of yourself. I know of few things that more surely weaken, unnerve, disqualify, and foreclose from full success in life, than a low, inadequate estimate of one's own abilities. You might almost as well have no endowments, as to believe and feel you have none. You make them practically little by counting them little. Many a man has been almost incapacitated for his work, by a false mistrust of himself; others have almost doubled their small capital, and succeeded, by the calm, undoubting assurance which enabled them to handle it well. They have made the single talent, as the pebble of the kaleidoscope, appear like many brilliants to the beholder's eye.

Let no one say it is unnecessary to encourage self-confidence, or that there is too much of it already. There is often too much where it ought not to be, and not enough where it ought. True merit is proverbially modest, and no one can be a close observer of life, and fail to see scores and hundreds of men, of rich and able endowments, amounting to but little, and doing less, by reason of a paralyzing diffidence and mistrust, jostled aside and put back by dwarfish, but confident, perhaps impudent, inferiority. So many men would do more if they only thought they could. The saying: "Talent, or merit, is sure to be appreciated, and find its level," is true only when an energetic self-reliance helps its to its level. The world, it is true, will usually give modest talent a chance, but it must have nerve enough then to take it. The man who always insists on taking the back seat, or shies off into a corner, will probably soon be left there. Ambitious smaller men will see their opening and take the lead. Almost everywhere, from the state convention down to the town meeting, it is often certain that neither brains nor character are in power, and determine issues, but often only the pushing self-confidence that is ever ready with its motion, its speech, or string of resolutions. When combined with real talent, this nerve has carried into grand power and influence multitudes of whom otherwise nothing would ever have been

heard. D'Israeli's opening career in Parliament was laughed at. Had he waited till others brought him out, he would have remained obscure. But he put his estimate on his powers, and said: "You shall hear me." And, as Lord Beaconsfield, he has since stood next to the throne, and all Europe and the world have at times listened to catch the first syllables of his utterance. The need of men, in this respect, is ever the same; you must understand your powers and *trust* them.

3. This must, of course, be underlaid with a sense of your responsibility and dependence on God. You have a right to trust in yourself only when your trust is, at the same time, in Him. Human nature is a broken and poor thing, unless quickened by a sense of responsibility to God and strengthened by leaning on Him. One of the most impressive lessons taught by human experience, is that no man rightly succeeds who forgets God or sunders his life-purposes from dependence on Him. You must realize that your nature rests back on Him as its origin and life, and must reach Him again as its goal and home. The suspension bridge must be anchored at both ends to be strong and firm, and to carry in safety what is trusted to it. At not a single point will the arch of your life be secure or carry its purpose, if in any part from beginning to end it is without the support and strength of such resting in God.

4. Only one other condition of giving effect to your purpose; you must make it include the future life. Hollow as emptiness itself is the notion that consideration of the life to come interferes with true success in this. Success in this must include preparation for that. Your being cannot be cut in two, and either part complete in itself. Its beginning here in these earthly years must be adjusted to all its eternal hereafter. Who would imagine that the young would best accomplish the design of youth by forgetting that they are meant to become men? Or that a student will be the most successful student by shutting out all reference to or consideration of the great world which his studies are to prepare him to enter? It is well known that the life of both individuals and nations drops down into anarchy and corruption, if it is without inspiring and regulative faith in immortality.

Human life is, at best, fragmentary enough. With its fullest achievements, it leaves much undone. Thoughtful minds, in looking at this, have ever been saddened in painful impression of its incompleteness. It is usually broken off in the midst of its plans and labors, and if unprepared to go on to something higher, appears as a broken design, an unfinished purpose. This past Spring the eye of every visitor to our national capitol was arrested by a most expressive scene. For month after month, high in the lofty rotunda, Brumidi, the aged artist, had been tracing a grand belt of historical frescoes, meant to reach round the full wide dome. It had been his great conception, the accomplishment of which was to complete his fame and work; and with his wasting strength he had wrought his ideals into reality half-round the circle. But as you now raise your eye to the scaffold clinging there against the lofty wall, it is found empty. You see the artist's cast off over-all hanging over its side. The cartoon from which he was working, you see leaning against the bars, where he put it aside till he should come back to his work. But there death stopped the work, mid-way; and the silent scaffold and chair and garment are eloquent witnesses, speaking to the heart, of the incompleteness of human working in this life. No life is complete in its temporal achievements. Its main work must be something death cannot interrupt or arrest, something that has immortality for its range and heaven for its home. Fichte has well said: "Only so far as I can regard this condition as the means of something better, as a point of transition to a higher and more perfect, does it acquire any value for me. Not on its own account, but on account of something better for which it prepares the way, can I bear it, honor it and joyfully fulfill my part in it."

Young gentlemen of the class of '80, these things are for you. In the ordering of Him whose plan guides all things, there is set before each of you a worthy, useful, happy life, for which you have been born. Your education has been meant to open your way into it, to disclose it to your clear view and qualify you for it. That education, no matter what may be its acquisitions, can be counted successful only as it has given insight into your mission and prepared you to serve God and men in fulfill-

ing it. We have been watching the process with the deepest interest. We have understood, as the work has gone on, how your daily student tasks and efforts were training, strengthening and enlarging you. We knew that no work you did was dropping dead, that each struggle with difficulties was compacting the nerves of future power, and every toilful hour was throwing light and joy on the pathway of coming years.

And now the institution that sends you forth as her sons, asks you to be true to yourselves, true to your mission, true to God. The space you may have to fill may not be large. The position may be humble. But if you accept it as from God and fulfill it in the activities of a loving heart, a pure mind, a brave and trustful soul, it will be great and beautiful before Heaven and rich in sanctifying joy.

You are going forth in a day in which life counts more than ever before. The fruits of many centuries have ripened for us. The labors of a hundred generations have come to harvest. Human thought is intensely aroused. Science and learning have greatly enlarged the realm of knowledge and the blessings of life. Investigation is tireless and daring. Achievement has almost ceased to startle, in having made wonders so common. These things are making life larger and richer for every soul. But they create peculiar dangers and demand special self-possession and energy. In the unsettling of old opinions, and the rash claims of adventurous speculation and theorizing, you need not, indeed, fear that truth will be overthrown or the great hopes of humanity blotted out. But you need to watch lest temporary false currents seize you. The truth is strong enough to be sure to stand. But you may be weak. You will need to beware lest you be beguiled into relaxing your hold on established old truth or taking hold of hurtful or deadly fresh error. Hold yourselves free to accept truth in every direction, and far too free to become the victim of the shifting winds and currents of restless untruth. It will require your most loyal love of truth, and the best use of all your powers. And what point of practical self-management will best serve your safety and success? This—which we trust you will accept as a principle never to be forgotten:—*never allow specu-*

lative difficulties that may be suggested to suspend the practice of your daily Christian duties. Continuing to *do* what you know of God's will and His moral purpose with you, day by day, will break the force of most of the difficulties and dissipate the darkness. The man who stops doing his duty until all perplexing questions are settled, is inevitably wrecked. The devils of all ruin have him in hand. The only security for your learning the truth, the only anchorage for safety that reaches down to sure granite rock, when the tides are dangerous, is *doing* God's will. And actual, daily, honest *living* in the truth will give more satisfactory answer to most of the usual difficulties than you could get from a whole congress of self-sufficient speculative philosophers.

It is one of the cheering things of the life into which you are passing, that its very work, in any and every sphere in which you fulfill your great purpose on earth, is thus conducive to safety as well as success. It is a ground of special satisfaction and confidence that every member of this class is a professing Christian, in pledged fidelity to Christ and His cause. You have been all educated in Christian truth, and for a Christian life and service. You are, therefore, now in the right way; and we know that it is a fact of spiritual forces that they grow stronger as they struggle with the hindrances through which they work on. A simple, trustful, pure life brightens as it advances. Each passing week will enrich the next, and add to the vitality of your growing powers.

"Never a day is given,
But it tones the after years."

"And the common deeds of the common day
Are ringing bells in the far away."

If you are faithfully true to the end for which you have been born, and do God's work and yours, in unselfish love and manly earnestness, the steps of your life will take you up ascending grades, out of the mists, into broader horizons. And when you come to the end, your satisfaction in looking back over a life thus spent in God's truth and work will only be surpassed by the assurance with which you will be able to look forward to a blessed immortality.

ARTICLE VI.

MEMORIAL ADDRESS

AT THE OPENING OF THE BITTLE MEMORIAL HALL.*

PROF. S. C. WELLS, Ph. D., Roanoke College, Salem, Va.

The world builds monuments to the men whom it would honor, and makes the anniversaries of their birth its holidays. Granite and marble from the everlasting hills rise in fretted columns, the breathing bronze is uncovered, there is burial in mausoleums and in the crypts and vaults of hoary minsters. The chieftain's sword, the writer's scroll, effigy of poet, painter, statesman, embellish parks, stand in great thoroughfares of cities, in halls of state,

"Cornice or frieze with bossy sculpture graven"

flash out the dramatic scenes associated with their names.

Whether these memorials to departed worth, these tributes of a nation's love or admiration, be erected in the age in which the actors ceased from their work, or in the more distant years when the world wakes to fullness of appreciation of the goodness and greatness of its benefactors slumbering in unknown graves, the underlying sentiment is one which does it honor and which subserves great and important ends. The memory of mankind is brief. Each age is absorbed in its own actors, sentiments and morals. The agencies, the ends, the hopes and fears, things

*This hall is a well proportioned spacious Gothic structure, of a single high pitched story, with galleries extending around. Its interior arrangements are tasteful and well adapted to library purposes, for which it is exclusively designed. It was built by voluntary contributions secured from friends at home and abroad, through the solicitations of Prof. J. D. Dreher, acting in behalf of College. The library having been collected in great part by Dr. Bittle, there seemed a fitness in the College authorities connecting his name with this building.

The exercises of its formal opening consisted in an address by Rev. C. P. Krauth, D. D. LL. D., on "The Library" and the above address—Oct. 19, 1879.

dared and things achieved, our loves and dislikes, the busy work which our hands find to do, are all rudely jostled by a succeeding age, as the combinations of a kaleidoscope, never to be reformed in their grouping. As we move onward in the march of peoples and nations, as in a vista, there is mistiness before and mistiness behind. Forward, the dim obscure becomes resolved as its unfoldings disclose the issues of our activities, backward, there are fadings as of the baseless fabric of a dream. Yet, in those lamps, fading one by one, there are lights to guide our feet along the shores of the great unknown. There are lessons for each hour to be pondered, there are mines of richest experience for counsel, direction, for comfort and consolation, for admonition and warning, a visible base for a feeble faith, a word, a sign for the necessities, the hallowed walks, the patient toils of life. There are incentives to the loftiest daring, the grandest enterprises, if these have for their ends the glory of God, our country's weal and the welfare of our fellowmen.

It is well, therefore, that the heroic figures that stalk across the world's great stage, should be perpetuated in marble and bronze, that architecture, sculpture and painting should lend their aid to keep them fresh and green in the memory of the world. By the direction of the Lord God himself, piles of stone were ordered to mark the crossing of Jordan by the weary feet of the tribes of Israel and to commemorate His other and gracious deliverances, that when children's children looked upon these strange and mute memorials they might be told how He had dealt with His people, in the past, as toward no other people."

Under this October sun, whose rays linger upon and dress, in the glory of colors, meadow and hill, woodland, valley and river, which, painting the autumn leaf, lighting up the homes of our people and their yellow fields, is glinted back by the splendid amphitheatre of hills which bend around us, we have met to do honor to one whose memory is yet within our hearts. In point of time it is less than a month from the third anniversary of his death, the place itself the scene of his most active and efficient labors for nearly a quarter of a century. We have met to-day to pay his memory no empty and evanescent honors, but to link it enduringly with the name and fame of the Col-

lege in whose establishment, and in the shaping of whose destiny, he bore so prominent and efficient a part. We throw open to-day for its legitimate ends and uses a Hall, called by his name, substantial, roomy, convenient in all its arrangements, tasteful, safe against the contingencies of fire, as human foresight can make it, built by the contributions of many friends at home and abroad. In this "Bittle Memorial Hall" will be preserved the fine library selected and collected by his erudition, his industry and far-sightedness, during the busy years which seemed to require all of thought and action for their more pressing and imminent necessities. In the use of a library, so collected and so preserved, by the students who shall assemble within our college halls from year to year, will be perpetuated his agency for good in that direction, too, dearest to one who loves the companionship of book and who has high and right conceptions of their value in arousing moulding and informing the youthful mind.

In opening this Hall to its uses and thereby linking his name with the college in whose interests we have assembled, the occasion warrants, as it requires, a sketch of his useful life. It would be pleasant in the presence of his colleagues, his students, his friends, to enter into the details of that life, to recall from memory yet fresh those incidents and reminiscences which make up the story of a life in its private as well as public relations. But time and the proprieties of the occasion forbid. We can, at best, but touch those salient points of character and career which reveal the spirit of the man, his work, his claim to an honored place in the history of the college, emphasize those for the living and point the moral of their lesson.

David Frederick Bittle was born in the year 1811, in the upper part of the Middletown Valley, Fred'k co., Md., in the midst of the wild and striking scenery formed by the union of South and Catoctin mountains. In lineage he was of the Anglo-German stock, descended on his father's and mother's side, from Prussians, who at an early day had sought home and asylum in the western wilds. In the race formed by such immigrations and plantings, kept apart as it has been by the use of a foreign tongue from intermingling with English speaking people, there

is much that has been and that is still distinctive, much to attract attention as there has been much in all its history to give it value to the states which have embraced it as component parts. From lands of mountains and swift flowing streams, the German emigrant in the earlier days when choice was free, sought by the laws of association, the mountains of the newer world. In the valleys and slopes of the Alleghanies of Pennsylvania, about the Catoctin and South mountains of Maryland, between the Blue Ridge and Alleghanies of Virginia and thence within sight of the same as they shade off southward, they nestled in colonies, subduing the wilderness, tilling the soil, filling the land with the sweet bloom of clover and orchards, the hum of bees, the lowing of kine. Away from the marts of trade, from the great cities of the land, away from manufactories, from political and professional life, these colonies became, instead, models of husbandry and stores of supplies for the state and world. It was and is a hardy and virtuous race. With Luther's Bible and Catechism, with undimmed memories of pious German homes, with traditions of fortune and life given for the faith, with sparseness of settlement, developing home life, nursed by the dangers, privations and hardships incident to their condition, these habits and qualities became deeply and permanently engraven on the race. In matters of religion cherishing an historic faith, in politics conservative, it has been an element of strength in all its history to the American Church and State. An eminent statesman, in compliment to a group of counties in the Shenandoah Valley, for their steadiness in times of high political contest, gave them the name of Cæsar's favorite legion. In a recent conflict, bloody and fearful beyond any foreshadowings to the statesman's mind, the farms of this same "Tenth Legion" became granaries of supplies for the Confederacy, its fields and highways its battle grounds, its citizens tried and historic legionaries.

It may, however, be a matter of surprise to the reflecting mind, that whilst the parent stock in German lands, has for many years been delving deeply and thoroughly in literature, in all the arts and sciences, whilst it has been building great Universities and coming markedly to the front among all the

nations of Europe, in the generality and profundity of its culture, that its offshoots planted in American soil, have been so slow to catch the inspiration. The explanation has already been indicated. A foreign language which they were slow to disuse, remoteness from the great centres, sparseness of settlement, these, on the one hand, kept them from a contact sufficiently close with the dominant populations to receive those impulses which have borne the United States so grandly on in rivalry with the older nations; whilst, on the other, interrupted immigrations, new economies, and civil necessities, severed them in special progress from the parent stock.

Yet the great German characteristic, steadiness and fixedness of purpose, a perseverance before which all difficulties yield, have remained, albeit manifesting themselves in other directions. As farmers, wherever they have turned the furrow, whether on richer or poorer soils, under friendly or unfriendly skies, they have decked the earth in beauty and drawn from her bosom abounding crops. With them there has been that content with slow gains, with safe and steady accessions, that wise economy in the use and care of crops and other resources, which have been anchors to the state, especially in an age and land where improvidence, where destruction of the soil and ready exchanges of it for the "fresh forests and pastures new" of the West, have been the rule and curse of the older States.

The annals of letters and science, too, of politics and patriotism, have been again and again illustrated by these Anglo-German tillers of the soil. But with the introduction of English schools and text-books, placing them in contact and sympathy with the literary and scientific advances of the age, there has been an awakening which in extent, rapidity and thoroughness was possible only to a people at whose foundation were characteristics thoroughly in line with the methods and allurements of such awakening. In all that indicates true and rapid progress in all the great departments of thought and practice, the results, whether considered with reference to the more immediate past, or as a basis for the future, are without a parallel.

From this stock sprang David F. Bittle. His father, Thomas Bittle is described as a man of strict integrity. He was a sol-

dier in the war of 1812, retiring at its close to his farm, where he taught temperance and the other virtues by the illustrations of a godly life, wielding an influence for good over neighbors and friends, being an arbiter of their disputes, and being so noted himself for this virtue as to be called "honest Thomas Bittle." His mother also, Miss Mary Baer of Washington county, was equally distinguished for Christian graces and the shining traits of a noble womanly character. In such a household with all that it implies of training and discipline, in the use of the German language, the only one spoken by parents and children, he reached the fifteenth year of his age. He is said to have been a quiet, retiring youth, never mingling in the rude sports of the young men of the surrounding neighborhood, but spending the winter evenings in reading and study, or in association with Ezra Keller, a boy of similar tastes and habits, who afterwards achieved so great an educational work in the west, and became so justly distinguished.

At this time, however, English schools and text books were introduced into his county. It is said that his father in providing him with the latter, procured at the same time duplicates for himself, which he used in the leisure of his active life, keeping in advance of his son and acquiring such knowledge of English and so much general intelligence as made him a useful and prominent member in all the classes of society in his section of the state. But the quiet and retiring boy desired better means for an education than were afforded by the neighboring schools. He had moreover made a profession of religion and desired to consecrate himself to the work of the "everlasting gospel." In his nineteenth year, we find him, by the advice and coöperation of Rev. Abram Reck, entered as a student in Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, Pa., an institution then but recently established, but which has borne a useful and prominent part in promoting the cause of higher education in the Lutheran Church and in the country at large. His father being in straitened circumstances and with the care of four other children, he entered College upon assistance granted him by the American Home Society for Education, repaying the amount

thus borrowed, afterwards, by self-sacrificing economy in his expenditures.

With the dreams, then, and hopes of his boyhood realized he is at College. He brings with him but little means—an elementary training in books, defective in quality and amount, and but little acquaintance with the ways of the world as manifested on this higher plane. But on the other hand he does bring as means and accessories for the student's life habits of rigid economy in the handling of money, simple tastes, industry, temperance in all things—virtues learned in his quiet home. He does bring an earnest craving for the learning of the schools, habits of untiring if not skillful study, while down the long vista of toil, sacrifices, discouragements and perplexities opening before him, there glimmered and shone, the purpose fixed and cheering, of the consecration of himself with all his talents and acquisitions, whatever they might be, to the ministry of salvation. His cotemporaries at College describe him as having been a laborious and successful student, not brilliant in the sense of rapid and easy acquisition, but advancing in class studies and general knowledge by economy of time and by patient, faithful application, as he did through the remainder of his life. He acquired the reputation in his literary society of a strong and ready debater. Among his classmates and friends at college who have since become widely known were Rev. Dr. Ezra Keller, first President of Wittenberg College, Rev. Dr. Theo. Stork, Philadelphia, and Rev. Dr. S. Sprecher, Springfield, Ohio. After a course of five years he was graduated, serving his institution afterwards as tutor to acquire the means for professional education. In 1837 he was graduated from the Theological Seminary at Gettysburg. This year, in which he had completed his theological studies, after many toils and sacrifices made to secure such preparations for the high aims and solemn purposes to which he had consecrated his life, was also memorable and interesting to him for two other events, his first call to serve a congregation as pastor and his marriage. The congregation so seeking his services was that of St. John's, Augusta Co., Virginia. He accepted this call, and entered at once upon its duties. He had been but recently united in marriage to

Miss Louisa C. Krauth, sister of Rev. C. P. Krauth, D. D., for many years the distinguished President of Penna. College.

Here the labors of the young pastor were characterized by a burning zeal and that full consecration which characterized all his engagements in the Master's cause. His preaching was earnest and aggressive. In labors he was untiring. Eager to improve all opportunities, he gave a ready ear to every call upon his services, whether for those to whom the gospel was statedly preached, or for the hedges and by-ways which his ministerial feet trod so often and so freely, there and elsewhere to the latest days of his life. His associations were filled with courtesies, with Christian fellowship and care for the lowly and neglected. With such zeal, with labors so abundant, the exhibition in his life of so many of the higher Christian graces, it is easy to conceive that he became a power for good over the large range of country embraced and assumed in the limits of his ministerial work, nor is it difficult to realize the affectionate interest in which his memory is held by those who witnessed and enjoyed his ministrations. Among the more visible fruits of his work in Augusta, are the flourishing congregations of Mt. Tabor and Churchville.

Yet, with the care of so many churches on his hands, he still found time, by a wise economy of his minutes, to do much systematic study in his profession and in general learning, cultivating that acquaintance with great authors, which is so well illustrated by the selections for his own library and that of College.

In the faithful culture of this field, by acquaintance with his people there and through other portions of the great valley, over which his agency often extended, he learned to feel the need of better facilities for higher education among his people, both for general progress and as a preparation for more laborers for its whitening fields. In conjunction with Rev. C. C. Baughman, a classical school was established within the bounds of Mt. Tabor congregation, in 1842, under the style of Virginia Institute. This was a private enterprise. But in the spring of 1843 at a meeting of the Virginia Synod of the Lutheran Church it was determined to establish a classical school of high grade

for purposes of education within its bounds. A committee charged with the matter, after canvassing the claims of several localities among which Staunton was especially prominent, recommended the adoption of the school near Mt. Tabor already established. Their report was adopted by Va. Synod, which also invited the coöperation of the Synod of South West Virginia, in a joint effort for the establishment of such a school. In the report the infant enterprise was referred to as full of promise, its patronage though yet limited, embracing Maryland, the Shenandoah Valley and South West Va. After such adoption the enhanced dignity of its position was marked by a change in its style from "Virginia Institute" to "Virginia Collegiate Institute." In all other respects it remained as before—the same unpretentious wooden buildings, the same uninteresting natural surroundings and careful inaccessibility. In 1844 Dr. Bittle left it for pastoral work in another State. The school was in the midst of zealous and intelligent friends, yet after a few years of trial in which results did not seem commensurate with its earlier promise, it was moved to Salem in 1847.

This mention of the inception of this humble institution, of its prosperity and changes, is rendered appropriate from the fact that in it was the germ of Roanoke College, in which connection the best years of Dr. Bittle's life were spent, years of that wise successful and unselfish labor that give him the best claims to honored remembrance. From his wide field of ministerial duty in Augusta county, and from work in connection with the Institute he was called to the pastorate of the Lutheran congregation at Middletown, Md., near his early home. He accepted the call. The circumstances of the new field were different from those he had relinquished. Imposing, as it did, less of physical activity and diversion of his efforts over many points, it left him time and opportunity for more of systematic study in his own profession, in general literature and science. As it regards, therefore, the developing and shaping of his own powers, this quiet service of the Middletown charge was most marked and most important, nor was the value of the service less to those to whom he ministered. The friendships here formed and the memory of his labors survived all subsequent

changes in the charge. How often his return was urged by correspondence we do not know. But there is an occasion fresh in our mind, when a committee of the church council, composed of his staunchest and best friends visited him at Salem, with proposals for the renewal of the old relation. These proposals were liberal as regarded the provision to be made for his own comfort and that of his family, as well as for the pecuniary interests of College, in which he was known to be so much interested. They were pressed, too, by those who had been true and tried, with appeals to considerations which have weight with earnest men. Their force was aided by the fact, that in point of time, they came in one of the darkest hours of College, when perplexities and pecuniary straits environed it and when the future, except to the keen eye of faith seemed all but hopeless.

After serving the church at Middletown for seven years, he moved to Hagerstown in the same state, acting for a year or two as traveling agent for the Home Missionary Society and the Hagerstown Female Seminary. In this last position he succeeded his brother Rev. D. H. Bittle, D. D., who had performed successful work for the same object.

In the midst of these engagements he received and accepted a call to the presidency of Roanoke College, then but recently organized under a College Charter. To those who know its humble beginning, a beginning shared in common by nearly all the Colleges and Universities that have done great and good work in the interests of humanity and have achieved distinction, we need say but little. Nor to those around us who have watched its development and been witnesses to its difficulties and straits—its lack of material resources, the absence of thorough sympathy with its aims and objects, is there need of much recapitulation to show that he was not called to a seat of ease, of emoluments, of honor in the usual acceptation of that term. Nor did he himself feel that he was called to such a position. Its necessities spread out very truly and clearly before his mind. However, to its ends and aims—under its trials and perplexities, for its future whatever that future might reveal, he gave himself with no reservation, formulating the high purpose, with

its recognized necessities, in his earliest conversation with us, in the homely but expressive Saxon, "I have laid myself out for work for Roanoke College." That this purpose was kept in view in all his subsequent connection with College, none acquainted with its history and his own can doubt. Evidences of the work performed in every direction remain to-day, and will and must condition the object for the years to come. His devotion to the College was very marked, distinctive and peculiar. It permeated the whole man in all his feelings and energies, breathing in his prayers and involving all his plans.

The outlook of the enterprise was not hopeful for great things at his inauguration. It is true that a location had been selected, genial and delightful in climate, with surroundings full of that natural beauty which quickly catches the eye, which charms the taste and haunts the memory. It is true that within its reach there was much undistributed territory as fields for patronage and that very much had been realized under its former organization. But for its new purpose, its buildings were insufficient, its libraries, its apparatus and other accessories inadequate. The means to secure these were wanting and, from the absence of the distinctive and fortunate, could be hoped for only by slow and small accessions. But the most of all was, that Roanoke College, under its other difficulties had to create a desire for that culture which it was designed to afford. It had to create a constituency, to mould and fashion the public mind into a disposition, to afford that fostering care which a young and unendowed institution so much needs, to direct the eye of that public to it for purposes of education. The College had no name and no traditions. In a land of traditions, of ancestral pride, in a land clinging to the names, institutions and glories of its past, as does the Old Dominion, antiquity is no mean element of strength. We have passed our Quarto Centennial and are beginning to educate the children of our earlier students. Yet at any time before we had achieved this dignity of age, it would have required a stretch of courtesy and a careless use of fond and familiar terms for any student to have spoken of his Alma Mater as "Old Roanoke."

Under these adverse surroundings, as President of the College

he went resolutely to the work for which he had "laid himself out." It is but natural that he should have been often perplexed and embarrassed. But still he wrought with an energy that knew no exhaustion, a faith that never flagged. It was done, however, in his own peculiar way, quietly and unobtrusively, never hurried by any emergency nor excited at any crisis. In forming acquaintances, in making friends for the enterprise and enlisting them, both in our own and other states, in its support, he was by no means careful to select the wealthy and learned, who might be supposed to be in sympathy with our objects, to have an intelligent appreciation of them, with ample means to assist. But he sought out, as well, with kindly care, men of humble means and acquirements, who were often themselves surprised at the new relations in which it was sought to place them, in making them active agents for promoting the material interests of College in the various directions of its activity. Yet this confidence in their ability, this solicitation of their coöperation, enlisted their sympathies, made them firm friends and in many ways secured valuable aid and service.

Another marked peculiarity in his administration was his disposition to make ventures—that is, erect buildings, acquire property and purchase material for use of College regardless of the facts of an empty treasury and the absence of any other visible means of defraying such expense. In the case of buildings and real estate, the matter would of course be laid before the Board for its sanction and approval. In other cases, however, the Faculty alone would be consulted, that body discouraging or agreeing to take the common risks, according to their judgment and nerve. Instances of these ventures were afforded in the erection of all the earlier buildings by which the accommodations of College were extended beyond the single building inherited from the Institute. Later ones, in which the Faculty alone were concerned, were given by the expensive arrangements for the "Boys' School," the fitting up of the new chapel, the purchase of apparatus, the Schmucker library,* of

*This library was the collection of Rev. S. S. Schmucker, purchased after his death for R. College, on terms made easy by the liberality of his heirs.

thousands of volumes of books, bought at auction and from the shelves of booksellers. In this way the most valuable part of our fine mineral cabinet was obtained. This was the collection of a distinguished mineralogist of Baltimore, was costly though offered at reduced rates, yet so tempting from its value, meeting so well a great necessity of the institution that by consent of the Faculty the purchase was made, payment being set for a future day. These are but a few of the instances which illustrate the history of College and this mode of administration on the part of its President, and the habit of personal assumption of moneyed responsibilities by the Faculty of which he was a part.

It must be confessed that this whole mode of procedure was contrary to worldly wisdom and that from a purely business standpoint it must be condemned. It secured important means to a struggling institution, it is true, means without which it would have been in straits and far less able to afford such facilities as its position demanded and as its steady and prosperous growth required. But on the other hand it was full of perplexity and embarrassments to Dr. Bittle, himself, to the treasurer of the Faculty who was often called upon to work financial wonders, to the Faculty in general from the necessity imposed of grappling with an undue amount of its temporal affairs and the encroachments made upon their incomes. Censure, too, was often temporarily cast upon the good name of College and its administration. Yet for this course there was a noble motive. So much of the prosperity of the institution was purchased and the means for its successful conduct secured by personal obligations assumed, with all the weight these have for honest men, not recklessly and with folded hands, depending for their discharge upon the undiscerned contingencies of the future. But, there was faith full and strong in the appreciation of these enterprises by the friends of College, there was a recognition of the necessity of earnest activity in securing the means to discharge the debts imposed and patience to endure all the personal embarrassments entailed. A busy correspondence and personal interview were the results, in which efforts were made by various modes of organization and individual assistance to

consummate the ventures. Some went off happily, others languished, finding relief in their assumption by the Board of Trustees and a subsequent mode of dealing with them, more in accordance with the wisdom, or at least, policy of this world.

Under the pressures so entailed, Dr. Bittle took the field as a financial agent for two years, one before another after the war. He achieved much success for the personal and regularly authorized enterprises of College, and inspired much of interest in its ends and aims, especially in those parts of Maryland over which his earlier acquaintance and influence extended. In a word, his administration, which conditioned Roanoke College for so many years, had in it largely the elements of that faith which characterized the plans of Francke and George Müller. If the results were not always so speedy, so full and direct, so free from embarrassments, so free from suspense, in the length of time between the trusting act and the approving realization, as with the great German and German-English prototypes, yet in the straits through which College has successfully passed, in what it is to-day, in position, property, appliances, in what it can hope as future harvestings from the faithful sowings of the past, it has abundant cause for rejoicing in the firm assurances of the "ancient doctrine of faith."

Dr. Bittle's services as a financial agent deserve more than a passing notice. He spent, as has been said, two years in the field. Yet very much of his time, through the whole term of his connection with College was occupied and weighted down with these cares to the sacrifice, so far as himself was concerned, of time for growth in learning and reputation; to the sacrifice, as it regards the institution, of time for the discharge of those delicate and responsible duties more essentially pertaining to the office which he filled. With tireless energy, with much of skill born of experience in this difficult role, with the exercise of a moral power and exhibition of interest in his work, he created revenues for College. He collected funds and for several years disbursed them as well. His accounts were somewhat involved in their forms and much less easy to follow and understand than the work of business experts. But through them

all there shone the traces of clean hands. In all the balancings of debtor and creditor, in the record and form of notes payable and receivable, if there could be loss, it would be his own, not of the College which he served.

This is no mean praise in an age memorable for lack of fidelity in public and private trusts. In the earlier days of his financiering he often made himself personally responsible, thereby bearing the brunt of impatient creditors, and was very generally, at all times, looked to in the arrangement of obligations, sitting often with a feeling of loneliness under the shadow of financial ills.

As relief from the burden of these heavy duties he called his brother, Dr. D. H. Bittle, in 1855, from important pastoral work to an agency for College which he prosecuted for a year, and also, after the close of the war, for two more years.

As if these grave responsibilities, these arduous labors were not sufficient to exhaust his energies and fill the measure of that consecration which he had made of himself, he accepted, soon after his entrance upon college duties, the care of College Church, Salem, together with that of two country congregations, Zion and Pine Grove, then attached to the same pastorate. To these he ministered several years, preaching faithfully the gospel, instructing and baptizing their children, visiting the sick, burying the dead, counseling and consulting in reference to the things spiritual and temporal affecting the churches whose care was in his hands. We need not say to those around us, among whom the memory of his faithful preaching remains, that his congregations were edified and quickened in their spiritual growth; we need not say that many of his hearers were awakened and that all caught something of the contagion of his own earnest spirit. For him the blessed assurance can be claimed that "the wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever."

As a preacher he had many of those high qualities and marked peculiarities which command recognition among men. In this he wielded a power for good and deep and lasting impressions upon his hearers in all that large territory over which

his agency extended. His services were sought on all occasions, within his own and other communions and he was ever heard gladly. The elements of his power in the pulpit were easily discerned. They were simple in themselves, yet striking from their combination and intensity. First, towering over all, and putting him in immediate impressive relations with his hearers, was unconsciousness of himself and an earnest conception of his subject. As with the prophets of Israel, a message was to be delivered, vitally concerning the interests of those to whom it was to be addressed. But the prophet himself, the mode of his communication, whether in words that burned as living coals, whether by types or parables, whether threateningly or pleadingly, these were subordinate to the source, the direction and momentous issues of the message itself. There was much reference to the elementary principles of Christian faith, and an effort at the simplification of things usually regarded as already simple, that was sometimes extreme. For he addressed himself to the masses, with an enlarged experience in their necessities and sympathy with their wants. But whilst he spoke from this plane, practicing upon the "line upon line, line upon line" policy, which has been found so necessary in instruction in spiritual things, at least, he illustrated so happily from the homely details of every-day life and from the historical portions of the Old Testament Scriptures, he crystalized around them so much of experimental and scriptural knowledge that the most learned were interested, whilst to the uncultured there was the charm of a new revelation. From early habits or from the constitution of his mind he was not capable of working well within restraints, especially where these involved the recognition of ceremony and the conventional in thought or usage. He was least happy and filled least the measure of public expectation on occasions where these were discerned, however dimly, as surroundings. Like the great son of Zacharias, he was more at home, stronger and more impressive in the free air of the wilderness and in the valleys of Jordan, than in the temples of the crowded haunts of men. Within this range, however, there was a wonderful accommodation to the necessities of the hour. His duties were varied, requiring sudden and

marked reversals of lines of thought. Yet few occasions found him unprepared to impress and lead. Rev. S. Sprecher, D. D., for some time associated with him in adjoining fields of labor in Maryland, writes us of his readiness and power in extempore preaching and of his ability to throw himself readily into the discussion of a subject. As an illustration he relates, that, on a certain occasion, during protracted religious exercises, when much interest had been excited and large congregations were in attendance he had promised to preach for Dr. Bittle. But on the eve of the fulfillment of the engagement, he found himself in no condition to comply. However Dr. Bittle asked him for the subject on which he had purposed preaching and the heads of his line of treatment. He says that in a very brief time he found the Doctor in the pulpit, discussing the subjects under these heads as naturally as if they had been the analysis and preference of his own mind and with a freedom, ease and earnestness which was as surprising to him, as interesting to his audience.

But if we were asked to recall that element which was most marked, that which lingers most clearly and fondly in memory, that which was probably the most characteristic of all, we would speak of the wonderful unction of the man. In the beginnings of sermons and religious addresses, there may have been, and often was, carelessness in the use of terms and structure of sentences; there may have been obscurity and involvement in statement; his voice was sometimes uncontrollable and pitched upon its least pleasant key; his gestures angular and constrained, all indicating a labored action of the mental machinery. This was doubtless inevitable from the preoccupation of his mind or from his disposition to place himself in exigencies, careless of his own individual reputation for study and finish. But as he proceeded there was a change; as the subject unrolled itself before his mind, and he himself began to feel more and more of its deathless interest, his spirit caught that extraordinary elevation and fervor which has been happily termed unction, as it descended upon his hearers, raising every heart to a higher spiritual plane of piety and devotion.

This zeal for the glory of God conditioned his intercourse

with his students and his activities for their higher good. In addition to the chapel exercises of Sunday evening, intended specially for them, the closing hour of the exercises of one day in each week was, by a standing arrangement of the Faculty, devoted to a brief practical religious lecture. In seasons of especial awakening, brief exercises have been held in chapel for weeks. Into these he threw himself with an abounding interest, faithfully warning and entreating in public and in private. He seemed to feel that the college work had been only partially performed if a student left its walls unconverted, however thoroughly he had been trained in other respects. He brought before their minds, habitually and with all the earnestness of his nature, the claims of the Christian ministry. Indeed, in the language of another, he saw in every student the possibilities of a minister or a missionary to the heathen. Many students during his administration were born into the kingdom of heaven, many such have preached and are to-day preaching the ministry of reconciliation in our own and heathen lands, in his own and in the other communions of the Christian Church.

With this interest in their greater wants, it is not to be supposed that the less were neglected. Familiar in his intercourse, easy of approach, he stood in place of a parent to those committed to his care, with much of a parent's breadth of sympathy. In illustration of this phase of his character, a marked example recurs to our memory. A student from a distant State was ill. The symptoms of his disease were daily growing more unfavorable. The usual remedies applied failed to affect his case, and his physician spoke more and more doubtfully of his recovery. At length the crisis was reached and already the pale hue of death seemed spreading over his face. We spoke of the sadness of his case, an only son, the son of parents whom we had known, dying far from home before tidings of his illness even could reach that home. It was proposed by Dr. Bittle that prayers be offered for his recovery. Accordingly, the recitations of an afternoon being suspended, the students were called together in the chapel. We need not say that it was a solemn meeting as the interests for which we were brought together and the encouragements to prayer were feelingly ex-

plained. Nor need we say how fervently the invocations of faculty and students ascended to His throne in whose hands are the issues of life and death. Next morning the young man was reported better, having rested well during the night. Later a more decided change was said to have taken place. This improvement continued until in less than ten days he was in his place again in the lecture room. In reference to such a case the infidel will scoff, the materialist will speak learnedly of the operation of natural laws. To the Christian it will have a higher significance and deeper interest. As an historian we record the facts.

In the midst of his conduct of the College, with its accompanying activities and enterprises, the institution in the meanwhile acquiring more ample means for its work, attracting larger numbers of young men to its halls, and securing each year a fuller recognition of its place as a factor in the great product of educational work, the dial of time threw athwart our surroundings the shadow of '61—resting on the darker shadow of the civil war. This period is briefly introduced as showing the character of the man as displayed in new and untried relations and as conditioning his memory in the hearts of so wide a circle of his friends. As was to have been expected the busy members of the college community rapidly and completely disintegrated under the necessities of the first year. But it was determined, with the counsel and aid of his coadjutors of the Faculty who remained, to keep its halls open and keep it in the line of its work as far as this might be done. The reasons were threefold: to preserve from destruction the buildings and other material of College exposed to vandalism or to the real and fancied necessities of friends and foes; to preserve the vantage ground it had gained by years of slow and laborious growth; lastly, for the higher and nobler ends of affording the means of education, intellectually and morally, destined to be neglected, in the absorption of the public mind, for a period whose limits were uncertain and but dimly discerned by the wisest. The carrying out of this purpose was successful and results justified its wisdom. Much invaluable work was done during the progress of

the war, and the earlier years after its close were the most prosperous it has ever known.

But to conduct the enterprise under such circumstances required an amount of energy and skill, that taxed the powers of those concerned to the utmost. The buildings had to be preserved to their legitimate uses by appeals even to the Confederate Executive. The repairs necessitated by time and tempests had to be effected in the absence of all skilled labor. Provisions and furniture for the students assembled and the supply of their many other wants had to be obtained in the face of the exhaustive demands of armies in the field. Yet this Dr. Bittle and his colleagues successfully accomplished for four long years.

With an abiding interest in the students who had left College for the army, he visited them in their camps, to take part in the care of sick and wounded. For such purpose, and as the bearer of supplies from the community itself, he was present at Manassas and the Wilderness after death had reaped its harvests on those fields. There and elsewhere as occasion presented itself or could be made, he preached earnestly and faithfully amidst the stirring scenes of those days to the different commands.

At home, in our own community, his presence during the war, was the dispensation of a gracious Providence. His cheerful bearing, his robust faith, calmed the feverish state of the public mind, moved by the results of victory or defeat. His recognition on fast days and Sabbaths of the sovereignty of God, of his present agency in all that pertains to nations as to men, working in all for the advancement of his kingdom; his submission, in simple trust, of interests the most momentous to His decision whose voice was in the air whose feet were on the smoking hills; when all that was deemed most stable and immovable was dragging its anchors, and like ships moving on the breakers of the unconditioned and unknown future. These gave him influence in council and an enduring place in the hearts of his people.

At the close of the war, College fell back easily and gracefully into the line of its accustomed work. During the first few years the attendance of students was exceptionally large, and much general prosperity was enjoyed. In the scope of its in-

fluence and in the opening up of new avenues, it had ascended as an educator to a higher plane. These evidences of popular recognition and confidence were rightly felt as requiring increased faithfulness in its work, and the enlargement of all its means and appliances. Dr. Bittle as the representative of the Faculty, and from the promptings of his own earnest nature and far-seeing intelligence, again "laid himself out for work for Roanoke College." Our enterprises were characterized by much boldness, involving much risk, entailing much labor and perplexity, but inuring to the higher good of the institution. A new and large building, the present chapel, was put to contract by the Board. To meet the expenses so incurred as well as to provide for former existing debts, it was found necessary for him to take the field again as a financial agent. He kept the field for a year, with a success much to the immediate relief of the institution. As by-play, filling in the intervals between the graver necessities of his agency, he devoted time to the enlargement of the library. This was with him always a labor of love, and a great deal of successful work had been already done in the same direction. But with the opportunity of contact with book-makers themselves, under the stimulus of the displays of the large stocks in Northern and Southern cities, a steady stream of literature flowed in upon our shelves, as some of the results of this year's absence from College.

This increase of our resources was effected by grants secured from generous publishers, by donations from friends, by purchases from book stores and auction rooms. Some were paid for from the "crumbs" of his solicitings, some deferred to a future day, in which the Faculty were largely concerned. In respect to the museum and cabinet of minerals, the same industry was manifested. The foreign nucleus of this was purchased earlier in our history by the enterprise of the Faculty. But outside of this he arranged plans, perfected by a busy correspondence, by which many intelligent men became collectors for it, in our own country, Mexico, South America, and the Isles of Japan.

In reference to these two collections, our books and museum, it can be said, that the alcoves of fine works laid open formally

for their legitimate uses, to-day, and the latter which only awaits a similar Hall to make an equal or better exhibit of the resources of College it may be said, that as much of means as they represent, as necessary as they have ever been to the workings of a College, with few unimportant exceptions, no application was ever made to our Board for any authorization of their purchase, no application for the means to defray the expenses of such purchase, and therefore no tax and no responsibility on the college corporation as such for their possession. That the Board, in its judgment, would have sustained the Faculty in such action, had the necessity arisen, is equally true.

Having spoken of many of the capacities for good of the subject of our tribute, of the many earnest and successful activities with which his life was filled, and by which the fame and prosperity of the College was so largely conditioned, the pleasing task remains of presenting him in that aspect in which he will be so well remembered, so lastingly and distinctly remembered, by the students whose minds and hearts he moulded in his office of teacher. For in addition to the engagements which distinguished his position, he taught the full course of metaphysics and moral philosophy, with other subjects besides, from the date of his election to the evening of his death, save the two years' absence in financial work. His habit as teacher presented all the strength and peculiarities of the man. He was painstaking, practicing much on the "line upon line" policy, drilling in the meaning and use of terms and illustrating freely. In this last respect he had a happy faculty, passing from the abstract to the concrete by so many homely and familiar illustrations that the humblest mind grasped something at least from the profoundest reasoning. With the highest ideal of his profession, he labored in his work to arouse the minds of his pupils by interesting and throwing upon them the great thoughts of great authors. To this end he was disposed to overload his department by introducing into its study too many of the works of original writers, leading to friendly controversies with his colleagues, upon whose spheres he was disposed to encroach in carrying out the high conceptions of his own. He entered with a

freshness and zest into every matter of instruction which no routine every dulled. There may have been some lack of system and method in his presentations, but a kindling enthusiasm, whose contagion was felt, lighted up the darkest class-days of logical speculation.

The fruits of these methods, of this spirit, of this elevated standard, were seen in the excellency of the metaphysicians whom he made. To this there has been cheerful testimony from the leading minds of our State as it became apparent in the competitive examinations of College to which these were called, and from the place occupied subsequently by these trained minds in Universities and professional schools.

But in any presentation of his habit as a teacher, we may not omit that which shone out in all its exercise, which impressed and conditioned all who were its witnesses. He loved and sought the truth for itself, neglectful of the relations of that seeking to himself. He was more anxious to instruct for instruction's end and aims than for its reflex influence upon his own reputation. Sometimes in the progress of recitations in his lecture-room, something in the argument, in its illustrations or connections trenched upon or were in seeming conflict with that which his acute questioners had learned in the other departments in which these things were more a specialty. Leaving his class in the midst of their work, he would repair to the heads of the departments in question. Stating the case in the presence of another class and hearing from the expert in charge, he would return to his own room claiming justification for his own views or acknowledging his error, as the case might be. From the scenes of a long association, sketched on the walls of memory, there are none which stand out more freshly, none in which our consciousness pays him more heartily the tribute of our admiration. For there is something grand, and rare as it is grand, in the head of a College or of a department, as far as that is concerned, revealing unnecessarily to a class or publishing to the world the fact that there may be something in the range of human thought and the wide circle of the sciences, in reference to which he may have the shadow of a doubt, or possibly be in error itself.

A Presbyterian friend, since dead, gave us once an enthusiastic description of a religious lecture which Dr. Bittle had delivered on a stated occasion, in the church, whilst pastor or assisting the pastor in charge. In his own words, "he preached on the Transfiguration as given in Matthew, where it is said that Peter, James and John, also Moses and Elias, were with the Saviour on the Mount. In the midst of the discussion he asked the question, why were these three disciples selected as witnesses of the scene? This he explained by reference to the intimate personal relations which they sustained to the Saviour and the prominent part which they were destined to bear in the future history of the infant Church. Why was Moses there? again rang out. This too was explained. The dispensation of which he had been the great lawgiver and representative was about to pass away, superseded by that of Him with whom Moses stood and talked. But why was Elijah there?—his voice rising higher in a climax. There was a pause, the congregation, which had been greatly interested, waiting in suspense. Dropping his voice to a lower key, he answered, I *don't* know." This "I don't know" was regarded by our friend as, under all the circumstances, the most eloquent passage he had ever heard.

As his college work enlarged itself with the onward progress of the institution, he was relieved of the care of congregations and also relieved from financial work by the appointment of Prof. J. D. Dreher as financial agent. But he preached the gospel none the less regularly on all his leisure days to the close of life. He went out into the "highways and hedges," he had appointments made at destitute points, which no contingencies of weather or transportation made him forego. He was at the call of ministers of his own and other communions, over a large extent of the surrounding country. In college matters he was reaping some of the fruits of earlier activity, in the increased receipts of books and minerals. Yet he was still full of plans for extending the widening circle of our work. As it regards ventures, the other members of the Faculty had learned a good deal of worldly wisdom. They had been in straits so often that it was fast becoming a question with them whether other methods might not yield as good results. But our friend Dr. Bittle

never learned this wisdom. It was ascertained soon after his death that he had contracted, on his own responsibility, with a collector in southern Georgia for a large and expensive cabinet of shells. Inquiries made by the gentleman as to the manner of shipping it to College, gave the first intimation of this enterprise. We had been occupied with the Schmucker library, a recent purchase, and were laboring under some of its remaining embarrassments—too many in his opinion to make the coöperation of his colleagues probable, though, as heretofore, this assistance would doubtless have been secured. His death ended the transaction. Had he lived the college collection would have been enriched, as he had faith in its liveliest exercise. But what relation the college finances would have sustained to it, how the Faculty as factors would have been affected by it, will of course ever remain an unsolved problem, all conjectures even, belonging to the domain of the purely speculative.

But whilst, in a certain high sense, all works having for their end the glory of God and the good of man, are immortal in their duration, the workmen themselves in their material agency are mortal. Inexorable nature sets the limits beyond which, in time, even self-sacrificing, unselfish zeal cannot go.

For a few years before his death, there were indications that his life was hastening to its close, although that end came suddenly and startlingly. There was an increasing abstractedness of manner, requiring something of prompting from his colleagues in the performance of routine duties at the beginnings of sessions. There were those indefinable foreshadowings which led to more of system and care in the handling of those things which had been his special care, an unconscious "setting his house in order." He required frequent assurances from us that the details of his financial work, during the years of his absence from College, had been spread fully and clearly on our records. His younger brother, Rev. D. H. Bittle, D. D., had been called by death suddenly, from a sphere of useful honored labors. To this brother he had been devotedly attached, had in youth encouraged him to prepare for such a life, had rejoiced in his success, had been associated with him for several years in college work and had in all the vicissitudes of life kept bright this chain

which bound him to the associations of those earlier days, which grew brighter and more hallowed with declining years. He bore the bereavement as a Christian warrior bears the ills of life. But in the sadness of that sundered tie, how often we may not know, he sat in the twilight of the soul, listening to those younger footsteps as they passed into the unseen world.

These symptoms of decline were the reflections of failing bodily powers. Disease had laid its hand upon a vital organ of that iron frame, which nurtured amidst mountains had borne the strain of an active working life for more than three score years. The extent and limitations of the disease were but faintly realized by himself, unsuspected by any others than his most intimate friends. Yet it was marching steadily, step by step, upon the citadel of life. There were doubtless days of weariness, there were days when we could see that his round of duties was disproportioned to his strength.

Sometimes on our way from College homeward, he would stop to rest, casting his eyes backward to the scene of those labors which in another sense were slipping behind him, soon to become "portions and parcels of the past." There were doubtless days when the ills, the disappointment and trials of life, bore heavily on the enfeebled frame. In these ills did there linger the thought that the world, in its more immediate and distant surroundings valued all too lightly the labors which were wearing life away for him? Or if too large-hearted for thoughts of self, did he fear for the estimate, the appreciation of the work itself, spread out in its material part before him amid its garniture of beauty in the hills around, and lighted with the glory of September suns—spread out in its immaterial parts in radiating lines sweeping beyond these mountains, across mighty rivers, down their valleys over savannahs and prairies to the shores of the sounding sea,—stretching all too far for the wearied mind to grasp!

Yet he neither sought nor accepted relief. During the last day of his stay on earth, he was busy in his accustomed round of engagements, cheerful and interested. After nightfall he visited the college buildings, on routine duties. A company of his friends and colleagues, in session in the faculty room upon

some matters connected with college or church, invited him to remain and assist in their deliberations. At their request he opened the meeting with prayer. In this his last invocation he was fervent, holding up College with its interests in the arms of his faith, praying the Lord of the harvest to send forth laborers into the whitening fields of our own and other lands. After a brief absence he returned to the room, sitting quietly in their midst. Suddenly the silver cord was loosed and the golden bowl broken at the fountain. We need not dwell on the scenes that followed, sad and fresh through the changeful years that have since winged their way. We need not speak of the shock felt by the college community in its every fibre, of footsteps hurrying to the place from the homes of Salem, of the crowds from town and country that called to look upon his remains as they lay in the college chapel awaiting burial, of the recognition in every other form of the one great startling fact, felt in the consciousness of all ; that one largely concerned in the common weal, as to its material, its intellectual and moral interests, had passed away.

The record of a life is before you with its moral. That life in its earthly fashion and investiture has yielded to the common fate ; what is best in it, as in every life remains triumphing, over death and spurning the grave and its ceremonies. That life has left its priceless legacy to the College, the community, the State and to our common country. In estimating its results we cannot say that it was splendid, such an one as marks its blazing path across the centuries, dazzling and bewildering by the grandeur of its achievements. For us the value and emphasis of its lessons are in the fact that it was not so. The world never underestimates the power and capacity of genius, investing it with a glamour through which its achievements seem greater than they are. But old as it is, it has yet to learn the power and capacity of its humbler minds, when fired by a lofty purpose and held to their work by strong and persistent motives.

The work which has been unfolded before us was that of a man whose faculties had the same limitations as our own, who had the same frailties, who was surrounded by influences no

less adverse than those which environ us. But it is the work of such a man weighing in the balance of an equal mind the rival claims of life, as to their private or public ends, their temporal or eternal bearings; who seized upon that which was of highest repute, which was wisest and best and to its accomplishment subordinated every power of body and mind; who married himself to it, who consecrated himself to it, living in it and for it.

To-day we link his name with Roanoke College as is fit and meet. To-day we set for the years a visible sign that he lived and wrought, a sign that there was value in his life for his own and for the ages to come. We raise no idle bronze, no glittering marble. We open a Hall whose alcoves shall be the repositories of all that is best in those recorded thoughts which survive the forms and fashions of time, the changes of dynasties, the wreck's of empires, which breathe and burn in Western and Eastern civilization, in modern as in ancient times.

As the circling years shall come and go, as generation after generation of those who seek its friendly doors, shall be cultured in taste, enriched in learning, strengthened in the dawning faculties of their minds; as they shall be fitted for high and noble ends, and aroused to loftier purposes by this contact with the great thoughts of great men, this noble structure will be, at once, a memorial of the past and an agency for good for the ages yet to come.

ARTICLE VII.

CREDIBILITY OF THE SCRIPTURES.

A REVIEW OF THE HISTORICO-CRITICAL ARGUMENTS, REPRINTED FROM
AN ARTICLE ON INSPIRATION IN THE JULY NUMBER (1880)
OF THE "BRITISH QUARTERLY."*

No intelligent Christian is unaware that the books of the Old and New Testaments have reached him through the usual channels by which ancient books are handed down; but not every reader of the Bible exactly understands the peculiar features of the case with which he has to do. Let us recall them.

First, as to the Old Testament Scriptures.—Our present Hebrew Bible, consisting of a number of books, written in the Chaldee character and in portions in the Chaldee language, of very different contents and representing an immense stretch of time in their composition, has received the form in which we now possess it as the result of the combination of many causes, of the labors of successive ages and schools. Whether there was anything which could be called a Hebrew codex previous to the time of the Captivity it is impossible now to say. The early Jewish schools applied their labor from about that period to books which were certainly afterwards kept separate from all other Jewish literature. The codex would be formed then, if it were not previously. The multiplication of synagogues would naturally lead to the multiplication of copies of the Scriptures, as also to the rise of a learned class who gave themselves to the study of the sacred books and to their preservation. At or soon after the time of Ezra the Old Testament canon was formed. Hebrew became to a certain extent a dead language.

* The Editors of the REVIEW feel themselves fully justified in departing in this instance from their usual course of publishing only original contributions. No argument for Christianity has to-day more weight than that which is furnished by the unassailable facts of history, and the chapter here transferred as part of an article from the *British Quarterly* is in the line of the very best efforts on that subject and is worthy the attention of every reader of the REVIEW.

The Captivity severed the bond of national life. Chaldee became the language of the people. The sacred books were relegated to a place of reverence, and became the special care and study of scholars. The Sopherim, or scribes, are a testimony at once to the decay of spiritual life among the people and to the growth of authority in the ancient books. In the East we find that schools of the scribes were formed and flourished from the time of the Captivity to the tenth century of the Christian era. Such a school remained at Jerusalem and partook of its metropolitan authority until the destruction of the city by Titus in A. D. 70. It was then removed to Tiberias. There were schools of scribes in Babylonia, on the banks of the Euphrates. And after the tenth century they flourished in the Western world, on the coast of Africa, in Spain, and partly in France. The most important distinct product of these scholars was the Targums, or Chaldee paraphrases, written in the popular dialect. But in addition to this work they devoted very special care to the text of their ancient sacred books, arranging them and dividing them into sections and making a study of every word. To the ancient Palestinian school succeeded the Talmudists, who flourished from the second to the sixth century of our era, devoting their attention to the juridical and ritual contents of the scriptures, and gathering together the comments and traditional prescriptions of the Pharisees in the Mishna and the two Gemaras—that of Jerusalem and that of Babylon. They were followed by the Masoretes, who composed the Masora, flourishing from the sixth to the ninth centuries. To their hands we owe the present Hebrew text with its vowel points and accents. They collected various readings and noted down the traditional critical materials which they were able to put together from various sources. After the period of the Masoretic editors we reach that of the Grammarians and Expositors, which may be said to extend to the sixteenth century. They wrote principally in Aramaic and Arabic recording the results of their grammatical and critical studies. Now it must be remembered that we possess no Hebrew manuscripts whatever earlier than the time of the Masoretes. Most of them, still preserved, date from A. D.

1000 to A. D. 1457. We are not, however, dependent either upon autograph or very early manuscripts. We have many ancient versions, such as the Septuagint, those of Aquila, Theodosius, Symmachus, and other Greek versions, such as the fragments preserved by Origen. We have also the Syrian Peshito (150 A. D.) and the Samaritan Pentateuch. Then as to the canon itself, beyond the evidence of the schools and versions, we are able to refer to the individual testimonies of distinguished men a witness which goes back to very early times. We may mention the names of Josephus and Philo, both appertaining to the first century after Christ. Without dwelling upon either, it may be added to the evidence reviewed above that both confirm the present Old Testament canon. The number and inspiration of the books of the Old Testament are certified by Josephus, who places the closing of the canon at the date 450 B. C. Philo, who was born at Alexandria about the year 20 B. C., represented the Alexandrian tradition, certainly of less value in itself than that of Palestine, but coinciding substantially with it. Philo believed that the canon was prolonged after the date of Malachi; admitting, as we see by the use of the Septuagint, other books among the scriptures than those of the Old Testament. In the Talmud we find another confirmation of the present Jewish Bible. Indeed, the only exception to the universal Jewish testimony is that which emanated from the freer school of Alexandria under Greek influence, and through contact with Gentile philosophy. The Septuagint cannot, however, be adduced as an adverse witness, for we have so entirely lost all traces of the original Greek version made from the Hebrew in the third century before Christ, and the Alexandrian view of inspiration was so very much broader and less strict than that of Palestine, that it is impossible to build any argument upon the present state of the text. Indeed, it may be admitted with respect to the canon of the Old Testament generally, that there is no history of its formation which is worthy of the name. We are completely dependent on Jewish tradition. That the sacred writings were from the time of Ezra divided into three classes, varying in their degree of authority, there can be no doubt, and it throws some light on the idea of authority under which the canon was

formed. The sacred books were put together not because they were all regarded as equally inspired, but because they were all in some sense the scriptures of the ancient Jewish Church. The Torah, or Law—that is, the Pentateuch—was always deemed the foundation on which all the rest of the sacred volume was built up. Then came the prophets, earlier and later, including the historical books and the major and minor prophets. And last of all was placed the Hagiographa, or Chethuvim or Psalms (the Psalms being the first book in the collection), a miscellaneous group of scriptures, which were regarded as possessing somewhat lower authority, but were used as sacred writings by the Jews in their public worship; such were the Psalms, Proverbs, Solomon's Song, Ecclesiastes, Job, Ruth, Lamentations, Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and the Chronicles—embracing, as will be seen, books of all descriptions, grouped together not by their contents, but by their canonical position as the last to be acknowledged by the ancient Church. It is difficult to determine with any precision when the Old Testament canon was closed or if it was really closed before the time of Christ. Davidson and others have maintained that there were three canons. First, that of Ezra, the priest and scribe, which included only the Pentateuch and Joshua. Next, that of Nehemiah, called after his name not because he completed it, but because he commenced it, which remained open until about the year 300 B. C. Lastly, that which followed after the second canon, and which was not really closed at all up to the Christian era, including, therefore, all the apocryphal books. But it is decidedly an objection to this view that the apocryphal books were never recognized as sacred by the Palestine Jews. Such a representation of the canon, as prolonged to the time of Christ, is derived entirely from statements of a legendary character, which are found in the Septuagint. On the contrary, the tradition is preserved by the Rabbis in the Talmud and elsewhere, that there was a great synagogue or body of learned men in the time of Ezra, numbering one hundred and twenty, and including among them such men as Ezra, Nehemiah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, and afterwards Simon the Just. Such a body is mentioned in the Mishna. It is true that we cannot place entire dependence on a tradition of

this kind wherever found, but we may believe that notwithstanding there is no historical evidence to be discovered in confirmation of it in the writings of Ezra and Nehemiah, Josephus or Philo, still it probably had some basis of fact. The universal testimony of the Palestinian Jews is undisputed to the sacred authority attached to the books which are now included in the Hebrew Bible, and the evidence of the Septuagint, so far as it can be believed, points to a close of the canon about the time when that version was made at the latest. The Apocrypha is never directly quoted by any of the New Testament writers, and it is well known that there was a school of Jews who maintained vigorously the sole authority of the Hebrew scriptures. Moreover, while there is undoubted reference in the New Testament writings to other books than those of the Old Testament, there is no canonical authority attached to any other. The testimony of the early fathers of the Christian Church shows that generally, they adhered to our present Hebrew text, though the uncritical carelessness with which they made use of sacred books, and their undue reverence for the Septuagint of their time, which was not the original Septuagint, deprives their evidence of the weight which it would otherwise have. While we must of course acknowledge that in using the present Hebrew text we are using an uncertain and second-hand authority, still we may well believe that it varies but little from the original scriptures which were sanctioned as inspired by the Jewish Church after the time of the Captivity. It has been justly observed by Keil that 'the most recent assaults upon the correctness of the Masoretic text by Hitzig, and especially by Thenius, are exposed to the censure of Gesenius in his "History of the Hebrew Language," in which he says—

"In general it may be asserted that those punctuators have for the most part apprehended their text with more truth than many of its more recent expositors; for by their frequent changes of the punctuation the moderns have often failed to make good either their steady judgment or their taste and exegetical talent. In very many instances a somewhat finer knowledge of the grammar would at once have led them to let their critical attempts alone."

No candid mind can resist the evidence of change in the text. In the course of so many ages of transcription it would be a stupendous miracle if all error or interpolation were absolutely avoided. Still let it be remembered, on the other hand, that the Jewish people maintained an unusual reverence for their sacred writings, and that this must have contributed to their preservation and substantial accuracy. In the days of Samuel there was something like a literary staff in the Hebrew commonwealth. We cannot but believe that the schools of the Prophets would continue age after age to supply men of literary ability and some critical skill. When the line of succession of the living messengers was interrupted, the written records naturally vindicated for themselves a special and peculiar position, even higher than before, in the spiritual life of the people. The rise of the learned class, which dates from about that time, points to the minute care with which the letter of scripture would be preserved, and the very absence of the prophetic spirit in the people became, in the providence of God, a source of protection to those oracles which had been committed to them through the men of a former time.

Passing now from the consideration of the Old Testament to that of the New, it must be remembered that while we are by no means out of the region of inference and conjecture, still we have no such long interval of absolute silence to deal with as that which followed the last of the prophets. It is true that our direct manuscript authority avails us only after the space of three centuries from the age of the sacred writings themselves ; but we can certainly trace back the line of external evidence to within a very short period of the apostolic writers. The origin of the New Testament books is involved in the origin of the Christian Church. As the commencement of all national life is surrounded with obscurity from the fact that the elements of the nation are necessarily at the first not sufficiently developed, while intensely vital and active, to become mutually observant—in other words, the life, though real and progressive, was not reflective and self-conscious—so, when the Christian Church first began its course, it was mainly aggressive and creative, and therefore but little organized. As might be expected, the

records of such a time are informal, fragmentary, and the evidence of their authenticity is, as a matter of course, perplexed and scattered. The apostles and their fellow-laborers, while they were engaged in the work of writing the books of the New Testament, did not in every case know that they were preparing permanent documents of the Christian faith. They regard their epistles and gospels as subserving the special spiritual ends of their own ministry. Their first duty was to preach and to teach, to call together the living representatives of the truth, organizing the communities of disciples only so far as was demanded by the necessities of the time. The writings which they left behind them may be regarded rather as the *reflection* of a primitive Christianity than as its deliberate *transcript*. There are no formal statements of doctrine or ritual in them. The personal element is prominent, and the conflicts of the Judaistic and Pauline parties, which gradually subsided as the spiritual universalism of the Catholic Church absorbed all minor distinctions, have left their impress upon the sacred records. The gospels, there cannot be a doubt, reflect the preaching of apostles, and in passing from Matthew to John, we follow the line of expansion in the course of the development of the Christian doctrine. * * *

Let us now, passing by all considerations of internal evidence, summarize the testimony by which these earliest remains of Christianity are certified. Three sources are open to us from which we are able, in defect of autographs of the New Testament, to derive the evidence of the early Church for the present canonical scriptures. First, we find that catalogues of the books of the Bible were drawn up, the direct voice of the Church declaring what writings at the time such catalogues were made were accepted as canonical. Next, we have versions of the New Testament of a much earlier date than any of the existing manuscripts of the Greek. And lastly, we are able to adduce direct quotations and indirect references from the early Christian writers, not indeed actually covering, when put together *in extenso*, the whole of the New Testament, but confirming much of it in a very direct manner, and, by implication, the whole. No canon of scripture actually existed until the idea of a Catho-

lic Church was in some degree developed, but that a canonical feeling prevailed in the Church long before the end of the second century is proved by the tone of allusions made to the writings of the Apostle Paul, and to the memoirs of the apostles, otherwise the gospels, in such works as those of Clement of Rome and Justin Martyr. There are some indications of a canon in Marcion. But the first evidence which can be regarded as direct and indisputable is that of the Muratorian Fragment, discovered in a Latin manuscript in the Ambrosian Library of Milan, and published by Muratori, the librarian, dating itself from about the eighth century, but translated from a Greek original, which must, by the agreement of scholars, have been written as early as between A. D. 160 and A. D. 170. Now, in this most valuable and interesting fragment we find an enumeration of Scriptures, together with other writings, such as those of Hermas, Valentinus, Basilides. The only New Testament books not mentioned in the list are the Epistles, 1 John, 1 Peter, 2 Peter, James, and Hebrews. While this omission points to the early date of the catalogue, the enumeration suffices to testify to the existence of the books mentioned, and the authority attached to them before the middle of the second century. Another catalogue is that of the Peshito Version, which possessed undoubted authority among the Syrian Churches. In this we find the remaining books of the New Testament mentioned, so that they are all testified as existing about the same time, and that certainly not later than the middle of the second century. From the second to the fourth centuries we derive the evidence of fifteen different catalogues published during that time. Six of these fifteen may be said to agree with the present canon. Three omit only the Apocalypse. One, dating probably about A. D. 196, that of Caius, omits several books, as James, 2 Peter, 3 John, and Hebrews. Origen omits James and Jude. Notwithstanding these omissions, the evidence of the catalogues is decidedly in favor of the present canon, from the end of the second century, although it must be admitted that at that time there were other books—the *libri ecclesiastici*, or extra-canonical books—which were placed beside the scriptural books, not because they were ever regarded as standing on the

same level of Divine authority, but because they were deemed profitable to be read in Churches for the edification of the people. Then we come to the evidence of the versions which may be regarded as confirmatory. The Peshito, or Early Syriac, in the second century; the Itala, or Early Latin; the Vulgate of Jerome, the Armenian, the Gothic of Ulfilas, of the fourth century; the Greek of Philoxerus the Georgian, of the sixth century; and the Slavonian, or Old Russian, of the ninth, are all based upon the present canon. The Itala is probably quoted by Tertullian in A. D. 220, and must have, therefore, been in existence considerably before that time, and the Vulgate is itself the result of a collation which points back to a very early date.

But at the present time much the most important branch of the argument for the canon is that founded on the testimony of the early Christian writers. * * It has been shown, with very marked ability, by Dr. Sanday, in his valuable work, published by Messrs. Macmillan for the Christian Evidence Society, 'The Gospels in the Second Century' (1876), that the testimony of the early fathers, and of the heretics of the second century, to the existence of our gospels, in what must have been substantially their present form, is amply sufficient for all reasonable requirement. The quotations, it is admitted, are sometimes loose and inexact, but that is rather a confirmation of the genuineness of the testimony than otherwise, for the early fathers never quoted anything exactly, but generally from second-hand sources, from memory, and often paraphrastically. The first epistle of Clemens Romanus to the Corinthians is admitted on all hands to be a genuine relic of antiquity. 'The great mass of critics,' says the author of 'Supernatural Religion,' assign this epistle to A. D. 95-100. Now Clement has two quotations, not exact indeed, but still indubitable, one from the sermon on the Mount, and the other from the discourse about offences. Barnabas wrote certainly not later than A. D. 130. He quotes the words of Matthew 22 : 14: 'Many are called but few chosen,' and alludes to other passages. The Ignatian epistles have been matter of violent discussion, but it can be scarcely doubted that the three Curetonian or Syriac epistles are genuine, and they are dated by Dr. Lightfoot from A. D. 107

to A. D. 115. The shorter Greek recension of seven epistles, called the 'Vossian Letters,' may be dated about the middle of the second century. They quote little, but they confirm generally the existence of documents either identical with or similar to our gospels. Polycarp's epistle to the Philippians must have been written from A. D. 140 to A. D. 145. It has the same kind of general allusion to the evangelical record.

"It can create no surprise" (says Dr. Wetscott) "if the testimony of the apostolical fathers is to the substance and not to the authenticity of the gospels. It establishes an important fact. Even in the first generation after the apostles, the contents of the gospel were fixed within their present limits. Some mysterious working of Providence suppressed the countless multitude of *things which Jesus did*, of which the apostles could have told. Two sayings of our Lord are preserved in the letters of Barnabas and Ignatius which are not contained in the gospels, and may possibly be independent and original, but otherwise the great outlines of His life and teaching, which can be drawn from the apostolical fathers, exactly coincide with those preserved in the first three gospels."

Justin Martyr in the middle of the second century used 'Memoirs of the Apostles,' which he says '*are called gospels*;' and if they were not the same as our gospels, they certainly must have closely resembled them. Teaching was then chiefly oral. The texts of the sacred scriptures were in an uncertain state. But it is affirmed that the whole substance of the evangelical history could be gathered from the writings of Justin Martyr alone. The testimonies of Hegesippus, Papias, the Clemantine Homilies, and that of the Gnostic heretics, Valentinus and Basilides, while not direct enough to remove all doubt, are yet valuable confirmation. But the most striking instance of the strength of the Christian argument is that which is derived from the writings of Marcion. Marcion was the son of a bishop of Sinope, and flourished from A. D. 120 to A. D. 170. Professing an anti-Judaistic and extreme Pauline doctrine, he collected together sacred books of his own accord, and for the purpose of promoting his own doctrine. They formed two vol-

umes, which he styled respectively 'The Gospel' and 'The Apostolicon.' The former of these two volumes was a mutilated adaptation of the Gospel of Luke. 'The Apostolicon' was a collection of the writings of the Apostle Paul. As to the character of these heretical compilations we have only the statements of such men as Tertullian and Epiphanius on which to rely. But they enable us to reconstruct Marcion's gospel. It is plainly nothing more than a mere abridgment of Luke. Either Marcion, therefore, used Luke, or Luke was an enlargement upon Marcion. But the early fathers distinctly charge Marcion with mutilating Luke, as he altered and mutilated the Epistles of Paul to suit his purpose. It is the opinion of such men as Volkmar, Hilgenfeld, Ritsche, and Baur, that it is most unlikely that Judaistic copyists would add to Marcion, but it is *à priori* likely that Marcion would cut off from Luke what he thought to favor the Judaistic doctrine. The dogmatic bias accounts for the mutilation; but nothing would account for the invention of such supplementary matter as is found in Luke and omitted in Marcion. Moreover, the portions of Luke's gospel omitted by Marcion contain so many characteristic words and modes of expression corresponding to those in the portion which he admits, that it would be simply impossible that it could be added by any other hand than that which composed the portion found in both Luke and Marcion. And we can go further still. Marcion's quotations must have been taken from a form of the gospel varying in its readings from ours, and, as the readings show, corrupted. In the year A. D. 140, then, appears a mutilated gospel in an advanced stage of transcription. May we not fairly argue that time would be required for such corruption, and that therefore the original gospels were produced a considerable period before A. D. 140? Marcion, making up a bible for himself, is a very remarkable fact, pointing to the existence, before his time, of similar collections of sacred books. Now, if such collections of scriptures were in existence before A. D. 140, allowing a generation to intervene to give time for the custom to have arisen, we are brought to the apostolic age, or close upon it. There is much more evidence which, although not so striking as that of Marcion, is yet confirmatory. That

of Tatian (A. D. 150), Dionysius of Corinth, Melito of Sardis, Claudius Appollinaris, bishop of Hierapolis (176 to 180 A. D.), Athenagoras, 'The Epistle of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons,' and others. The case of Celsus is also remarkable. He probably wrote his attack upon Christianity, entitled, 'The Word of Truth,' about A. D. 178, or possibly earlier. He evidently knew the gospels, and used them familiarly. Thus we have a chain of evidence running from the middle to the end of the second century, and when we arrive at the end of the second century we reach what may be regarded as *terra firma*. The argument is, indeed, cumulative in its character, and it is gathered from a great many different quarters: but it leaves no reasonable doubt that we possess, substantially, in the gospels, the genuine remains of the apostolic age, just such records of the Lord's life and discourses as we might suppose, *à priori*, would be put together, after the apostles had been long engaged in preaching the facts, and had repeated orally much of the discourses, and when apostolic men would make it their '*endeavor*,' as the Apostle Peter says, that the Church might be able 'after their decease to have these things always in remembrance.' The first three gospels were plainly given to the world at a time when the intellectual form of Christianity was but little developed, having been brought but little into contact with the varieties of the *zeitgeist* then existing. The fourth gospel met the events of a subsequent generation, when the Church was already entering, at Ephesus and its neighborhood, upon the conflict with heathen philosophy and the despotism of a great military empire, appealing therefore at once to the deepest faith and to the most exalted expectations. From the days of the apostles until now, it may be replied to the objections of theorizing and rationalistic opponents, Christianity has been, not what philosophers and critics have attempted to prove it to be, but what has actually flowed out from the sacred records and that naturally and irresistibly. The Christian history has, indeed, been marred and defiled by the errors and sins of ecclesiastics, and the corruptions which have grown up around it, like parasites about the Tree of Life, have dishonoured the name of Christ; but it is indisputable that it was on the basis of such facts and

doctrines as we find in the New Testament scriptures that the Church obtained its triumphs and secured its position in the world. We may fairly challenge the critical objectors of our age to show that if we deduct from the Christian scriptures their distinctly Christian and supernatural elements, and leave only the small remnant which they would sanction, it is possible to explain the phenomena of the first two centuries of our era.

“Unless” (says Isaac Taylor, in his ‘Restoration of Belief’) “we allow the supernatural and the divine to have belonged to Christianity at its rise, our alternative is to fill up the void by aid of some hypothesis which shall give an intelligible account of what we know to have followed wherever it was proclaimed throughout the Roman world. Remove from Christianity everything which is supernatural and divine, and the problem which we have to do with is this: A revolution in human affairs, in the highest degree beneficial in its import, was carried forward upon the arena of the great world by means of the noble behaviour of men who command our sympathy and admiration, as brave, wise, and good. But this revolution drew the whole of its moral force from a belief which—how shall we designate it?—was in part an inexplicable illusion, in part a dream, and in large part a fraud. This, the greatest forward movement which the civilized branches of the human family have ever made, took its rise in bewildered Jewish brains! Indestructible elements of advancement to which even infidel nations confessedly owe whatever is best and most hopeful within them, these elements of good, which were obtained for us at so vast a cost, had their sources in a congeries of exaggerations and in a mindless conspiracy, hatched by chance, nursed by imposture, and winged by fanaticism!”

But there is no necessity to dwell longer on this subject. It is not the aim of the present article to refute the theories of the anti-supernaturalist, which may be fairly left to expire in their own suffocating atmosphere of insincerity and fallacy, and their authors to writhe on the horns of their own dilemma. This review of the historico-critical arguments is intended simply to prepare the way for a restatement of the question of inspiration.

ARTICLE VIII.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

AMERICAN.

BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL.—*The Parables of our Lord*, interpreted in view of their relations to each other, by Henry Calderwood; *Ephatha*, or the Amelioration of the World, Sermons by F. W. Farrar; *English Conferences*, Rome and Christianity, Marcus Aurelius, by Ernest Renan, translated by Clara Erskine Clement; *Institute Essays*, read before the "Ministers' Institute" [Unitarian], Providence, R. I., Oct. 1879, Introduction by Rev. H. W. Bellows; *Observations Concerning the Scripture Economy of the Trinity and Covenant of Redemption*, by Jonathan Edwards, with Introduction and Appendix by Egbert C. Smith; *Christ and His Religion*, by Rev. J. Reid; *Life of David*, as reflected in his Psalms, by Alex. Mac-laren, D. D.

PHILOSOPHICAL AND SCIENTIFIC.—*Physical History of the Earth*, Chapters from the Physical History of the Earth, by Arthur Nicols, F. G. S., F. R. G. S.; *Chinese Buddhism*, Sketches, Historical, Descriptive and Critical, by Jos. Edkins; *Christian Sociology*, by Rev. J. H. W. Stuckenberg, D. D.; *Gleanings from a Literary Life*, 1838-1880, by Francis Bowen.

HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL.—*Memories of My Exile*, by Louis Kossuth, from the original Hungarian, by Terencz Jansz; *Thomas Moore*, the Poet, his Life and works, by A. J. Simington; *Gen. Jas. A. Garfield's Public Life*, by B. A. Hinsdale, A. M.; *Life of Winfield Scott Hancock*, Major General, United States Army, by Rev. D. X. Junkin, late Chaplain U. S. Navy, and Frank H. Norton; *Rise of the Macedonian Empire*, by Arthur M. Curteis (Epochs of Ant. Hist.); *History of the English People*, in four vols., vol. IV., by J. R. Green; *The Journeys of Luther*, and their Important Relation to the work of the Reformation, founded upon the German of Karl Friederich Köhler, by the Author of "Fifty Years in the Lutheran Ministry."

MISCELLANEOUS.—*Literary Studies from the Great British Authors*; *Greek Mythology Systematized*, by S. A. Scull; *The Englishman and the Scandinavian*, or Comparison of Anglo-Saxon and Old Norse Literature, by F. Metcalf; *Homicide*, North and South, Comparative View of Crime against the person in several parts of the United States, by H. V. Redfield.

GERMAN.

Among the more recent German publications we report the following:

EXEGETICAL.—Dr. Adal. Merx has written a work on *the prophecy of*

Joel and its expositors from the most ancient times to the Reformers. With the Ethiopic text of Joel, edited by Prof. Dillman, Halle, 1879, 458 pp. *The prophecies of Hosea to the first Assyrian deportation*, with the commentary of Karær Lepheth Ben Ali, is a volume by Tötterman published in Leipsic, 1880, 131 pp. Another work on the same book, *The prophet Hosea explained*, is by Nowack, Berlin, 1880, 255 pp. Diaconus Gottfr. Jäger is the author of *Contributions to the Exposition of the Gospels*, a small work, 50 pp., treating I. The Significance of Christ's Self-designation of "the Son of man;" II. "Are Matt. 1:22 f., 3:3, 26, 56, words of the Evangelist or of the persons speaking immediately before;" IV. "The Time-reckoning in John's Gospel;" VI. "Did the Roman Military participate in the arrest of Jesus in Gethsemane?" Prof. Dr. A. F. C. Vilmar's *Collegium Biblicum*, Practical Expositions of the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, from the manuscript remains of his Academic Lectures has been given to the public by Pastor Chrn. Müller, Part I., Gutersloh, 1879, 458 pp. Prof. Dr. Fricke has put forth a most thorough, masterly and exhaustive essay on *The Exegetical problem in Paul's Epistle to the Galatians*, chap. 3:20, examined on the basis of Gal. 3:15-25, Leipsic, 1880, 52 pp.

APOLOGETICAL.—*The Assyrian Excavations and the Old Testament*, one of the series entitled "Questions of the age for Christian popular life," vol. v. Part 3, Heilbronn, 1880, 76 pp., is a publication, by Rud. Buddensieg. Bruno Bauer has written a new volume which has to do principally with the critics of his former work "*Christ and the Cæsars*" in the National Zeitung. The title of this is *The Original Gospel* and the antagonists of the brochure: *Christ and the Cæsars*, Berlin, 1880, 78 pp. *The Harmony of the Biblical narrative of the Creation with the results of Natural Science and History*, by E. L. D. Pilarik, Leipsic, 1880, 48 pp. Dr. Fricke is the author of *Mythus und Evangelium*, belonging to the Series of "Questions of the Age," &c., 44 pp. a most valuable contribution to popular *Apologetics*, showing, as it does, the practical impossibility of developing a Mythical literature among the Jews, in any way similar to the Oriental, Greek and Scandinavian Mythologies and cosmogonies.

HISTORICAL.—From Adolf Harnack we have *The period of Ignatius and the Chronology of the Antiochian Bishops* down to Tyrannus, according Julius Africanus and the later Historians, with an investigation of the Passio S. Polycarpi in the West, a work of rare historical interest, Leipsic, 1878, 92 pp. Pastor Ney has written up the *History of the Imperial Diet at Spires in 1529* furnishing much original and interesting matter from new sources, Hamburg, 1880, 368 pp. *Frederick the Pious*, Elector Palatine, protector of the Reformed Church, 1559-1576, Nördlingen, 1877-1879, 478 pp., a work of which August Kluckhohn is the author. Licentiate P. E. Lucius has published on a subject by no means threadworn: *the Therapeutæ and their place in the history of Asceticism*. A critical investigation of the work: *De Vita Contemplativa*. The result of this investiga-

tion is conclusive against the authorship of Philo, Lucius maintaining with much plausibility that it was written by a Christian with a view to glorifying Christian monasticism, 211 pp., Strassburg, 1879. D. Ehrman has written a volume entitled: *Aus Palästina und Babylon*, a collection of tales, legends, allegories, &c., from Talmud and Midrasch, with Annotations and a general introduction concerning the spirit and form of the Agada, Vienna, 1880, 314 pp. From A. Ritschel we have *History of Pietism*, vol. 1, The Pietism of the Reformed Church, Bonn, 1880, 600 pp. A volume containing the *Acts of the 2d International Congress for the Observance of the Sabbath*, held in Berne, Sep. 1879, Discourses and Reports, is published in Berne, 1880, 368 pp. To us who witness a breaking down of the barriers which have hitherto guarded the Lord's day in America it is of great interest to see what Europe is doing to erect such barriers. From the pen of A. Wiedeman we have *The history of Egypt from Psammetik I. to Alexander the Great*, with a thorough criticism of the sources of Egyptian History, Leipsic, 1880, 312 pp. M. Joël gives us *Glimpses into the religious history at the beginning of the 2d century*, treating of the Talmud and the Greek Language with dissertations on Aristobulus the so called Peripatetic and on the Gnosis, Breslau, 1880, 177 pp., and Rector Kramer of the Halle Orphan House is out with Part 1. of *August Herman Francke*; A Life Picture, Halle, Orphan House Press, 1880, 304 pp., with a portrait steel engraving. The author is worthy of his subject, as he is a worthy successor of the immortal founder of this marvelous Institution, whose biography he has undertaken as a labor of love.

PRACTICAL.—The numerous volumes of sermons and devotional literature indicate that the German church is not asleep. We notice but a few: A volume from Pastor, Dr. Bienengräber, *I and my house will serve the Lord*. A wedding present out of God's word, Leipsic, 1879, 261 pp., is designed to aid in the maintenance of a Christian home-life, and will prove a powerful help toward restoring the former religious character of the German household. Even the Woman question receives a volume of 226 pp. from W. Wiener, *Women, their history, calling and culture*, or the Woman question and its solution according to Christian principles, Mayence, 1880. A new edition of Pastor D. J. Müllensiefen's *The Word of Life*. Sermons for all the Sundays and Festivals of the year. First of 14 Series, 64 pp., has been published in Halle, 1879. It is a work of the first rank for Christian edification. *God's Word to our times* is a collection of Sermons from H. Kiefer, Arnstadt, 1880, 172 pp. From G. Hofmeier we have *the Holy Sacraments*, Sermons delivered in the Catechetical Services in St. Mary's in Lübeck, 2d part. The Sacrament of the altar, Bremen, 1880, 181 pp. A new edition has appeared of Dr. Ahlfeld's *Confirmation Sermons* preached from 1869 to 1879 in the church of St. Nicolai, Leipsic, two volumes, 119 pp. 128 pp., Leipsic, 1880. Pastor F. Splittgerber is the author of a remarkable work, *Out of the inner-life*. Proofs from experience of the influence of a higher world upon the psychical life of man. A

contribution to Christian Mysticism, Leipsic, 1880, 162 pp. It is an attempt to demonstrate that extraordinary dreams, visions, appearances of angels, &c., belong to the sphere of reality, and while having no sympathy with the vulgar Spiritualism which the author condemns as an emanation from the pit, he undoubtedly succeeds in showing that "there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamed of in our philosophy." J. Frommholz has published a *collection of Sermons to be used on Shipboard*, Berlin, 1879, 334 pp. It contains discourses for all the Sundays and Festivals of the year—and Dr. J. P. Lange, a name that has been made familiar to American Theology, has written a new book under the title *The depreciation of Self and of Man* as a crying evil (*grundschade*) of our time. A fruit of the neglect of the doctrine of Man's kinship with God, Heidelberg, 1879, 100 pp. This disparagement of Self and of Man in general, Lange charges alike upon Materialism, Catholic Ecclesiastical Absolutism and Augustinianism, a vast and most interesting study, on which an author who should possess the capacity of making his ideas intelligible to his readers might give us some stirring thought.

THEOLOGICAL.—Prof. Dr. B. Weiss' third edition (revised) of *The Compendium of the Biblical Theology of the New Testament* has appeared, Berlin, 1880, 708 pp. Prof. Dr. Raebiger writes *Theologik* or Encyclopædia of Theology, Leipsic, 1880, 554 pp. Dr. Heinrich Rinn, *The Augsburg Confession* with an introduction and explanatory notes, Gütersloh, 1879, 200 pp. *Zur Dogmatik* is the title of a little volume containing *two Academic discourses* of the late Prof. Landerer of Tübingen and his famous memorial discourse on the Rationalist F. C. Baur, Tübingen, 1879, 83 pp.

PHILOSOPHICAL.—Lic. Dr. G. C. B. Pünger has published *History of Christian Philosophy of Religion* (in 2 volumes), vol. I. to Kant, Braunschweig, 1880, 491 pp. The same author has given us a critical edition of Schleiermacher's *Discourses on Religion*, Braunschweig, 1879, 306 pp.

MISCELLANEOUS.—The second half of Fischer's great work, *Lexicon of Church Hymns* has been completed. The author gives "hymnological literary notices of some 4500 of the most important and most widely disseminated church hymns of all ages, in alphabetical order, with biographical notices of the authors." The second half contains the hymns beginning with K—Z. Gotha, 1879, 487 pp. The *Speeches* of the eminent Dr. Falk, late Cultus Minister, delivered in the years 1872–79, in the Prussian Parliament, are being published. Three parts in one volume, with introductory, explanatory notices and a complete index. Of Part I. first and second numbers have appeared. *Speeches on the general administration of education.* Berlin, 1880, 192.

ARTICLE IX.

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

NELSON S. QUINEY, PHILADELPHIA.

Successor to Smith English & Co.

Doom Eternal: the Bible and Church Doctrine of Everlasting Punishment. By Rev. Junius B. Reimensnyder, with an Introduction by C. P. Krauth, S. T. D., LL. D., Norton Professor of Systematic Theology, and Vice Provost of the University of Pennsylvania. pp. xxiv; 384. 1880.

It is quite cheering to one's ecclesiastical pride to observe the growing literary activity among our Lutheran clergymen. Hard-worked beyond any other body of ministers, one pastor or professor doing as a rule the labor of two men, they have till recently found little opportunity to exercise themselves largely in book-making, and it must be due to their indomitable Teutonic capacity for hardness and endurance that any of them attain the possibility of entering the domain of authorship.

When a Lutheran writes you may be almost certain that he will either indirectly or immediately set forth doctrine. The volume before us, on the direful theme of the eternity of suffering comes of course within this province. It is divided into four parts. In Part I. the author presents first "THE WITNESS OF THE CHURCH" to the doctrine of everlasting punishment, quoting on this point the statements of the great historians of the Church and her doctrines as to the unmistakable position which has been universally held. These are followed by citations from the Apostolic Fathers, the Ante-Nicene Fathers and such luminaries as Athanasius, Basil the Great, Gregory Nazianzen, Chrysostom, Ambrose and Augustine, and along with these the Clementine Homilies, Apostolical Constitutions, &c. In addition to these we have extracts from the Church's Creeds, including the ancient individual Confessions, the Athanasian Creed, and the modern denominational symbols, Roman, Oriental and Protestant, closing with the IX. of the "Articles of Agreement of the Evangelical Alliance."

This gives a very complete summary of the undeviating faith of the Holy Catholic Church, an invaluable compend of historic theology upon this momentous doctrine in regard to which there has of late years arisen a degree of unrest and uncertainty among those whose hold upon the general faith is feeble. The array of testimony is so extensive and so unanimous, so clear and so cumulative, that the author is fully warranted in the conclusion: "If there is any doctrine settled as an integral part of the Christian faith it is that of the remediless state of the lost. Other cardinal

doctrines, such as the vital one of the Trinity, have indeed been long and stubbornly fought, and have only obtained ascendancy amidst throes of conflict threatening to rend the very citadel of the Church in twain; but there never was a time, from the beginning even until now, when this tenet was not of virtually universal acceptance. Of this there can, then, be no serious question, that over the gate that conducts to the future prison of those who have spurned proffered grace here, the Holy Church, the Friend and Shepherd of souls, has graven those foreboding words inscribed by Dante over the door of his Inferno: '*Ye who enter here leave all hope behind.*'"

Part II. gives at length "THE TEACHING OF SCRIPTURE," both in the individual words employed, which teach eternal punishment and the general statements "in which the eternity of future punishment is either expressly taught or necessarily implied." The translation of *ἀιώνιος*, *everlasting, eternal, endless*, is impreguably fortified with such authorities as Passow, Scapula, Cremer, Parkhurst, Grim, Meyer, Hengstenberg, Alford and Woolsey—the latter contributing a special note on this point.

Part III. interprets "THE VOICE OF REASON," and Part IV. offers an exhibit of "THE FALLACIES AND EVILS OF RESTORATIONISM OR UNIVERSALISM."

The volume throughout gives evidence of the industry, care, thoroughness and talents of the young author. He has spent much thought and labor upon his solemn task. To assert that the subject is a favorite theme with him would be doing violent injustice to a large and tender heart. Yet we cannot help recalling that while a student in the Theological Seminary at Gettysburg he became enthusiastic over Dante's immortal poem, and we venture to say that the impressions then made upon his susceptible and active mind by the terrible imagery of "*The Inferno*" became the germs of this sober and solid volume on the most awful theme ever presented to human contemplation. The sound position of the volume might have been strengthened by the addition of further and cogent arguments for the truth, as for instance that derived from the permanent nature of moral character. It must likewise be regarded as a mistake and a serious defect in the work, that it does not bestow more attention upon the specious and weighty objections which are propounded against the doctrine of everlasting punishment. It is absolutely conclusive and unanswerable with those who unqualifiedly accept the teachings of the Bible and who give heed to the historic and united testimony of the Church, but our quarrel on this doctrine happens to be with those who hold loosely by inspiration and to whom tradition, though unvaried and unchallenged, possesses not one iota of authority. They are not swayed either by scripture or by tradition. They must be met with other weapons—weapons of which there is no lack in the arsenal of truth and by the use of which the author might have inflicted fatal blows upon the assailants of this doctrine of revelation, whether they have assumed to take their place within the Church as enemies in disguise or are hurling their darts from without.

LUTHERAN PUBLICATION SOCIETY, PHILADELPHIA.

The Parsonage of Libenau. From the German. pp. 222. 1880.

This is a new volume of the Fatherland Series and is fully up to the standard of its predecessors which have gained such a widespread popularity and have redounded so largely to the credit of our Publication House. The present work is from the pen of Franz Hoffman, well known as a German author of unsurpassed capacity in the department of religious juvenile literature. The translation is the work of the late Rev. Chas. A. Smith, D. D., and is so well executed that the reader would never know that it is a translation but for the information given of this fact on the title page. If we mistake not this same work appeared as a serial in the *Lutheran Observer* several years ago. It presents an interesting sketch of the career of two brothers, who were sons of a humble country clergyman. Their godly father had intended both the sons for his own holy profession, and Ephraim, the elder, readily and in accordance with his own disposition, complied with his wishes, while the younger brother, Kurt, thirsted for adventure and aspired to mingle with men of the world. Reënforced by the assistance and intercession of his mother, he succeeded in overcoming the father's intention and at an early age launched forth upon a course of worldly pursuits and trials, taking with him from the parental fireside no other outfit than the treasure of a character formed under Christian home-training and the farewell maxim of his father: "Fear God, do right, and be afraid of no one."

The latter proved his invaluable and unerring guide in every undertaking and adventure. By the former he was fortified and secured in many desperate perils by sea and land, brutal strangers and wild seamen, robbers and pirates being silenced and overawed by the presence of a character unalterably intent upon doing right, invincible to temptation, and unsusceptible to fear.

After the fortunes of many years he returns to his native land crowned with wealth and honor and, what is still better, possessed of a most genial and joyous temperament which radiated living sunshine upon all around him. He there in the Parsonage of Libenau found his older brother, who by his own unaided efforts, enduring great self-denial, privation and many wrongs, had successfully passed through the whole curriculum of study required for the ministry and was now worthily following the footsteps of their revered father, preaching the gospel of life and ministering spiritual counsel and comfort to erring and weary souls.

The Parsonage had of course the proverbial blessing of a goodly household with the inevitable struggles that grow out of combining a respectable station with a meagre income, but the wealth and generous services of the returned brother poured into it a continuous stream of plenty and of gladness.

A peculiar excellence of the little volume consists in its holding the attention of the reader to the close, without recourse to the stereotyped love-story which is usually regarded necessary for this purpose. Its perusal is

likely to have a most wholesome influence upon the young, illustrating, as it does, the power and the permanence of Christian truth and correct principles early and faithfully implanted in the hearts of children.

Memorial of Rev. David Loy Tressler, Ph. D., late President of Carthage College. pp. 104. 1880.

This is a worthy memorial tribute to a most worthy man, whose early death in the midst of the greatest usefulness, is one of those mysteries which appal the stoutest faith.

The little volume which in its general make-up is a beautiful piece of art, very creditable to the Publishing House of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, opens with a brief biographical sketch of Dr. Tressler, who as a student reached the highest honors of his class, as a soldier won in a short period of brave service the promotion to high military rank, as a practitioner at the bar for five years secured the distinction of "the brilliant young lawyer," as a preacher and a pastor endeared himself by both his ability and fidelity to his flock—and who as the founder and first president of a Western College, in the face of great difficulties and discouragements seems to have achieved a degree of success that has seldom been equaled in the history of literary institutions.

The funeral discourse of Rev. M. Rhodes, D. D., of St. Louis, is given, as also the address of Dr. W. G. Craig of Keokuk, an account of the Memorial Services held in Lena, Ill., where the deceased had been pastor, with the sermon delivered on that occasion, by Rev. H. C. Haithcox the present pastor, resolutions of respect passed by different Colleges and Societies, and other memorial tributes along with the first Baccalaureate discourse delivered by President Tressler at the first commencement of Carthage College on "*the Model Life*."

The work has not only a tender interest to the numerous personal friends of Dr. Tressler, whose strong, cheerful and noble face fronts the first page of the little volume—but the whose contents are so healthy, inspiring and edifying in their character as to commend it to a place alongside of the best biographical literature on the table of every Christian household.

The Journeys of Luther and their important Relation to the Work of the Reformation. Founded upon the German of Karl Friederich Köhler. By the Author of 'Fifty Years in the Lutheran Ministry.' 1881. pp. 425.

In the translation and publication of this account of Luther's Journeys, both Dr. Morris and the Publication Society have done a good work. The numerous journeys made by Luther in his early life and in connection with the various necessities that called him hither and thither in his wonderful career, sustain such a close and vital a relation to the great work he accomplished, that a knowledge of them is very helpful to a good understanding of the work itself. The history of them here translated was published at Eisenach in 1873, founded in general on an earlier

history by Lingke. It contains an account of every journey Luther made from his boyhood to the time of his death. It forms a succession of narratives of exceeding interest and full of instruction. It was a fortunate thing that when Dr. Morris, who is a true 'son of Issachar,' saw, as he intimates in the preface, that "the time" had come "that another book upon Luther should be published," he understood so precisely also the proper book to be issued. The translation has been made into pure, clear, vigorous English, with the terse directness that characterizes the translator's style. The volume is one to be welcomed not only by Lutherans, but by the Protestant public in general, to whom the history of the great reformer can never cease to be of great interest.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS.

For sale by J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia.

Lectures on the Origin and Growth of the Psalms. By Thomas Chalmers Murray, Associate Professor of the Shemitic Languages at the Johns Hopkins University. 12mo. pp. 319. 1880. Price \$1.50.

This book does high credit to American authorship. It is at once scholarly, thorough, original, independent and masterly, withal reverent and conservative, surpassing in the line of Biblical criticism everything heretofore produced in the schools of this country.

It consists of a course of nine lectures, which the author, who was one of the most gifted and promising Professors of the Johns Hopkins University, delivered in that institution, "during the winter of 1878-79 before a general audience." The brilliant young author having suddenly died immediately after he had completed this course of Lectures, the work has been edited by the competent hand of Prof. C. H. Toy, of Harvard University. Its general scope may be readily inferred from the titles of the different Lectures :

"I. Origin and History of the Shemitic peoples."

"II. History of the Hebrew Language and early Literature."

"III. Titles of the Hebrew Scriptures. * * * Literary and Editorial Arrangement of the Books of the Psalter. Inscriptions, &c."

"IV. Theories of Maccabean Authorship. * * * Davidic Authorship."

"V. Origin and Method of Collection of the Davidic Temple Book."

"VII. Second Book of the Psalter. * * * The Anonymous Psalms. The Vindictive Psalms. * * * Lyric, Epic and Didactic Poetry."

"IX. Fifth Book of the Psalter, The Songs of Degrees. * Shemitic Song and Music. Musical Inscriptions of the Psalms. The Music of the Second Temple."

It will thus be seen that these lectures are not at all intended to be a commentary on the Psalms. They possess an exclusively isagogic character, have special reference to literary and historic interests; still as every careful student of the Bible well understands, a knowledge of the purely literary character either of a Psalm or other sacred passage, and an acquaintance with the historical environments of its composition prove often

to be most valuable and interesting auxiliaries in the practical treatment of the Scriptures.

The author has been charged with rationalistic tendencies, yet in some quarters his work has been pronounced too conservative, while others notice inconsistencies. These diverse judgments themselves only help to show the independent standpoint from which the lectures were written, and prove the perfectly honest and unbiased aim of the author to furnish a contribution to the scientific and critical knowledge of the History and Literature of the Hebrew Scriptures.

Several brief extracts will give a fair indication of the author's straightforward method. Having tested the "Davidic Book" by the three canons of style, grammatical form and historical allusion. "The result of this," he says, "is a double one."

I. It has shown on literary and historical ground, not alone of value, as too many arguments used in this discussion of this question are, for one party, or one confession or one time, that a large number of poems in the Davidic Book are, beyond question of Davidic origin.

II. It has shown that standards such as we deem authoritative in all other literary investigation, compel us to refer some of the poems to a later author, whom in a few cases like that of Jeremiah, we are able to fix, but in the majority of cases we have to leave undetermined.

As to the number of David's own compositions, I personally side with the more conservative view which assigns him the much larger number of Psalms in this collection." More than this is not claimed by Kurtz, Delitzsch and other great teachers who stand unchallenged as representatives of strict orthodoxy.

The style of the volume is very readable, lucid, fresh and forceful. The print and paper are such as one would expect from the press of Scribner's, and they harmonize with the general excellence of the work. We are altogether sure of running no risk when we guarantee that no one will repent the purchase and careful perusal of these pages.

Observations concerning the Scripture Economy of the Trinity and Covenant of Redemption. By Jonathan Edwards. With an Introduction and Appendix by Egbert C. Smith. pp. 97. 1880.

In this publication we have the views of President Edwards that are believed to have been called for by Oliver Wendell Holmes in the *International Review* for July, 1880. It was supposed and hoped by Dr. Holmes and others of his school, that Edwards, in his later years, had departed from "his former standard of orthodoxy" and had embraced Unitarianism, and that thus "so good a man lived to be emancipated from the worse than heathen conceptions which had so long enchained his powerful but crippled understanding."

If this is really the manuscript for which Dr. Holmes called, he will not find much to gratify his ardent wishes. That there are some strange ex-

pressions in it is true, but the Unitarian will not, by any means, find these 'observations' satisfactory ground to stand upon. There is "a subordination of the Persons of the Trinity in their *actings*," there is a difference in their offices, but they "are not inferior one to another in glory and excellency of nature." No one will scent much heresy in the words just quoted, and we regard the 'observations,' as a whole, consistent with them. He considers the relations of the three Persons, first, in the *Economy of the Trinity* before the *Covenant of Redemption* and then their changed relations, in some aspects, in that covenant. A fair idea of his views may be obtained from the following, from pages 31, 32: "Because in this scheme it is supposed, that, prior to the covenant of redemption, all the Persons act as upon a level, and each Person, by one common agreement in that covenant of redemption, is invested with His proper office; the Father with that of Head, the Son with that of Mediator, the Spirit with that of common emissary and consummatour of the designs of the other two. So that by this supposition no one has his office by the particular appointment of any one singly, or more than another; but all alike by common consent; there being no antecedent establishment giving one any power or Headship over another, to authorize or appoint another."

We are gratified that these 'observations' have appeared in print and that the enemies of orthodoxy are disappointed in them. They ought to be convinced, that the author's views have *not* "undergone a great change in the direction of Arianism or of Sabellianism," so confidently announced and wished for by them.

Louisiana. By Frances Hodgson Burnett, Author of "Haworth's," "That Lass o' Lowrie's," etc. pp. 163. 1880.

"Louisiana" did not disappoint the many readers of "Haworth's" and "That Lass o' Lowrie's" who were anxious to see what Mrs. Burnett could do in dealing with lighter characters than is her wont. A pleasing feature of the book is that everything is in keeping with the places in which the scenes are laid. Its writer had gone to the South and fully studied customs, dialect, &c., of the country where her scenes were to be enacted. The pathos of the book is worthy a Dickens.

HARPER AND BROTHERS, NEW YORK.

For sale by J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia.

The Congregationalism of the Last Three Hundred Years as seen in its Literature: with special reference to certain recondite, neglected, or disputed Passages. In twelve Lectures, delivered on the Southwork Foundation in the Theological Seminary at Andover, Mass., 1876-1879, with a Bibliographical Appendix, by Henry Martin Dexter. pp. 1042. 1880.

In this large volume we have no ordinary work, but one which must at once take its place among standard authorities and books of the first value. The intelligent reader immediately discovers, in its plan and scope and in

the author's rich and full resources, the assuring evidence that he is to be led through a most interesting and productive field of study by a trustworthy and able leader. Dr. Dexter's personal relations to the scenes and persons of the pilgrim Plymouth Settlement, the general direction of long years of study, completed in a series of minute and careful special investigations in England, Holland and France, have given him both inclination and peculiar preparation for the task he has here accomplished. The immediate occasion which determined the form of the work was his election for a term of three years to the Southworth Lectureship upon Congregationalism in the Theological Seminary at Andover. His long-cherished purpose of writing anew the history of Congregationalism took shape in the twelve lectures that form the text of this work.

After a prefatory introduction, the work opens with a strong picture of the religious state of England in the early part of the sixteenth century. As intended to present "the darkness and the dawn," the lecture is a graphic recital of the well-authenticated facts in the condition of things at the beginning of the English reformation. The second lecture on "Robert Browne and his co-workers," is an earnest, and in the main, a very sober criticism of the representations which have generally been given of that peculiar man's career and character. The endeavor is apparent throughout, to put the best face on the case, and it must be confessed that history is convicted of having generally been very untrue and unfair to his reputation. The Martin Mar-prelate tracts are treated with much care and learning, in the third lecture. Those famous papers are sufficiently characterized and the question of their authorship is discussed. Dr. Dexter has ventured on an entirely new theory of their authorship, and gives very plausible evidence that they were written by Henry Barrowe. We have a lecture on the "Martyrs of Congregationalism," followed by two on "The Exodus to Amsterdam," and the "Fortunes and Misfortunes" of the Barrowists there. Much fresh information, from original sources, hitherto but little investigated, is here given, and a clear and consecutive account is thus presented of the character and experiences of Anglo-Dutch Separatism. The seventh lecture on "John Robinson and Leyden Congregationalism," is followed by lectures on "New England Congregationalism," earlier and later, and on "Ecclesiastical Councils," in which the characterizing principles and polity of American Congregationalism are traced and defended. A sketch of the Congregationalism of England, and a lecture on the chief points to be looked upon as clearly taught in the whole history thus traced, complete the body of the work. Throughout the entire work, abundant foot-notes are given, referring to authorities and giving often extended quotations in verification and illustration of the facts recounted and the positions taken. These notes form a most valuable part of the work, and will be prized by all thorough students of history.

In view of the differences of opinion lately manifesting themselves as to

what are the essentials of Congregational polity, and how far Congregationalists are to hold themselves bound by former statements of doctrine, the author's views on these points are worthy of attention. On the former point he says: "To be Congregational, a Church *must* believe and practice these two fundamental principles; it must be a body segregated by mutual covenant from all vital relations with other church entities; and so, under Christ, acquiring separate and complete existence, it must hold itself not merely in amicable—that it must live in toward *all* the good—but in fraternal relations with kindred organisms. When the former only is true, it is an Independent; when the latter also is true it is a Congregational Church."

On the question of the binding force of Confessional declarations in the past, Dr. Dexter's views are more rigid, probably, than many of his brethren will allow, but not more so than they ought to be to preserve the identity of the organization's denominational existence. He holds that they are thoroughly bound by them for "substance of doctrine:" "So long as by the very laws of language, and the compulsion of history, in the public mind the epithet Congregational inevitably suggests that fellowship of believers whose relation to the Orthodoxy of the Savoy Confession is as pronounced and distinctive as to the polity of the Cambridge Platform, there can be but one answer to this question. And it is extremely difficult to see how good men can justify to their consciences the endeavor to stretch the name to include what from the beginning those who have borne it have repudiated. * * The first founders of modern Congregationalism had their mightiest motive in the desire for purer doctrine; and from their day to this the Congregational churches, in their overwhelming majority, have repudiated looseness of dogma as earnestly as they have advocated their free form of life."

The great value of this work is that it brings to view many important facts and much information hitherto inaccessible to ordinary readers of history. Its object has not been to deal simply with what has been generally and familiarly known, but to add to our information and by recourse to fresh sources throw new light on various questions that needed to be better understood. The thread of the story here pursued is not the common and familiar one, but another thread, the following of which helps to give a better understanding of the familiar one.

Some criticism might be offered on the temper with which the author treats other Protestant Christian denominations. We may refer only to his almost total obliviousness to the existence and teaching of the Lutheran Church in connection with the subject of ecclesiastical polity. It is true—though the Lutheran Communion embraces nearly as much of Protestantism as all the other denominations together—the course of the history he was tracing scarcely brought him into contact with it. He does, indeed, say that "Luther came very near the discovery, if not the reproduction of the

primitive congregational way." He dismisses the point, however, by simply stating the circumstances which prevented the German Church from taking this form. But if Dr. Dexter had taken a broader and fairer purview of the Protestantism of even our own country, he would have found in a denomination which he seems to forget, but which is larger by far than his own, a church polity which has been freely developed after Luther's conceptions, and in which he would have discovered in full play many of the fundamental principles he cherishes so ardently.

A remarkable part of the volume before us is the list of no less than 7250 books as "collections toward a bibliography of Congregationalism." This list, with "A few Manuscripts," fills 288 pages, and is then fully indexed in twenty additional pages—altogether exhibiting the author's laborious and pains-taking perseverance. A full index of the lectures is added.

Geological History. Chapters from the Physical History of the Earth.

By Arthur Nicols, F. G. S., F. R. G. S. pp. 281. 1880.

The aim of this book is to give a comprehensive outline of the geological and biological history of the earth, as presented in the results which have been reached in the investigations of modern Science. The eminent author believes that recent studies in astronomical physics, geology and palæontology have so far opened the records of our earth's beginning and progress, that its story may be deciphered and told. In some respects, hardly could an abler hand than his have undertaken to trace the outline. Apart from some unsettled and disputed points involved, he has given us, in a very clear and interesting way, what may be accepted as a fair resumé of the conclusions of science as to the main facts of the earth's wonderful history. The doubtful features of the view put before us grow out of the fact that the whole picture has been drawn too confidently under the direction of the extreme evolutionist theory of the derivative origin of species. Too much of hypothesis is quietly treated as settled fact. With this abatement, the volume nevertheless is a most welcome compend of the results presented in the grand investigations of Science.

The work is divided into two parts. The first is geological, and, assuming the nebular theory of the earth's origin, traces the progress from the unstratified rocks through the stratified series, pausing here and there to note the fluctuations in the tide of life, and reaches at last the surface, over which is now spread the living world of beauty and grandeur. The second part is palæontological, and traces the history of vegetable and animal life on the earth from the earliest times, illustrated by descriptions and figures of the fossils characteristic of each geological formation. Mr. Nicols discredits catastrophic explanations of geological changes—more perhaps than the latest investigations of American geology would warrant. In reading the chapter on "the continuity of life"—the point of dispute—the reader can hardly fail to be made to feel how a dealing in "glittering gen-

eralities tends to glide over the real difficulties which appear so soon as an attempt is made to be particular. Mr. Nicols' temper, however, is honest and candid, and he frankly says: "It cannot be contended that the doctrine of evolution is all-sufficient. * * It may at some future time be abandoned, as have many successive astronomical theories, doing in the meantime good service by concentrating thought upon well-defined points." Nor does he interpret or push the theory into any denial of a Creator. The most unsatisfactory part of the work is found in his closing chapter, on 'fossil man.' Here his data are loosely and unscientifically used, and his conclusions extreme and not justified by the evidence to which he refers.

Life and Letters of Horace Bushnell. pp. 579. 1880.

To all who have felt an acquaintance with Dr. Bushnell through his writings, as well as to those who knew him personally, this book will prove of more than ordinary interest. Disposed as he was to independent thought, and restless under what he felt to be the trammels of any settled doctrinal system, he reveals, in his letters, the changes and progress and, we may say, conflicts of mind in his assiduous studies and investigations. We thus get a clear insight into the intellectual and spiritual life of the man, and learn to know him much better than by simply reading the books he has written.

The volume before us was prepared under the supervision of Mary Bushnell Cheney, who also wrote the history down to 1861, Dr. Bushnell being then fifty-nine years of age. His "ministry at large"—from 1861 to 1870—was written by Rev. Dr. Edwin P. Parker, of Hartford, Conn.; the closing years of his life—1870-1876—are portrayed by Miss F. L. Bushnell, his daughter; and contributions to different parts were made by others. Thus the book is of a somewhat composite character, but none the less interesting on that account.

Dr. Bushnell's theological views and controversies are frequently spoken of in his letters to clergymen and his wife, and these are of special interest to those who have read his books. That there was just ground for doubting his orthodoxy will appear from the following portions of a letter to Dr. C. A. Bartol:

"I ought sooner to have answered your kind letter, but I am just now so deep in heresy, or the repute of it thrown upon me from Massachusetts, that I can hardly get time for the reciprocation of decencies. * * I think you will find that I am able to appreciate some of the feelings and intellectual struggles of Unitarianism, and to look upon them with such a degree of sympathy as one who has suffered the like may be expected to feel. I consider myself to be an orthodox man, and yet I think I can state my orthodox faith in such a way that no serious Unitarian will conflict with me, or feel that I am beyond the terms of reason."

And Dr. Bartol, in writing to Mrs. Bushnell about him, says: "Necessity was laid on his nature to rationalize every doctrine or form. What

he could not make acceptable to sound judgment and conscience he would either waive or drop. * * He laid out his best theological strength to prove that no fit objection could arise to the old articles of Trinity and Atonement, *rightly understood*. * * He revolted from the notion, now so much discussed, of everlasting punishment."

But not only are we made acquainted with the life of Dr. Bushnell in his home, or as pastor, preacher, lecturer, writer, &c., but many of the public men and events of his day are introduced and our knowledge of them revived and increased. The book is attractive reading and very suggestive.

The Land and the Book, or Biblical Illustrations drawn from the Manners and Customs, the Scene and Scenery, of the Holy Land. *Southern Palestine and Jerusalem*. By William M. Thomson, D. D., forty-five years a missionary in Syria and Palestine. 140 Illustrations and Maps. pp. 592. 1880.

There are in this book many excellencies which deserve notice. Part of them are due to the author and part to the publishers. The author's experience for forty-five years as a missionary among the people and scenes he describes enables him to speak from personal knowledge. He had ample opportunities to learn, and he evidently used them well. Then, too, he is manifestly in full sympathy with his subject, and much is written under the inspiration furnished him by the actual scenes at the time of writing. He says that 'Biblical Illustration' was his main object in writing the book, and hence the introduction of many quotations from the Bible, and their confirmation and illustration by his own observations. The student of the Bible will here find much to enable him to read intelligently and understand clearly what would be, without such help, indistinct and perhaps unintelligible. The general style of the author is clear, and his descriptions full enough of detail without becoming wearisome. The two indexes at the close of the volume—the one of Scripture Texts Illustrated and the other of Names and Subjects—are full and satisfactory, and constitute a good feature of the work.

But not only has Dr. Thomson done his work well; the publishers, also, have taken special pains in theirs, and we find the volume gotten up in the most attractive style of the printer's and bookbinder's art. The paper is heavy and well finished; the type is clear and pleasing to the eye; the illustrations and maps are of a high order; and the binding is attractive externally and well done. It is a suitable book for the centre table.

A History of Classical Greek Literature. By Rev. J. P. Mahaffy, M. D., Fellow and Professor of Ancient History, Trinity College, Dublin. Author of "Social Life in Greece," "Prolegomenon to Ancient History," etc. In two volumes. pp. 525, 458. 1880.

We have here a thorough, bold, independent, fresh and sprightly work. Prof. Mahaffy starts out with the declared purpose to borrow everything

from everybody that may be of service in presenting an adequate view of the results of literary criticism in this department. The author's study of the classical writers has been very wide and profound; and his familiarity with commentators and critics, of all classes and nationalities, can scarcely be surpassed.

The work bears, however, on every page the stamp of his own individuality. He strikes right and left with great vigor, and no authority, however revered, is safe from his criticism. The treatment of the Homeric controversy is especially interesting, where the English critics are arraigned for attempting to write, in so oracular a tone on such a subject, without a more thorough acquaintance with the German Homeric literature, and then the Germans are in turn severely castigated for what Prof. Mahaffy regards the pedantry and stupidity that mark their extensive learning. Robert Browning's version of the *Prometheus Bound* is commended with the limitation that the Greek original is often necessary for understanding its English. Similar thrusts are found in nearly every chapter, the Euripidean controversy in this work, as well as in his "Social Life in Greece," being a subject on which his indignation is especially profound, and his denunciation of critics scathing. His egotism is nevertheless not repelling but attractive.

The author has produced certainly a very readable sketch of Greek Literature, and one which, although avoiding scholastic methods in point of thoroughness, is not far inferior to the great work of K. O. Müller, the *opus palmare* of this department. In one of his former works we were shocked by a most irreverent allusion to Holy Scripture, that manifested very lax opinions on Inspiration. In this History of Greek Literature, as far as we have read, we have detected nothing objectionable on that score.

JAMES R. OSGOOD & CO., BOSTON.

For sale by J. B. Lippincott & Co., Phila.

English Conferences of Ernest Renan. Rome and Christianity—Marcus Aurelius. Translated by Clara Erskine Clement. pp. 169. 1880.

In the remarkably quick translation and publication of these 'Conferences,' in this country, it was evidently assumed that much interest was felt to read the latest utterances of their eminent author on the subject of Christianity. This was certainly justified by the acknowledged prominence of Renan as a leader of skeptical thought and by the active and long-continued discussions called forth by the views he had already given to the public.

The volume is composed of five lectures, delivered in London during April of the present year. The first four were given under the auspices of the "Hibbert Foundation," upon "Rome and Christianity." The fifth on "Marcus Aurelius," was delivered before "The Royal Institution." The subject discussed opened to the author the fullest opportunity to express his views on Christianity. They are given, however, rather in the general

drift and implication of his historical recital and philosophy than in direct and positive assertions.

His fundamental point is that, some how or other, Rome accepted the religion of the Jews, as modified under what he calls "the sweet Galilean vision" and the teachings of the apostles, and by its energetic and progressive life moulded it into its permanent form. "It is Judaism in its Christian form that Rome has propagated, without wishing it, in so powerful a manner, that from a certain epoch, Romanism and Christianity have been almost synonymous words." When we come to look what Renan means by Judaism and Christianity, we see that he has wholly rejected the Christian conception of both. The view he gives of the Jewish people is marked throughout by an utter ignoring of any thing really supernatural or divine in the Law or in their cultus. And when he comes to Christianity, it is treated simply as a human development of a human system, originated by Jewish thought under peculiarly favorable conditions and getting ascendancy through its reception in Roman life and power. With Renan the supernatural is all gone from Christianity. The mythical and legendary theory is assumed throughout. It would look, indeed, as if his position was that of actual atheism.

These lectures present an impressive illustration of the reckless dealing with history so common with men who adopt the spirit and methods of rationalism. The sentiment of broad "humanity" which he attributes to the Jews, for instance, is in the strangest contradiction to the best known facts and evidences from Jewish literature. To give to the fanatical zealots, John of Giscala, Bar-Gioras, and the like, the credit of originating the spiritual reign of Jerusalem as pictured in the Apocalypse, is indeed a remarkable specimen of the grotesque in historical interpretation. Nothing in the facts of the case can justify the picture given of the aggravated antagonism between St. Peter and St. Paul. Throughout the discussions, however, there are remarkably clear flashes of light and truth—just enough to chain the reader's interest and give a faint plausibility to the otherwise impossible conceptions.

The portrayal of the views and life of Marcus Aurelius is in the same vein as the other lectures. His religion is represented as true and enduring, "because it asserts no dogma."

Scholars will wish to read this little volume, to see the outcome of Renan's critical method.

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & CO., BOSTON.

Every-Day English. A Sequel to "Words and their Uses." By Richard Grant White. pp. 512. 1880.

Mr. White has made himself widely known as an earnest assailant of English Grammars. He goes against them with iconoclastic zeal. For years, he has been maintaining that the English language is, to all intents and purposes, a grammarless tongue, and that grammar study as a means of learning to speak English well is useless and absurd. He believes

that indications of the overthrow of this sort of teaching are now seen in the modified and curtailed grammars recently published. He objects to even modified and reduced grammars, and looks on their publication as only a natural attempt to break a fall. "The struggle will go on," he prophesies, "until at last the grammarians and grammar-loving pedagogues, utterly overthrown, will pass peaceably away, and be carried out to sepulture with a funeral service from Lindley Murray read over their venerable remains."

Mr. White has extreme views on this subject—views reaching to conclusions not justified by the aggregate facts in the case, but rendered plausible by many of them. In these days in which science is full of the idea of detecting and unfolding the presence and action of regulative principles and laws in everything, even in history and social development where human freedom operates with its fullest arbitrariness, it will require more than Mr. White has done, to satisfy educated men that the English language is so utterly lawless or without proper order and just principles of structure, that grammar can have nothing whatever to teach. The funeral of the grammarians is remoter than he thinks, and he will probably die without the sight.

Nevertheless, the author has been doing good service, and has given us another good and very interesting book. The grammarians have needed some of the lively overhauling they here receive. Most of the papers which form the volume have appeared in substance in the "Galaxy" or the New York "Times." The volume is divided into four parts—Speech, Writing, Grammar and Words, and Phrases. The various chapters on pronunciation, reading, numerous questions of grammar, common misusages, and especially on the recent movement in spelling among a few philologists, are full of sharp hits and valuable suggestions. The intelligent reader will not only be highly entertained, but will get important help in his study of the English language.

Boston Monday Lectures. Socialism, with Preludes on Current Events.

By Joseph Cook. pp. 307. 1880.

Volumes from the Boston lectureship continue to appear, and we are truly glad of it. For each one forms a valuable addition to the number of books that help on the cause of truth and righteousness. They are not dry essays on topics away off from real life, but are intensely practical, grappling with the living questions that agitate us day by day. They deliver stalwart blows against plausible errors and deadly evils, and in ways that men can understand. The volume now before us discusses different aspects of social evil and danger needing to be repressed or guarded against. The titles of the different lectures will give the best idea of the range of subjects: Socialism and Universal Suffrage; Socialism a Political Blunder; Self-Help, not State-Help, the Hope of the Poor; Co-operation as a Help for the Poor; Co-operative Savings Banks in Germany; Death Traps and Fever Dens in City Slums; High Schools and a United

Citizenship; Tramps' Sunday Laws, and the Poor; Alcohol and the Human Brain; and Socialism, Temperance and Woman's Vote. These topics are discussed with the vigor of thought and in the dramatic style of oratory for which Mr. Cook is so well known. The "Preludes" form a large part of the volume, and cover questions such as the use of our postal service for carrying infamous and corrupting literature, the Chinese in America, the Bible in Schools, lax Honor in Commercial life, &c.

PHILLIPS & HUNT, NEW YORK.

For sale by J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia.

The Library Key: An Index of General reading. Arranged by F. A. Archibald, A. M., with an Introduction by Rev. W. W. Case. pp. 202. 1880.

While this is an *Index Rerum*, its plan differs somewhat from that of Dr. Todd. It is not intended for extracts, but only for subjects and to indicate the place where those subjects are discussed. It professes to be a key, or rather is intended to become a key, to unlock the treasures of thought contained in the books read. It is useful, therefore, only in cases where the books are readily accessible. But, in such cases, it will doubtless prove of great value as it reduces one's reading to system, and enables him to find at once what he has read on any subject he may have under consideration. All, therefore, who wish to read in a systematic way, and to have what they read in good shape for future reference, will find valuable assistance in *The Library Key*, if it is filled up according to the directions given.

Shield of Faith; or Articles of Religion, General Rules, Baptismal and Church Covenants, and Methodist Episcopacy, with Scripture Proofs. By Bostwick Hawley, D. D. pp. 45. 1880.

The title page, as given above, indicates the scope of this little book. It is in convenient shape for the pocket, and every Methodist should have a copy.

Recent Travels and Explorations in Bible Lands; consisting of sketches written from personal observations, giving results of recent researches in the East and the recovery of many places in sacred history long considered lost. Illustrated with new Maps and many original Engravings. By Frank S. De Hass, D. D., member of the American Geographical Society, and late United States Consul at Jerusalem. pp. 455. 1880.

The author states in the introduction to this work, that "his object in accepting an appointment under the United States government, and making his home for several years in Palestine, was not the honor or emoluments of office, but a desire to visit the lands of the Bible, that he might examine and see for himself how far the manners, customs, and traditions of the people and topography of those countries, agreed with the inspired word." Now, however much we may question the propriety of making secondary, or a means to quite a different end, an office to which one is

specially appointed, we believe that Dr. De Hass made good use of his opportunities. He is more than interested in his subject; he is enraptured with it. Indeed his enthusiasm becomes quite flighty at times and he is lead into very extravagant methods of speech. For instance, in speaking of the Sphinx of Egypt, he breaks out in the following strain, not a little akin to the sophomoric :

"What events have transpired under those sightless eyes which look out so pensively and wistfully, as if they had some great secret to reveal! Ah, could those thick lips speak, what volumes they would relate! What mysteries would they unravel! What a flood of light they would pour upon the early history of our race! Alas, they are sealed forever! Here this representative of royalty has patiently reclined for four thousand years, watching with sleepless vigilance the ashes of the mighty dead reposing beneath its gaze," etc., etc.

In the same swelling style he speaks of many places in Jerusalem, but out of respect for their sacred associations we forbear quoting any of them. But if we are patient with him at these fervid points along the way, we will find the story of his travels and observations entertaining and instructive in a high degree. He writes in the light of recent discoveries. With these he has become familiar, not simply by reading about them but by visiting the places and observing for himself. His official position as U. S. Consul at Jerusalem and his connection with the American and English Palestine Exploration Societies gave him opportunities not enjoyed by the ordinary traveler, and hence his narration and descriptions are all the more reliable. The book is gotten up in good style and well illustrated with maps and engravings.

Gilbert Haven : A Monograph. By Rev. E. Wentworth, D. D. Delivered before the Troy Conference, April, 1880, and published at its request. Paper, pp. 42. 1880.

An interesting memoir and glowing tribute to a brilliant, strong and useful Methodist bishop.

AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY.

Africa : Past and Present. A concise account of the Country, its History, Geography, Explorations, Climates, Productions, Resources, Population, Tribes, Manners, Customs, Languages, Colonization, and Christian Missions. By An Old Resident. With Map and Illustrations. pp. 387. 1880.

The above outline itself gives the general scope of this work. We will only add that, so far as we have read, the account seems a faithful one, and will doubtless prove to be as the author designed, a "convenient handbook" for missionaries, merchants, travelers, emigrants, and others who wish for reliable information on the subjects of which it treats. The most recent discoveries, including those of Livingstone, Stanley and Cam-

eron, are clearly and carefully presented. Mr. W. Moister, of Sedbergh, Yorkshire, England, is the author, and he deserves much credit for the thorough and readable account he has given us of Africa. The illustrations are good and add much interest. The map, however, although prepared with evident care, is not complete enough. We found some difficulty in following Stanley in his explorations.

A Young Man's Safeguard in the Perils of the Age. By William Guest, F. G. S., Author of *Fidelia Fiske*, etc. Tenth Thousand. pp. 157. 1880.

The moral dangers of the age, and how to escape them; the opportunities of the age, and how to prepare for them; the skeptical doubts of the age, and how to solve them; the Christian young man's place in the age, and how to fill it—these are the important subjects to which attention is called in the pages of this book. They are well treated, too, and the young man of intelligence will find invaluable hints and suggestions for his conduct in life. In the close of the third lecture, the surprising credulity of infidelity is happily presented in the thirteen articles of *THE INFIDEL'S CREED*. The whole lecture, indeed, is one of great merit and will well repay any one for reading it. We can heartily recommend this little book to every young man.

Father's House. By Howe Benning, Author of "Hester Lenox." pp. 278. 1880.

This story relates the self-denials and sacrifices made by the young children of a godly father to purchase a house that he could call his own. It feelingly portrays the parent's gratitude to God for such children, who, in spite of the special temptations thrown in their way by others, could forego so much self-gratification in order to secure for him what he so long desired but was unable to buy. It is a well told story and healthful in its influence and lessons.

From Hong-Kong to the Himalayas: or Three Thousand Miles through India. Illustrated from original photographs. By E. Warren Clark. pp. 368. 1880.

Stories of travel ordinarily have great interest, but travels in India, especially of late years, have an unusual fascination about them, especially when well told. This is the case with this volume by Mr. Clark. He is a good observer and possesses such fine descriptive powers, that the reader finds his interest at once awakened and kept up throughout the book. Much secular history is interwoven, and, in religious matters, the need and cry for something better than what the natives have inherited are manifest everywhere. Even a man with no special sympathy for missionary enterprises can hardly fail to have his interest awakened in behalf of these people. Most of the illustrations are excellent and add not a little to the attractiveness of the book.

LITTLE, BROWN, & CO., BOSTON.

For sale by J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia.

The Great Speeches and Orations of Daniel Webster. With an Essay on Daniel Webster as a master of English style, by Edwin P. Whipple. pp. 706. 1879.

The names of Edmund Burke and Daniel Webster have been mentioned as being the only two among the eminent men whose influence was felt during the past hundred years in legislative assemblies in Great Britain and the United States, that have established themselves as men of the first class in English and American literature. This, it seems to us, is a too restrictive count as to Englishmen, but it probably gives the proper position to Daniel Webster in America. Though he spent his life in the earnest activities and conflicts of legislative halls and courts of justice, the high quality of his mind and the excellence of his work have gained for him an honorable and permanent literary position. The publishers are, therefore, more than justified in issuing this fine volume giving, from the standard edition of his works, such speeches and orations as will best illustrate his genius and character as a lawyer, statesman, diplomatist, patriot and citizen. The selections have been judiciously made, exhibiting the many-sided strength of Webster's mind, and the massive grandeur and wonderful clearness of his thought and style.

A revived interest in Webster's works could hardly fail to be of much service. The thought of our day needs to be recalled to some of the great principles of political wisdom and safety of which he was the clear and eloquent expounder. The influence would be tonic and healthy. Especially would it be a good thing if public speakers among us would study the simple, straightforward, transparent style of the great orator. It is a model with which the young should make themselves familiar, and which would help to correct the tumid grandiloquence which has come to be so common in oratorical effort.

The collection contains forty-five speeches and orations, among which are the "First Settlement of New England," "Defence of Judge James Prescott," "The Revolution in Greece," "The Bunker Hill Monument," "The Completion of the Bunker Hill Monument," "Adams and Jefferson," "The Reply to Hayne," "The Constitution not a Compact between Sovereign States," "A Redeemable Paper Currency," "The President's Protest," "Remarks on the Political Course of Mr. Calhoun in 1838," "Reply to Mr. Calhoun," "Exclusion of Slavery from the Territories," "Kossuth," &c. Among them also we find the two great speeches in the Supreme Court of the United States on "The Dartmouth College Case," and "The Christian Ministry and the Religious Instruction of the Young," in the Girard Will Case. These two speeches are worth the value of the book, and the truths and principles they so eloquently set forth need to be re-studied and reasserted in our times.

The introductory essay of sixty-three pages, by Mr. Whipple, is a finely conceived and interesting presentation of Mr. Webster's literary character-

istics, and explains the secret of his effective oratory. An Appendix gives us the letters on "Impressment," "The Right of Search," "Letters to Gen. Cass on the Treaty of Washington," and "The Hülsemann Letter." A full index is added.

LEE & SHEPPARD.

For sale by Charles T. Dillingham, N. Y.

They all do it, or Mr. Miggs of Danbury and his Neighbors. Carefully prepared by J. M. Bailey, the Danbury-News Man. Illustrated. pp. 313. 1877.

Everybody knows what to expect of "the Danbury-News Man," and he is so true to himself and so exhaustless in humor that these expectations are rarely subjected to disappointment.

The present work is perhaps not up to the high watermark of the best effusions of Mr. Bailey's pen—not to be compared with his "England from a back-window," which along with the most exquisite amusement gives the reader a great amount of interesting and valuable information—but it runs throughout in his characteristic vein and overflows with comic anecdotes, ludicrous caricature and infinite wit.

It consists of a conglomerate series of short stories about Mr. Miggs of Danbury and his neighbors, covering such subjects as "a Danbury Spelling School," "a Woman's Idea of Finance," "His Wife's Mother," "Hens as a Study," "Going to Sleep in Church," "An Extraordinary Stove-pipe," &c., nearly all of which exhibit some ordinary vexation or domestic provocation and trouble in a ridiculous light, and make us laugh convulsively over experiences which commonly drive some of us to the verge of madness and others to downright profanity. The author himself says, it is not to be read through at a sitting. It is a work to be consulted at odd times. It is designed to rest you when you are tired, to cheer you when depressed and to tone you down generally when you are inclined to make yourself disagreeable about the house. It would be well for many of us, physically, intellectually and morally, were we to intermingle more exhilarating potions of this kind with our earnest, wearying and wasting labors.

A Woman's Word; and how she kept it. By Virginia F. Townsend, Author of "Only Girls," "That Queer Girl," &c. pp. 270. 1879.

A tolerably good novel, and to a person having a few leisure hours of an afternoon, it will furnish pleasant, though very sensational entertainment. It is a sad and almost tragical story, the substance of which sounds so familiar that we almost feel persuaded of having years ago read it elsewhere. The darkness that overclouds the various scenes through nearly the entire volume, beautifully passes over into light at the very close.

The heroine, a young orphan girl, indigent in circumstances, but rich in tact and in strength of character, turned everything to the best account and by noble sacrifices and a wise submission to the inevitable succeeds at last to high station and well-earned happiness. The book is interesting as an illustration how at least one woman (in fiction) bravely kept a secret for many years.

Man Proposes. A Novel. pp. 344. 1880.

This anonymous work of fiction is not characterized by any special merit. Some of its characters are of a very noble turn, others are sufficiently degraded. The plot is laid in Boston, but the principle scene is transferred to the theatre of our late civil war and we have a vivid description of one of the less famous battles which have made a bloody chapter in the history of our country. The heroine, a penniless orphan, whose life was enveloped in a deep mystery, was a woman of firm and independent temper, declining tempting offers of marriage, preferring to earn her own livelihood by teaching school and, as such people are apt to do, finally fell heir to fortune. Her own career, as well as that of every one prominently figuring in the story, shows that "the best laid plans gang aft alee." "Good fortune comes, but not as we expect. Man steers the ship, but the tide and winds he can't control."

CONGREGATIONAL PUBLISHING SOCIETY, BOSTON.

Sabbath Essays: Papers and Addresses presented at the Massachusetts Sabbath Conventions, at Boston and Springfield, October, 1879. Edited by Rev. Will C. Wood. pp. 440.

The appearance of this volume of Sabbath discussions is most timely. The Sunday question is so closely and vitally connected with the religious, moral, social and political interests of our country, that the truths involved need to be fully brought out and enforced on the mind and conscience of all. The essays and addresses here given are admirably suited to this purpose, and form a volume of great and permanent value. There are in it no less than thirty-eight discussions, of varied length, and covering almost every aspect of the subject—the Rationale of the Sabbath, the Sabbath Historically viewed, and the Sabbath in its Civil and Social Relations. The divine authority of the Lord's day as embodying the essence of the Sabbatic law from creation and the moral element of the third Commandment, is exhibited with ability by scholarly men. Only two of the writers, Profs. Lummis and Smyth, assign it a simply church authority. Dr. Smyth's argument against regarding the Lord's day as a transference, to the first day of the week, of the Sabbatic law of the decalogue, it seems to us, is very inconclusive and unsatisfactory. His whole difficulty grows out of his failure to keep in mind the proper and necessary distinction between the moral and ritual parts of the Commandment. His argument is a remarkable case of getting a positive conclusion from negative premises. Because the change was not made by the apostles in a certain way, it is concluded it was not made at all. Indeed, his conclusion is really based on reasoning that would be of equal force against the ability of the apostles to carry forward any of the precepts of Sinai into authority in the new dispensation. Dr. Smyth seems in the end, however, to hesitate to adopt the conclusion to which his reasoning brings him, of a mere human authority for the Lord's day, and after all connects it with

the authority of the apostles. "It has at least their approval." "It is fair to presume that indirectly at least—it was their institution." He even connects it historically and in principle with the Old Testament Sabbath, and says of the fourth (third) Commandment: "Though no longer formally prescriptive, it is still directory."

Dr. Rice's exhibit of Luther's view of the subject is one-sided and misleading. When Luther's statements are *all* and fully given and compared, he is found, we believe, to present a decided affirmation of the divine obligation of the Lord's day, and the perpetuity, in and through it, of the moral law of the third Commandment.

This volume, with its clear statements of facts and principles and eloquent pleas for a proper observance of the Lord's day, should have a wide circulation. It is a hand-book of the latest thought, presented in popular way, on the great questions discussed.

ANSON D. F. RANDOLPH & CO., NEW YORK.

For sale by J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia.

Protestant Foreign Missions: Their Present State. A Universal Survey.

By Theodore Christlieb, D. D., Ph. D., Prof. of Theology, and University Preacher, Bonn, Prussia. Authorized Translation from the German by David B. Croom, M. A. pp. 248.

Ministers of the Gospel will welcome this small volume as the very thing they have needed, to get a full view of what has been done in the great work of modern missions. Its substance appeared in the account of the Evangelical Alliance last year, but in this edition has been revised and enlarged, so as to form a most valuable compend of the facts and principles involved in the missionary enterprise. The statistics and other information, gathered with so much labor and care, showing what has been accomplished throughout the world, will furnish the pastor with the very best means of stimulating among his people at large, intelligent and hopeful interest in the cause. The exhibit is wonderful and cheering. No man with the facts of this book before him can regard missions as a failure, or fail to have his heart strengthened for the work.

The Witness of the Heart to Christ. Being the Hulsean Lectures preached before the University of Cambridge in the year 1878. By the Rev. W. Boyd Carpenter, M. A., Vicar of Christ Church, Lancaster Gate, and Hon. Chaplain to the Queen. pp. 174.

Whilst the historical and miraculous evidence for Christianity must ever remain the primary and fundamental proof, increasing stress is rightly laid on that which is found in its intrinsic character and its wonderful adaptation to all the complex needs of humanity. It is found to be the exact supply for human wants, meeting man's profoundest moral and spiritual necessities with an exactness and completeness that shows it to be from man's own Maker. It grasps our nature in all its forces and answers its yearnings. The key fits all the ward of the lock. This is the

idea on which these Hulsean lectures have been written. They trace, in clear and impressive light, the witness which the heart gives to the worth and power of the gospel. The book is full of precious truth, rich suggestion, and strengthening thought, and forms a valuable contribution to our apologetic literature, suited to our times. Such books ought to go among the masses as a sure antidote to the poison of much current literature.

THOMAS WHITAKER, NEW YORK.

For sale by J. B. Lippincott & Co., Phila.

After Death, an Examination of the Testimony of Primitive Times respecting the State of the Faithful Dead, and their Relationship to the Living. By Herbert Mortimer Luckock, D. D., Canon of Ely, Principal of the Theological College, Examining Chaplain to the Bishop, and sometime Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. Second Edition. pp. 271. 1880.

Numerous as have been the recent discussions of the intermediate state, there is place for this work of Dr. Luckock, already appearing in a second edition. As indicated in the title, the aim of the author is restricted to a few distinct points and within a limited range of evidence. But the points are those that have attracted a large attention and interest, especially in the Church of England, in connection with the so-called High Church or Romanistic movement. Whatever may be thought of Dr. Luckock's views and conclusions, his readers cannot but be charmed with the calm and Christian temper in which he conducts the inquiry and discusses the points of differing view. Controversy carried on in this spirit is greatly creditable to the sweet piety that breathes through it.

The author opens his inquiry with a reference to the desire making itself felt for a return to some features of "pre-Reformation rule and practice," and indicates his sympathy with that desire, in order to reach the true form of Catholic Christianity. While recognizing the sacred Scriptures as the only and full fountain of Christian doctrine, he believes that the true test for the correctness of the interpretation of the Scriptures is found in the rule of Vicentius: "That which has been believed everywhere, always, and by all men." He takes this rule as fulfilled in following "universality, antiquity, consent." He holds that the Church has been from the beginning the keeper of Holy Writ, and therefore the rightful exponent of its teaching. The voice of the Church may be heard in the decrees of general councils, or in utterances gathered out of the written opinions of the representatives of the Church at large. In applying this rule to the questions involved in the intermediate state, he rejects on grounds of both Scripture and antiquity the notion that the soul is there in a condition of unconsciousness. He states the evidences, which satisfy him, that it is a state that allows moral change, one of progressive purification or improvement. Sanctification will be completed. This he clearly distinguishes from the Roman Catholic doctrine of Purgatory, as involving no idea of penal torments, but simply allowing the continued action of the

divine light and favor. He believes that prayer for the dead was practiced among the Jews before Christ's time, and silently acquiesced in by Him. Evidence for the habit of such prayer is adduced from the Scriptures and from the testimony of the Catacombs, the early fathers and the primitive Liturgies. The conclusion he reaches is, "that the practice of praying for the faithful dead was universally adopted in primitive times." Dr. Luckock then canvasses the testimonies on the question of intercession by saints on behalf of those left on earth, and as to the practice of the invocation of the saints. A sifting of the testimony brings him to the conclusion that "while the doctrine of the intercession of the saints is able to bear the Vicentian test of 'universality, antiquity, and consent,' the Catholicity of the practice of invocation breaks down when subjected to the same ordeal."

While not accepting the teachings and aims of the books, we wish to recommend it as an admirable presentation, in brief, of the evidences that support the views and tendencies it maintains. We know of no better work, that may be taken up in order to obtain in condensed, yet clear form the essence and force of the arguments that can be made for these views.

Life: A Book for Young Men. By Cunningham Geikie, D. D., author of "The Life and Words of Christ," "The English Reformation," etc. Tenth Edition. pp. 298. 1880.

This is a book which should be placed in the hands of every youth in our land. Full of thought and with fine discernment of character, it is admirably adapted to instill and impress lessons of truth, and to form and settle character in correct mould. It is made up of chapters on subjects of vital interest to the young. They are Youth, Character, Companions, Success, Christianity, Helps, Reading and Dreams. The chapter on Christianity is a concise statement of the Christian evidences. It presents them in terms which carry conviction with them. The whole book is an earnest talk to young men, and he who reads it cannot but be greatly benefited.

The four leading foreign Quarterly Reviews, and Blackwood's Magazine, reprinted by the Leonard Scott Publishing Co., and Harper's Magazine, Weekly, Bazar, and Young People have been received, filled with their usual interesting matter.

